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THE HICOG SURVEYS

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SOME EVALUATIONS OF THE BONN GOVERNMENT

With Current Thinking on the Issue
of New Federal Elections

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
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PUB/RAS. N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. ATTORNEY GENERAL
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on the West German evaluation of the Federal government with special reference to the need for new Bundestag elections is based on a survey made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, from September 18 - 27, 1951. The survey was made throughout West Germany utilizing the 800 case probability sample established for rapid coverage of political developments. Interviews in the study were conducted under the auspices of DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main) the newly established German company which does interviewing for RAS under German sponsorship, thus removing the possibility of American sponsorship bias.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT ...

Clearly established by the findings of this study is that, as of the end of September, no groundswell of dissatisfaction with Chancellor Adenauer or the Bonn government was apparent. Nor was there a popular mandate for new Federal elections. Moreover in such dissatisfaction with Bonn as did exist, the relations and policies of the Adenauer government vis-a-vis the West played only a minor role. Domestic economic problems were the compelling factors.

The West German people could not be said, therefore, to lend general support to the claims and demands of the Social Democratic leadership that the public had lost so much confidence in the Adenauer government's program, particularly as related to Western policies, that new elections are immediately necessary. The extent to which subsequent events and developments-e.g., the defection of DGB, or on the other hand, the unity proposals or negotiations with the Allies-have affected the issue must remain the subject of further study.

But, at the end of September, the West German public took the following position on these specific issues:

- ... Moderate to great satisfaction with the accomplishments of the Federal government prevails (49%) over dissatisfaction (37%). No increase in dissatisfaction has occurred during recent months, as comparison with findings obtained in March and August of this year reveals.
- ... Criticisms of the dissatisfied group are directed almost entirely at Bonn's alleged mismanagement of economic affairs -high prices, low wages, inadequate aid to particular groups, high taxes, failure to solve unemployment, etc. Only three per cent bring up the defense participation issue, and another three per cent charge Bonn with being an Allied puppet.
- ... On the necessity of immediate Federal elections, about twice as many (44%) take a negative stand, as a positive one (23%).
- ... A noteworthy finding is that persons dissatisfied with the government's actions are as likely to oppose as to favor new elections, which points up the fact that all critics of the government are not by any means prepared to "throw the rascals out."
- ... It is also found that critics of the government desiring new elections now do not mention Bonn's Western policies as a source of dissatisfaction any more frequently than those critics who are against electing a new Bundestag at once.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

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- ... But, as the public appraises the prevailing sentiment, if elections should be held now, SPD would get the most votes. Thirty-seven percent are of this opinion; in contrast, 28% think CDU would win.
- ... Not as many personally prefer SPD as think it would win a national election. The SPD leads over CDU in this regard by 26% to 21%, a difference which, considering the number of cases involved, is not reliably beyond chance.
- ... Dr. Adenauer is widely known (81%) as Chancellor of the Republic. Public awareness of him is greater than knowledge that his party, the Christian Democratic Union, is the party now in power.
- ... The Chancellor's accomplishments are favorably appraised by the preponderance of the West German people. Three times as many hold the view that what he has done so far has been to West Germany's advantage as take the contrary view that he has done more harm than good.
- ... Further evidence of Dr. Adenauer's prestige is that not only among SPD sympathizers does the favorable appraisal outweigh the negative, but it also does so even among those expressing dissatisfaction with the Federal government as well as among those who think new elections are now necessary.
- ... Since it has been claimed in certain quarters that the Americans are particularly sympathetic to the Christian Democratic program, public reactions to the issue were sought, with the following results: The preponderance (39%) believes that the Americans are not partisan, but a quarter say that they do favor a particular party. Almost all (18%) of this minority group name CDU as the favored party, and most of them (15%) think American partisanship is so great as to seek to help CDU win the next elections.

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I. THE ISSUE OF THE NEED FOR NEW PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The successes at the polls registered in recent Laender (state) elections by the Social Democrat party not only have inspired opposition spokesmen including the SPD leader, Dr. Schumacher, to reiterate demands for new parliamentary elections but have been proclaimed by SPD functionaries and its press as evidence of public disagreement with Chancellor Adenauer's Western policies. The following results indicate that the public does not entirely subscribe to the SPD contentions and demands.

NO MARKED LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE BONN GOVERNMENT ...

Not only marked but increased dissatisfaction with the accomplishments of the present government should be expected to prevail if the public generally supported the Social Democratic demand for new parliamentary elections. This is not the case. First, though a fairly large proportion (37%) indicates dissatisfaction with the activities of the Federal government up to now, the preponderant sentiment is one of moderate approval of what the government has so far done.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Federal government in West Germany up to now?" (If "Satisfied," "Very satisfied" or "Fairly satisfied." If "Dissatisfied," "Very dissatisfied" or "Dissatisfied.")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very satisfied	5%	6%	4%	3%
Fairly satisfied	44	41	50	44
Dissatisfied	29	31	25	30
Very dissatisfied	8	8	9	5
No opinion	14	14	12	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Second, no increase in dissatisfaction has occurred during recent months. If anything the trend is toward a more frequent expression of satisfaction with Bonn's accomplishments, though the differences are too slight to be reliably beyond chance considering sample size.

1951

March* August* September

Opinions on accomplishments of Federal government:

Satisfied	44%	39%	49%
Dissatisfied	43	42	37
No opinion	13	19	14
	100%	100%	100%

* In the March and August surveys, the "intensity" rating of very satisfied, fairly satisfied, dissatisfied and very dissatisfied, was not used.

WESTERN POLICIES RECEIVE ONLY MINOR MENTION AS SOURCES OF DISSATISFACTION ...

Also clearly established is that the Bonn government's Western relations and policy are not obvious sources of dissatisfaction. Only three per cent bring up the issue of defense participation, and another three per cent Adenauer's alleged subservency to the occupation powers as causes for discontent with the government. The brickbats are hurled almost entirely at Bonn's failure to solve various economic problems: the price and wage policy, neglect of various groups, burdensome taxes, unemployment, and so on.

If "Dissatisfied" or "Very dissatisfied:" "For what reasons are you dissatisfied with the Federal government?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Unsatisfactory economic policy (prices too high, wages too low):</u> The government does not make an effort to cut prices; I don't like their economic policy; our democracy leans much too strongly toward capitalism; the financial policy followed by Dr. Schaeffer; the everlasting struggle between the Federal government and the trade unions about wages; no steps are taken to stop the high cost of living, they don't have price ceilings, no one now can get along on his income; not enough coal, too much is exported; freedom of trade allows everybody who doesn't understand a thing to bungle - but they don't pay taxes; etc.	13%	14%	12%	12%
<u>Too little economic aid for particular groups:</u> Nothing is done on behalf of the very needy people; we have lost everything and the "Hausrathilfe" (financial aid to re-purchase household utensils) of 150 DM is just not enough; nothing is done for war widows; I have been working for 30 years and now I get nothing, while the refugees are helped; because the government does too little for the workers; they fill their own pockets instead of caring for the workers; etc.	11	11	13	11
<u>The taxes are too high and tax money is wastefully used:</u> We little business people are really so overburdened with taxes that we can't budge; we have to pay much too high taxes and they are not economically used; they don't know how to use taxes properly; the government costs too much, we have too many ministers; etc.	8	7	9	13
<u>Government is a puppet:</u> We are slaves of the other nations, Adenauer wants that; etc.	3	3	2	3
<u>Government favors remilitarization:</u> They want soldiers again; because they are too much concerned with re-militarization - that serves no purpose for us, we just went through a war; re-armament - if the others want to wage war, they should do it themselves; etc.	3	2	3	4
<u>Affairs poorly managed (general):</u> They do too little productive work; they have an amateurish conception of government, before the elections they made many promises that are neither fulfilled nor can be if one party is in power - it's a Punch and Judy show; etc.	3	3	1	4
<u>Failure to solve unemployment:</u> They don't make enough effort to provide work; they should solve unemployment, there are possibilities enough, it has been done before; etc.	2	1	2	-
<u>Failure to relieve the housing shortage:</u> They don't do enough about building houses, so that the housing misery can be relieved; etc.	*	1	1	-
<u>Other opinions:</u> Too many old people are in the government, they should seek an agreement with Eastern Germany; etc.	2	2	2	-
<u>No opinion</u>	1	2	-	-
	46%*	46%*	45%*	47%*

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

NO PUBLIC MANDATE FOR NEW ELECTIONS ...

The Social Democrats' demand for new parliamentary elections also does not find much of an echo among the public. When queried directly on the point, the West Germans deny by a ratio of two to one that a new Bundestag must now be chosen at the polls. A third of the public have not made up their minds on the issue.

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag necessary now, or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Necessary	23%	25%	21%	21%
Not necessary	44	43	46	44
No opinion	33	32	33	35
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The fact that there is less popular demand for new parliamentary elections than expressed dissatisfaction with Bonn's record to date indicates it would be a mistake to infer that all critics of the present government want to "throw the rascals out." This is further demonstrated in the findings presented below showing that persons dissatisfied with what the Federal government has so far done are as likely to oppose new elections as to consider them necessary. As would be expected, those who are content with their present government more frequently say there is now no need to vote for a new Bundestag.

	New elections are desirable	New elections are not desirable	No opinion
Dissatisfied with the actions of the government	41%	37%	22%...100%
Satisfied with the actions of the government	14	57	29

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BONN'S RELATIONS WITH ALLIES SELDOM MENTIONED BY GROUP DESIRING NEW ELECTIONS ...

Analysis further reveals that contrary to the charges made by the Social Democratic leadership, both Bonn's military plans and its alleged subservience to the Allies play only very minor roles in a demand for new elections. The emphasis is placed on domestic economic policies. This is revealed when the specific reasons for dissatisfactions are broken down into replies of two groups: those who are dissatisfied and advocate new elections, and those who are dissatisfied but oppose new elections. It will be noted that appreciably no more of those who feel new elections are necessary than of those who do not, mention remilitarization or Bonn's alleged puppet status.

Dissatisfied with Government - and Say:

	Now elections necessary	New elections not necessary
Reasons for dissatisfaction with government:		
Unsatisfactory economic policy (prices too high, wages too low)	15%	11%
Too little economic aid for particular groups	11	11
Taxes too high, tax money wastefully used	9	10
Affairs poorly managed (general)	3	3
Government favors remilitarization	4	2
Government is a puppet	3	4
Failure to solve unemployment	1	2
Failure to relieve housing shortage	-	1
Others	$\frac{2}{48\%}$	$\frac{2}{46\%}$

* Proportions add to more than the per cents dissatisfied and wanting new elections (41%) and dissatisfied and not wanting new elections (37%), because some persons gave more than one reason.

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SATISFACTION WITH GOVERNMENT OUTWIGHS IN SATISFACTION AMONG MOST GROUPS ...

There are few marked group differences as to satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the activities of the Federal government, with the preponderant view one of moderate to great satisfaction with what has been so far accomplished. Followers of the Social Democrats and trade union members, however, voice dissatisfaction as frequently as satisfaction.*

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Federal Government in West Germany up to now?" (If "Satisfied": "Very satisfied" or "Fairly satisfied"? If "Dissatisfied": "Very dissatisfied" or "Dissatisfied")

	Very satis- fied	Fairly satis- fied	Dissatis- fied	Very dissatis- fied	No opinion	No. of Cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	5%	40%	34%	10%	6% ... 100%	385
Women	4	44	34	7	21	411
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	5	44	29	8	14	669
Beyond elementary school	5	46	30	9	10	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Lower	5	43	27	9	16	375
Middle and upper	5	45	30	7	13	421
<u>Income: (per month)</u>						
0 - 299 DM	5	44	27	8	16	510
300 - 399 DM	3	42	35	10	10	152
400 DM and more	8	49	28	6	9	119
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	4	41	33	8	14	336
40 years and over	5	47	26	8	14	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	5	39	40	9	7	212
CDU/CSU	10	68	13	-	9	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	2	46	34	10	8	50
Other parties	-	33	37	13	7	73
No party	2	31	34	15	18	117
Don't know	4	40	22	5	29	173
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	3	57	27	-	8	26
Businessmen	6	37	33	12	12	94
White-collar workers	3	53	24	7	13	110
Skilled laborers	4	41	37	9	9	138
Semi skilled laborers	3	43	27	9	14	114
Farmers	3	45	24	4	24	100
Not employed: pen., stud., retir., etc.	5	47	25	9	14	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	4	41	43	8	4	138
No	5	45	26	8	16	658
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	6	48	26	8	12	352
Protestants	4	41	30	9	16	412
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	4	45	29	8	14	630
Expellees, Refugees	7	41	30	10	12	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	3	45	36	10	6	232
No	7	46	31	7	9	150

* As stated in the introduction, this survey was made before the DGB withdrew support from the Adenauer government. This should be kept in mind in interpreting trade union attitudes toward this and other issues reported here.

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PREPONDERANCE OF OPINION LEADERS AS WELL AS WORKERS OPPOSE NEW ELECTIONS NOW ...

New parliamentary elections are considered unnecessary by the preponderance of the opinion leading elements - the better educated, upper income, higher social status groups, and the men. It is also noteworthy that SPD sympathizers split on the issue, as do trade union members, while the laboring groups more frequently oppose than favor new elections. Thus, this demand on the part of the Social Democrat leaders does not receive outstandingly strong support from the elements of the public on whom they customarily rely.

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag necessary now, or not?"

	Necessary	Not necessary	No opinion	No. of Cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	32%	57%	11% ... 100%	385
Women	15	32	53	411
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23	42	35	669
Beyond elementary school	23	57	20	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	22	39	39	375
Middle and upper	24	49	27	421
<u>Income: (per month)</u>				
0 - 299 DM	22	41	37	510
300 - 399 DM	28	42	30	152
400 DM and more	25	60	15	119
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	25	43	32	336
40 years and over	22	45	33	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	39	42	19	212
CDU/CSU	7	64	29	166
FBP/LIP/DVP/BDV	24	58	18	50
Other parties	34	49	17	73
No party	26	39	35	117
Don't know	12	25	63	173
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals:	27	54	19	26
Businessmen	23	51	26	94
White collar workers	26	48	26	110
Skilled laborers	30	41	29	138
Semi-skilled laborers	24	39	37	114
Farmers	10	43	47	100
Not employed: pen., stud., retir., etc.	22	43	35	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	41	45	14	138
No	19	44	37	658
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	20	47	33	352
Protestants	24	42	34	412
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	22	45	33	630
Expellees, Refugees	28	40	32	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	33	58	9	232
No	29	55	16	150

WEIGHT OF OPINION IS THAT SPD WOULD WIN AN ELECTION ...

There are, however, some indications that the public shares the view that there is a general trend away from the Christian Democratic party and toward the Social Democrats. A slight preponderance throughout Western Germany expresses the opinion that SPD would get the most votes if elections were held now for a new Bundestag. This view is most frequently expressed in the US Zone, and least frequently in the British Zone where opinions divide between forecasting SPD and CDU visitors.

"Supposing there should be new elections in West Germany now for the Bundestag, - which party, in your opinion, would get the most votes?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
CDU	28%	32%	22%	28%
SPD	37	33	44	34
FDP	1	1	1	-
KPD	*	*	*	-
SRP	1	1	-	-
Others	1	1	1	3
No opinion	<u>32</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>35</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

... It is important to note that the above finding is the public's appraisal of the prevailing sentiment, and not a measure of the individual's voting intentions. The trend therefore should not be considered as an election prediction.

NOT AS MANY PREFER SPD AS THINK IT WOULD WIN ...

That the public's appraisal of possible voting trends does not necessarily reflect individual party preferences is seen in the fact that fewer say they personally prefer SPD than say they expect that party would get most votes if an election were held now. In the following table, the SPD lead over CDU as far as personal preferences are concerned is not reliably above chance with the relatively limited number of cases involved in the present study.

"Would you mind telling me which party you personally prefer?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
SPD	26%	28%	26%	25%
CDU	21	20	21	25
FDP	6	5	7	6
KPD	1	1	1	1
SRP	2	4	-	-
Others	6	7	7	-
Would not vote	8	8	7	12
None	7	4	10	6
No opinion	<u>23</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>25</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

PREPONDERANCE IN MOST GROUPS FORECAST AN SPD SUCCESS AT THE POLLS ...

Most certain that the Social Democrats would win if new parliamentary elections were held are SPD sympathizers and trade union members, but it is the prevailing view of almost all population elements that this would be the outcome of the voting. Only CDU adherents express preponderant confidence in a CDU success, though relatively more of the opinion leading groups than of their counterparts foresee a CDU victory.

"Supposing there would be new elections in West Germany now for the Bundestag, - which party, in your opinion, would get the most votes?"

	CDU	SPD	FDP	KPD	SRP	Others	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:								
Men	31%	51%	1%	-	1%	2%	14%...100%	385
Women	24	24	1	1	1	1	48	411
Education:								
Elementary school	26	36	1	-	1	1	35	669
Beyond elementary school	35	42	-	-	1	2	20	127
Socio-economic Status:								
Lower	25	33	1	-	1	2	38	375
Middle and upper	30	40	1	-	1	1	27	421
Income (per month):								
0 - 299 DM	26	34	1	-	1	1	37	510
300 - 399 DM	30	43	-	-	-	3	24	152
400 DM and more	37	43	2	-	1	-	17	119
Age:								
Under 40 years	28	42	1	1	-	2	26	336
40 years and over	28	33	1	-	1	1	36	458
Party Preference:								
SPD	18	67	-	-	-	-	15	212
CDU/CSU	54	24	-	-	-	1	21	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	42	12	-	2	-	20	50
Other parties	36	30	-	3	4	5	22	73
No party	21	34	1	-	1	1	42	117
Don't know	17	18	-	-	-	2	63	173
Occupation:								
Professionals	39	46	-	-	-	-	15	26
Businessmen	28	38	2	-	1	1	30	94
White-collar workers	24	45	2	-	-	1	28	110
Skilled laborers	35	43	1	1	-	1	19	138
Semi-skilled laborers	24	37	-	-	1	1	37	114
Farmers	34	18	1	-	-	3	44	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	24	37	-	1	1	1	36	134
Trade Union Membership:								
Yes, member	25	60	-	-	1	2	12	138
No	29	32	1	-	1	1	36	658
Religion:								
Catholics	33	35	-	-	-	1	31	352
Protestants	22	39	2	-	1	2	34	412
Origin:								
Natives	28	38	1	-	1	1	31	630
Expellees, Refugees	25	34	1	1	1	1	37	166
Veteran Status:								
Yes	29	54	-	-	1	3	13	232
No	33	47	2	-	1	-	17	150

II. APPRAISAL OF CHANCELLOR ADENAUER

CHANCELLOR WIDELY KNOWN ...

Since the issue of new elections is in the final analysis one of confidence or lack of confidence in Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Republic and leader of the party in power, the public's knowledge of him and appraisal of his policies further illuminates popular sentiment on the matter.

The fact that Dr. Adenauer is Chancellor of the Federal Republic is known to eight in ten West Germans, with French Zone residents the best informed (88%), and US Zone residents least frequently informed (76%). A small group (6%), probably confused on titles, name the President Dr. Heuss as Chancellor.

"Would you please tell me the name of the Federal Chancellor of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Correct	81%	82%	76%	88%
Incorrect (Heuss)	6	5	8	2
No opinion	13	13	16	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

MORE KNOW ADENAUER THAN KNOW CDU IS PARTY IN POWER...

Knowledge of Dr. Adenauer's incumbency is much better known than is the fact that the party he heads, the Christian Democrat, is the party in power. Somewhat more than half (55%) are able to specify CDU as currently the leading party in the Federal government.

"Would you please tell me which at present is the leading party in the West German Federal government?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
CDU	55%	58%	50%	62%
SPD	14	15	16	5
Others	2	2	2	1
No opinion	29	25	32	32
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

PREPONDERANCE HOLDS ADENAUER REGIME ADVANTAGEOUS TO GERMANY ...

More significant, however, than the extent of awareness of the Chancellor's name is the public's appraisal of his accomplishments. In this respect Dr. Adenauer does very well, the preponderant opinion being that he has served to West Germany's advantage. In fact, three times as many hold this view as the contrary one, that his accomplishments up to now have been to West Germany's disadvantage.

"According to everything you have heard, has what Chancellor Adenauer has done up to now in West Germany been more to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
More to the advantage	51%	50%	54%	47%
More to the disadvantage	14	14	13	13
Neither/nor	13	16	8	15
No opinion	22	20	25	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%

... That Dr. Adenauer personally has considerable prestige is also apparent when attitudes toward his accomplishment are related to attitudes toward satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the Bonn government, and toward the necessity of holding parliamentary elections. As would be expected, both those groups expressing satisfaction with the Bonn government, and those denying the need for new elections are much more inclined to appraise the Chancellor favorably than are those holding contrary views on both issues. However, it is to be noted, that even among those who are critical of the present government and among those who feel there should be new parliamentary elections only minorities take the view that the Chancellor's activities have been on the whole disadvantageous.

Adenauer's actions up to now

	More to the advantage	More to the disadvantage	Neither	No opinion
Satisfied with actions of Bonn government	69%	5%	9%	17%...100%
Dissatisfied	35	29	20	16
New elections <u>not</u> necessary	67	10	11	12
New elections necessary	39	30	20	11

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DR. ADENAUER KNOWN WIDELY IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS ...

Large proportions in all population segments can name Dr. Adenauer as Chancellor, but as would be expected, the groups customarily better informed can do so even more frequently than the public in a whole.

"Would you please tell me the name of the Federal Chancellor of West Germany?"

	Correct	Incorrect	No opinion	No. of Cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	93%	3%	4% ... 100%	385
Women	69	8	23	411
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	78	6	16	669
Beyond elementary school	94	5	1	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	74	6	20	375
Middle and upper	86	5	9	421
<u>Income:(per month)</u>				
0 - 299 DM	78	6	16	510
300 - 399 DM	82	5	13	152
400 DM and more	93	3	4	119
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	82	6	12	336
40 years and over	80	6	14	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	84	7	9	212
CDU/CSU	87	6	7	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	87	4	9	50
Other parties	82	5	13	73
No party	85	4	11	117
Don't know	66	7	27	173
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	92	-	8	26
Businessmen	82	8	10	94
White-collar workers	89	8	6	110
Skilled laborers	85	7	8	138
Semi-skilled laborers	78	3	19	114
Farmers	73	3	24	100
Not employed: pen., stud., retir., etc.	79	7	14	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	86	7	7	138
No	80	5	15	658
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	80	7	13	352
Protestants	80	5	15	412
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	80	6	14	630
Expellees, Refugees	85	6	9	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	96	2	2	232
No	90	4	6	160

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GROUP DIFFERENCES ON KNOWLEDGE OF CDU AS PARTY IN POWER ...

That CDU is the leading party in the West German government is more frequently known by the higher status groups, customarily the better informed groups. It is of interest that a fifth of SPD sympathizers say that party to be the leading one. Whether or not party loyalties led them to misunderstand the question is not clear.

"Would you please tell me which at the present is the leading party in the West German Federal government?"

	CDU	SPD	Others	No opinion	No. of Cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	72%	14%	3%	12% ... 100%	385
Women	40	15	1	44	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	52	15	1	32	669
Beyond elementary school	73	12	3	12	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower	47	15	1	37	375
Middle and upper	62	14	2	22	421
<u>Income:(per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	50	14	1	35	510
300 - 399 DM	62	16	4	18	152
400 DM and more	71	16	1	12	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	55	17	2	26	336
40 years and over	55	13	1	31	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	55	22	5	18	212
CDU/CSU	66	9	1	24	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	66	8	4	22	50
Other parties	62	22	8	8	73
No party	53	11	-	36	117
Don't know	37	11	1	51	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	70	15	4	11	26
Businessmen	62	16	1	21	94
White-collar workers	72	11	1	16	110
Skilled laborers	60	18	-	22	138
Semi-skilled laborers	47	17	1	35	114
Farmers	46	9	4	41	100
Not employed: pen., stud., retir. etc.	49	13	2	36	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	69	18	1	12	138
No	52	14	2	32	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	56	12	2	30	352
Protestants	53	17	2	28	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	57	14	1	28	630
Expellees, Refugees	50	17	2	31	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	74	15	2	9	232
No	68	13	1	18	150

OPINION LEADERS SAY ALEXANDER HAS BENEFITED RATHER THAN HARMED GERMANY ...

Chancellor Adenauer is favorably appraised by the large preponderance of the higher status groups - the better educated, upper income and socio-economic groups, and the men. Christian Democratic party sympathizers are, not unexpectedly, particularly inclined to judge his work as advantageous to Germany. Only minorities in all groups consider that he has done more harm than good; more likely than their counterparts to take this negative view are: affiliates of SPD and of miscellaneous minor parties, trade union members, and the middle income group.

"According to everything you have heard, has what Chancellor Adenauer has done up to now in West Germany been more to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	More to the advantage	More to the disadvantage	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of Cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	58%	16%	14%	12% ...100%	385
Women	44	11	12	33	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	48	15	13	24	669
Beyond elementary school	67	8	12	13	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower	44	18	12	26	375
Middle and upper	57	10	14	19	421
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	48	13	14	25	510
300 - 399 DM	46	21	13	20	152
400 DM and more	72	7	11	10	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	52	13	13	22	336
40 years and over	50	14	13	23	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	50	22	16	12	212
CDU/CSU	82	3	4	11	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	10	14	6	50
Other parties	47	31	11	11	73
No party	35	16	20	29	117
Don't know	31	6	14	49	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	50	12	19	19	26
Businessmen	56	13	13	18	94
White-collar workers	48	15	14	23	110
Skilled laborers	53	18	15	14	138
Semi-skilled laborers	40	18	17	25	114
Farmers	48	10	11	31	100
Not employed: pen., stud., retir. etc.	55	13	7	25	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	48	23	15	14	138
No	51	12	13	24	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	59	10	10	21	352
Protestants	45	15	16	24	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	51	14	12	23	630
Expellees, Refugees	51	11	15	23	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	55	18	14	13	232
No	56	14	15	15	150

C O N F I D E N T I A L

III. AMERICAN-CDU RELATIONS

It has been claimed in certain quarters that among the Western Allies, the Americans have for one reason or another been particularly sympathetic to the Christian Democratic program, and desire its continuance in power. In order to measure public reactions to such claims, three queries on the point were put to respondents.

MINORITY BELIEVES AMERICANS TAKE PARTISAN STAND ...

It is the preponderant opinion among the West German people that the United States follows a hands-off policy in party politics in West Germany. But about a quarter (23%) take the opposite view holding that the Americans support the policies of a particular party.

"Some people say that the occupation powers further certain parties. Are you of the opinion that, e.g., the Americans are supporting the policy of a particular party in West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	23%	25%	21%	22%
No	39	39	42	28
No opinion	38	36	37	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY FAVORED, ACCORDING TO MINORITY ...

And almost all of the minority which asserts that the United States favors one of the West German parties, considers that party to be the Christian Democrats.

"And which party is that?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
CDU	18%	20%	16%	17%
SPD	2	2	3	2
Others	1	1	1	1
No opinion	2	2	1	2
	23%	25%	21%	22%

Moreover, the preponderance of this group believe that the Americans have sufficient interest in the CDU to help the party win the next election.

"Do you believe that the Americans will or will not try to help the Christian Democratic Union come into power in the next elections?" (Asked of those who mentioned "CDU" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Will try	15%	17%	11%	13%
Will not try	2	1	3	2
No opinion	1	2	2	2
	18%	20%	16%	17%

IN ALL GROUPS, VIEW THAT US NOT PARTISAN OUTWEIGHS CONTRARY VIEW ...

It is the preponderant opinion in all groups that the Americans do not support the policies of any particular West German political party, with the men, the better educated and the upper socio-economic groups expressing this opinion more frequently than their counterparts. It is to be noted, however, that large minorities in these groups take the opposite view, as is also the case with adherents of all parties (except CDU) and trade union members.

"Some people say that the occupation powers further certain parties. Are you of the opinion that, e.g., the Americans are supporting the policy of a particular party in West Germany?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	36%	47%	17%...100%	385
Women	11	31	58	411
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	22	38	40	669
Beyond elementary school	31	44	25	127
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	22	34	44	375
Middle and upper	25	42	33	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	22	35	43	510
300 - 399 DM	23	45	32	152
400 DM and more	32	45	23	119
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	22	43	35	336
40 years and over	24	35	41	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	33	42	25	212
CDU/CSU	17	51	32	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	42	34	24	50
Other parties	34	43	23	73
No party	24	34	44	117
Don't know	9	25	66	173
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	31	54	15	26
Businessmen	33	42	25	94
White-collar workers	30	35	35	110
Skilled laborers	23	50	27	138
Semi-skilled laborers	21	39	40	114
Farmers	16	34	50	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	22	28	50	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	33	45	22	138
No	21	37	42	658
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	19	43	38	352
Protestants	25	35	40	412
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	23	39	38	630
Expellees, Refugees	25	35	40	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	38	47	15	232
No	32	47	21	150

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ALL POPULATION GROUPS NAME CDU ...

Of the minority asserting that the US takes a partisan stand among West German parties, the preponderance of all groups names CDU as the party whose policies are favored. Most frequently naming CDU are the opinion leading segments of the population, as well as SPD affiliates and trade union members.

"And which party is that?"

	CDU	SPD	Others	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	29%	3%	1%	3%	64%...100%	385
Women	8	1	1	1	89	411
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	17	2	1	2	78	669
Beyond elementary school	24	2	2	2	70	127
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower	15	2	2	3	78	375
Middle and upper	21	2	-	1	76	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	17	2	1	2	78	510
300 - 399 DM	20	2	1	-	77	152
400 DM and more	22	5	2	3	68	119
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	17	2	2	1	78	336
40 years and over	19	2	1	2	76	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	28	4	1	1	66	212
CDU/CSU	14	-	1	2	83	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	36	2	-	4	58	50
Other parties	23	3	1	7	66	73
No party	18	2	2	-	78	117
Don't know	5	1	-	2	92	173
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	31	-	-	-	69	26
Businessmen	27	3	-	3	67	94
White-collar workers	26	1	2	1	70	110
Skilled laborers	15	3	1	4	77	138
Semi-skilled laborers	18	2	-	1	79	114
Farmers	12	1	3	-	84	100
Not employed; pens., stud., retir., etc.	16	3	-	4	77	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	25	4	3	1	67	138
No	17	2	1	2	78	658
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	15	3	-	1	81	352
Protestants	20	2	1	2	75	412
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	19	2	1	1	77	630
Expellees, Refugees	18	2	1	4	75	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	32	3	1	3	61	232
No	25	3	1	3	68	150

Of the few who say the US supports CDU it is the weight of opinion among all population groups in the minority queried that the Americans would try to help the party come into power in the next elections, with the men, trade union members and SPD adherents more frequently expressing the view than counterpart groups.

"Do you believe that the Americans will or will not try to help the Christian Democratic Union come into power in the next elections?" (Asked of those who mentioned "CDU" in original question)

	Will try	Will not try	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	25%	3%	2%	70%...100%	385
Women	7	1	1	91	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	15	2	2	81	669
Beyond elementary school	18	4	2	76	127
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	12	1	2	85	375
Middle and upper	16	2	2	80	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	14	1	2	83	510
300 - 399 DM	16	4	1	79	152
400 DM and more	18	1	3	78	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	12	3	3	82	336
40 years and over	17	1	1	81	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	23	2	2	73	212
CDU/CSU	12	1	1	86	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	6	4	64	50
Other parties	19	3	1	77	73
No party	15	3	1	81	117
Don't know	3	1	1	95	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	19	8	4	69	26
Businessmen	23	1	2	74	94
White-collar workers	21	4	2	73	110
Skilled laborers	12	1	2	85	138
Semi-skilled laborers	16	2	-	82	114
Farmers	10	-	2	88	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	13	1	2	84	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	22	1	2	75	138
No	13	2	2	83	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	12	2	1	85	352
Protestants	16	2	2	80	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	15	1	2	82	630
Expellees, Refugees	13	3	1	83	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	25	4	3	68	232
No	20	3	2	75	150

A BALANCE SHEET ON WESTERN
INFORMATION EFFORTS

Extent of German Accord With Western Viewpoints
on ~~Collection of~~ East-West Issues

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OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

RECORDS AND ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

The present study by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, is an attempt to measure to what extent the views of the West German people are in accord with the American position on a series of major East-West issues.

An indirect approach was utilized in assessing German views in order to eliminate any biases that might be introduced through awareness of the purpose of the study. Respondents were simply asked a series of open questions bearing upon significant political issues each of which could be answered in terms espoused by the West or in ways that would indicate that the Western thesis on the issue had not been absorbed.

In determining the extent of accordance/non-accordance with the American position, a certain amount of subjective judgment was required. Therefore, as a reading of specific reported comments will indicate, it was sometimes necessary to make what may seem to be arbitrary distinctions particularly among those replies categorized as "In accord with the American views" and "Ambiguous." Notwithstanding this difficulty, however, it is thought that the general division of replies on the various issues is approximately the correct one.*

In the survey, which was conducted throughout West Germany during the past summer, the 800 case probability sample established by RAS for rapid coverage of West German opinions was used. For comparative purposes a 200 case probability sample was gathered in West Berlin between June 6th and 16th.

Interviewing was performed under German auspices by DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main), a newly established German opinion research organization under contract to RAS. High standards of work are assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that most of the members are ex-RAS interviewers with several years of experience in the techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The salient finding of this study is that the Western case as represented by twelve issues relating to the East-West struggle commands on the average less than a majority support (44%) from the West German public. This is not to say that more than half of the West German actively disagree in general with the American or Western point of view. Only about one in ten (11%) on the average express views directly out of accord with the American position on the issues, and the stand of a similar number (13%) may or may not be in opposition. The primary problem appears to be ignorance, as on the average a third of the West German public are unable to advance any opinions on the issues.

However, whether blocked by opposition or ignorance, the West cannot be confidently said to have won the battle for German allegiance if on a series of issues so fundamental they cannot muster majority expression of the viewpoints they espouse. The informational efforts of the West cannot be said to have yet achieved real control of the German propaganda situation if a combination of ignorance and possible-to-clear opposition outweighs on the average the extent of Western adherence on a series of crucial issues.

- * Two independent checks were used in categorizing the replies. First, interviewers in the field registered replies as "In accordance" "Not in accordance," or "Ambiguous," and also wrote down the respondents' comments verbatim. These verbatim comments were then independently classified by the analysis section at RAS headquarters. The correlation of the two independent judgments was very close.

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On specific issues the minimum extent of accordance with the Western explanation of the situation is found on the question of responsibility for the continued division of Germany. On this issue only a quarter (24%) gave answers which could be classified as in accordance with the Western viewpoints. Clearly non-Western answers were obtained from 30 per cent and possibly non-Western from an additional 15 per cent. The remaining 31 per cent expressed no opinion.

That such a small proportion of West Germans come up with opinions in accord with the viewpoint of the West on an issue so fundamental is of course a matter that warrants concern. The findings derive additional significance from the fact that the approach employed in the present study is probably somewhat more subtle and indirect than any previously employed to measure reactions on the unity issue, since it is based upon open inquiries which give no hint that the respondent is being tested for the extent of his adherence to Eastern or Western viewpoints.

One of the more important suggestions as to optimum utilization of Western informational efforts, which emanates from the present study, derives from the fact that extent of pro-Western interpretations is found to vary considerably even between issues where support on one to a considerable degree logically implies support on the other. So the suggestion emerges that information specialists could profitably devote some of their efforts to tie up related themes, using those with which there is already general accordance with the Western viewpoint as a spring-board, so to speak, to engender wider acceptance on issues on which there is currently less agreement with the Western position.

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I. ISSUES RELATED TO THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONTINUED SPLIT OF GERMANY

The question: "In your opinion, whose fault is it that East and West Germany are not united yet?"

AMERICAN VIEWPOINT FAILS TO PREVAIL ...

On the issue of the responsibility for the continued division of Germany - one of the most significant propaganda areas in the Cold War as it applies to West Germany - the American efforts to inform and convince have fallen far short of their mark.

Only a minority (24%) of the West German public ascribes the continued split between East and West Germany solely to Russian or East Zone insincerity and intransigence, and may thus be considered to hew closely to the American position.

Three out of ten (30%) clearly do not agree with the US viewpoint on this issue. These people cannot be said to follow the Communist line as they do not absolve Russia from blame. They do, however, place equal if not greater responsibility on the US (or the West generally) for the divided state of affairs. They say, for example, "It's the fault of America and Russia and their political differences - Capitalism and Bolshevism - we Germans would have gotten together long ago"; or "The real fault lies with America, they sold almost all of Germany to Russia and today Russia naturally makes conditions that affect America as well as Germany."

In addition to the group clearly not in accord with the American thesis on the present issue, 15 per cent of the West German public assess responsibility for the continued split in an ambiguous manner. Illustrative of this are two typical comments: "Communism and democracy will never unite;" "In my opinion it's the difference between America and Russia." The emphasis which this group tends to place on irreconcilable, ideological differences is in line with the American position; but their failure to render value judgments, to distinguish between ideologies makes it impossible to consider them as in agreement with the American position.

Finally, three in ten (31%) are unable to advance an opinion on who is responsible for the continued division of Germany. Since the fact of a divided Germany directly affects almost all Germans, and since the American position on the assignment of responsibility is so clear and unequivocal, whatever the reasons, the failure of the American information campaign to reach so large a segment of the population must be considered as a matter of some concern. Though, as will subsequently be seen, the people who are unable to offer any explanation for the split are generally members of the "hard to reach" groups, they nevertheless comprise population elements which unless informed and convinced must be considered on the minus side of the propaganda ledger since in any case they are not espousing the American stand.

West Berlin shows the largest proportion of favorable answers on the present issue, but even in this area where pro-Western sentiments are generally at their maximum in Western controlled Germany, less than a majority (45%) advance interpretations which can be considered to be in accord with the American or Western viewpoint.

Summary Table of Division of Replies

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
In accord with American views	24%	28%	19%	26%	45%
Not in accord	30	28	35	20	28
Ambiguous	15	14	19	13	18
No opinion	31	30	27	41	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

COMMENTS LISTED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

The question: "In your opinion, whose fault is it that East and West Germany are not united yet?"

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

It is the fault of the Russians: The Russians - they don't want the unification of Germany for political reasons; it's the fault of the Russians they want to use force to prevent a unification, because otherwise Communism in Germany would be finished; Russia is opposed to a unification of Germany since she doesn't want a free Germany; because of the stubbornness of the Russians and their policy; it's the fault of the Russians, they don't want us to become great again; etc.

15% 14% 14% 18% 31%

Communism in East prevents it: Because of Communism; what the Russians want to do in the East Zone is bad for the West Zone; the Communists want to suppress all people in Germany; over there the dictatorship of the Kremlin rules - we over here are free and live in a democracy - we can't acknowledge the Communist doctrine; the government over there wants a united Germany after the Russians pattern - this is unbearable for us - if there were free elections in all of Germany we would be united again; the people are systematically indoctrinated against the West; the East doesn't want a free and independent Germany; I suppose it's the fault of the East; etc.

7 10 4 7 11

It is the fault of the East Zone politicians: Freedom and independence are conceptions which are impossible under the rule of Ulbricht, Pieck and Grotewohl; the main fault lies with Pieck, Grotewohl, and their partners, because they do not represent the people and oppose free elections - if they were true people's representatives the situation would be different; I always think that they are traitors who don't want it - they are not interested in the general welfare of the East Zone population; because the Communist rulers in the East Zone won't give in; etc.

$\frac{2}{24\%}$ $\frac{4}{28\%}$ $\frac{1}{19\%}$ $\frac{1}{26\%}$ $\frac{3}{45\%}$

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WEST	British	US	French	WEST
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	BERLIN

NOT IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

It is the fault of the occupation powers (East-West) and their differences: It's the fault of America and Russia and the political contrasts - capitalism and Bolshivism - we Germans would have gotten together long ago; if we did not have an occupation, Germany would be united - it's the fault of the occupation; the political tension between America and Russia - the Russians do this and the Americans do that; they can't agree because their policies go in the opposite direction - both believe in doing the right thing but an agreement is impossible because of their differences; neither of the two powers wants to achieve an agreement since both of them are only out for their own advantage; one is influenced by the East, the other by the West - both won't give in; because we are occupied - they really don't want to - the Russians and the "Amis;" each zone is influenced by the respective occupation power - since they can't agree - unification is impossible for us; the Russians as well as the Western powers want to occupy all of Germany, therefore none of them wants peace; etc.

24%	23%	28%	14%	20%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

The people and the politicians of both zones oppose unification: The different ideologies of the people in East and West Germany; the politicians of both zones - they think they'll lose by it; etc.

3	3	4	4	4
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It is the fault of the Americans since they let the Russians get in: The real fault lies with the Americans - they sold almost all of Germany to the Russians and today the Russians naturally make conditions for a unification which not only affects Germany but the Americans as well; the Americans permitted the Russians to occupy East Germany; the Americans, because they kept Berlin for themselves, therefore the Russians got this far; etc.

2	1	3	1	3
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The West (America, West German government, etc.) do not want unification: The Americans oppose unification; the government in Bonn makes no attempts to solve the problem; etc.

$\frac{1}{30\%}$	$\frac{2}{29\%}$ **	$\frac{*}{35\%}$	$\frac{1}{20\%}$	$\frac{1}{28\%}$
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* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

AMBIGUOUS

Their ideologies are different (Fairly neutral statements): Those are two ideologies which don't go together; Communism rules in the East Zone, democracy in the West - those are two ideologies which can't get along side by side; in my opinion it's the difference between America and Russia; etc.

9% 8% 11% 6% 5%

Western and non-Western statements: Because the SED gets the instructions and has to obey the Russians - the Russians won't give up their territory - that Germany is not united yet is the fault of the victorious powers and not Germany's; America and Russia - the Russians don't want to admit it but they probably want to keep their part of the country; that's the fault of the big ones - capitalism and Communism don't get along; etc.

2 2 4 2 8

Other opinions: We refugees should never have come here - I have never really approached the question - due to the split between East and West nobody can do what he likes; the Americans, since they don't want us to come under Russian rule - but as things look now we'll come under Russian rule anyway after a re-unification; all of it is due to the war; etc.

$\frac{4}{15\%}$ $\frac{4}{14\%}$ $\frac{4}{19\%}$ $\frac{5}{13\%}$ $\frac{5}{18\%}$

REASONS FOR THE REJECTION OF EAST ZONE UNITY PROPOSALS

The question: "Why do you think all offers by East Germany (Grotewohl) to unite Germany were refused?"

MUCH UNCERTAINTY ON ISSUE ...

West German opinion on the reasons for the Federal government's rejections of the various unity proposals emanating from the East Zone are considerably more in accord with American views than they are on the issue of the responsibility for German disunity. But here, too, the American informational efforts (and presumably also those of the West German government) cannot be considered eminently successful.* The problem appears to be not so much one of hostility toward as ignorance of Western arguments since an almost negligible proportion (7%) hold views sharply differing from the American position. But whereas two fifths (40%) are in accord with the US stand on the matter, a half (48%) have no opinion whatsoever to offer on this widely publicized and highly important question. (In addition, five per cent hold views of uncertain orientation.) Thus a preponderance of the West German people could be considered as not sharing the American viewpoint on the issue.

Distrust of everything east of the Iron Curtain plays the main role in shaping those attitudes which are in keeping with the Western stand on the Grotewohl proposals. The lack of free elections in the East Zone, Communist plans for conquest and the insincerity of the Russian engineered proposals are cited as making acceptance impossible by most of the forty per cent who share American views on this issue.

The very few (7%) who diverge from the American position hold, for the most part, that America alone or both the rival powers, or sinister special interests, prevent East and West Germans from getting together to talk unity.

The most disturbing group from the point of America's information program is undoubtedly the 48% without opinion. Although the East made few adherents with its propaganda move many of those it missed have obviously not been garnered by the West's rebuttal.

Only in Berlin where a large majority (70%) shares the Western view and few are unaware of it (19%) can the reactions on this issue be looked on as satisfactory.

Summary Table of Division of Replies

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone WEST BERLIN

In accord with					
American views	40%	41%	40%	32%	70%
Not in accord	7	6	10	4	5
Unambiguous	5	6	6	2	6
No opinion	48	47	44	62	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* This question was asked before the latest Grotewohl proposals on September 15th.

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMENTS LISTED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

The question: "Why do you think all offers by East Germany (Grotewohl) to unite Germany were refused?"

IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

The East intends to bring all of Germany under Communist rules: Because East Germany wants everything to be Communist which cannot be accepted by West Germany; Communism is not for us; because it was a one-sided offer which considered the wishes of the Soviets - besides, it would have meant that West Germany would have been absorbed by Communism too; because otherwise the Communist system would spread here in the West; the offers were one-sided - the Eastern regime is too dictatorial they want to get the rest of Germany too; Grotewohl wants a Communist Germany; they endanger Germany and her democratic freedoms; etc.

13% 15% 11% 12% 22%

The offers are dishonest - the Russians are behind them: Because the West German government knows for sure that the Russians are behind it; the offers are only in the interests of the Russians - the Russians are behind all the offers; these offers were dishonest - they were not the opinions of the East Zone government but that of the Russians who promoted them; the attitude of the Russians - the offers are not acceptable to us since they represent Russian aims; one can't believe the East - they promise much, but they can't keep it if the Russians don't want them to; because the offers did not come from East Germany but from Stalin - if they were accepted, our situation would be similar to that of Korea; etc.

12 13 12 7 24

The East does not want or permit free elections - agreement with a dictatorship is impossible: The East Zone government refused to hold free elections for all of Germany; because Grotewohl does not want free elections; the East Zone representatives do not want to have free elections for Germany - therefore it is not acceptable to the West Zone government; because they are not acceptable to us - we don't want to have anything to do with the SED - and they can't vote over there; these offers are not genuine - the whole peace drive of the East is dishonest and the so-called elections over there are held under supervision; Grotewohl etc. cannot represent East Germany - they were not elected; they do not want to negotiate with Grotewohl since he was not elected by the people; because the West German government does not consider the East German government as representative of the people and therefore refuses to negotiate with them; because the East itself, that is to say, the population in the East, did not make the offer; there just isn't a democratic government in the East yet; here in the West democracy reigns and over there Communism, therefore the West has to refuse; etc.

12 12 11 11 22

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

The proposals are not acceptable: Because the Russians make demands which the Western powers won't meet; the Grotewohl proposals are not acceptable to us - he wants to introduce East Zone conditions everywhere in Germany; because we cannot accept them; etc.

5% 4% 7% 2% 9%

Other opinions: Because Russia won't let our POW's return - our government doesn't want to have anything to do with the East; freedom does not exist under the Communists - Communist East Germany does not know what free human beings are - they want to standardize everything; then we'd be badly off - the Russians would take all of our machinery away from us and the Americans won't be able to help us; etc.

$\frac{1}{43\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{45\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{42\%}$ ** $\frac{2}{32\%}$ ** $\frac{*}{77\%}$ **

NOT IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

Neither side wants to agree: Because of the stubbornness on both sides; the Communist idea and the Western conception of democracy are not comparable - each pursues selfish and different interests; because America and Russia don't understand each other and cannot agree; because they don't want to have the same conditions here as in the East Zone - they all are just fighting for their positions here as well as in the East; etc.

3% 2% 4% 1% 2%

Special groups oppose it: The bigwigs here are afraid that they'll be dethroned if things go on as they are and the little people are not aided - this way Communism will make its way anyhow; because the Catholic Church in West Germany, which is also highly represented in the government, is not interested in a unification; because all of the politicians are afraid that they'll lose something by it; etc.

2 1 2 2 1

West Germany is too much under American influence: Because West Germany (the politicians in charge) share the American point of view completely and therefore refuse an agreement with East Germany; so America can have the say here and tie our hands so we won't side with the Russians one of these days; America has interests in Europe and fears that she might lose out if there was an agreement with the East; the Americans probably won't approve of it and since the Federal government is a puppet of the Americans they have no initiative of their own; USA and England won't let Germany become great again and oppose a strong united Germany, therefore they refused these proposals; etc.

1 1 2 1 1

(cont'd next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
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Both governments act according to the orders of the respective occupying powers: Grotewohl is under the influence of Russia which is disapproved of by the Americans - West Germany is under American influence and therefore the demands are not accepted; what can Grotewohl do? he has to act on Russian orders just as our government has to do what the Western powers proscribe - both governments, East as well as West, have to do what they are ordered to; etc.

1%	1%	1%	-%	1%
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Other opinions: I don't really know - one should at least have listened to what the East had to say and not refuse right away; the offers are all dishonest and we have to oppose Soviet policies, but perhaps we'll be saved by the East one of these days, who knows?; etc.

$\frac{1}{8\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{6\%}$	$\frac{1}{10\%}$	$\frac{-}{4\%}$	$\frac{*}{5\%}$
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AMBIGUOUS

Pro and con views: I don't know why - it would have been better if they had asked the people first - that's all I can say to this; there was always something in back of these offers; I could say something to this, if I concerned myself with politics - Adenauer favors remilitarization - Grotewohl has to represent the Russian point of view which naturally opposes a German military - I already said - I don't concern myself with politics; etc.

2%	1%	3%	2%	2%
----	----	----	----	----

Would have meant accepting the Oder-Neisse line: Because the West can't agree to the conditions - the East demands acknowledgement of the Eastern border which is suicide for us; as long as the Oder-Neisse line remains in existence, no agreement will be possible; the demands of the Soviets were not acceptable - they want us to acknowledge the Oder-Neisse line; the Russians insist on the Oder-Neisse line; etc.

*	1	*	-	3
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Other opinions: These men are not capable of ruling Germany; fear of Communism - besides West Germany, none of them favors peace; etc.

$\frac{3}{5\%}$	$\frac{4}{6\%}$	$\frac{3}{6\%}$	$\frac{-}{2\%}$	$\frac{1}{6\%}$
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

WHY GERMANS QUIT THE EAST ZONE

The question: "What are the main reasons that Germans leave the East Zone?"

LARGE MAJORITY IN ACCORD WITH WESTERN VIEW ...

The refugees from the East Zone appear to provide a most effective symbol to West Germans of the fact and consequences of Soviet tyranny. The West German public is so largely in accord with the Western views on why people flee from East Germany that the issue presents little or no problem to the US information program.

Four fifths (79%) share the American view that lack of personal and political freedom and economic misery compel the refugees to flee to the West. Noteworthy also is that considerably more stress is given to the loss of liberty (31%) than to economic distress (11%) as a reason for flight, with 31% mentioning both. In Berlin this is even more marked with three fifths (59%) referring exclusively to lack of freedom as compared with only five per cent who give economic hardship only as a cause for flight from the East, and 20% who see both as contributing.

Only a tiny fraction (2%) diverge from the Western view, having apparently swallowed the line which East Zone propagandists use in an attempt to explain away the damaging effect of the stream of refugees: they say the refugees represent only criminal and reactionary elements.

A fifth (19%) take views which cannot be established as clearly in keeping with or differing from the Western view. For example, they state that refugees "differ with the government and are afraid of being arrested" but fail to make any judgment on this state of affairs.

Only one German out of ten has no opinion on this matter.

Summary Table of Divisions of Opinion

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
In accord with American views	79%	80%	80%	76%	89%
Not in accord	2	2	1	2	1
Ambiguous	9	10	9	5	7
No opinion	10	8	10	17	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

C O N F I D E N T I A L

COMMENTS LISTED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

The question: "What are the main reasons that Germans leave the East Zone?"

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

Because of political oppression and restriction of personal freedom (without mention of economic misery): They are scared of the Russians who menace anyone who is not a Communist, people live in permanent fear; people reject the Russian methods, they leave the Zone because of political persecution; to escape the authoritarian methods of the East Zone government; dictatorship is very strong - many leave for political reasons, people are very frightened, I saw it myself; no freedom in the East Zone, many people cannot bear these conditions; because of restriction of individual freedom, social and political reasons; because of the disorder, insecurity of their life; afraid of being persecuted, don't conform with the regime; to escape tyranny; etc.

31% 34% 29% 25% 59%

Because of both political oppression and economic misery: Because of fear of Russians and Communists. Fear of forced labor (uranium mines), the economic situation is better in the West; living in the East Zone is too bad, they don't feel free, people are politically persecuted, that is why they come here; are worse off with food than people are here, fear of being forced to work in the mines; they have a dictatorship, no free opinion and living is so poor; better economic conditions in the West, more confidence in safety and order; because of political reasons and of food; to escape misery and force; etc.

31 31 33 27 20

Because of bad economic conditions (without mention of loss of freedom): They are badly off in everything, food and clothing; more opportunities to earn their living in the West Zone; life will be better in West Zone, they may find more food and higher wages; social conditions are better in West Germany, they can make a better living, they get more; they can earn more and live better in West Zone; because of the rations; of bad feeding, high prices; they get more food here than the Russians give them; etc.

11 10 13 13 5

Because of bad conditions in the East (general): Bad treatment; they are worse off than people are here; are treated badly, cannot make a living, want to re-unite with the West, are fed up with the East, no decent way of life is possible there; they have enough of Communism, it is not a bit like paradise as the Communists keep claiming; etc.

$\frac{6}{79\%}$ $\frac{5}{80\%}$ $\frac{5}{80\%}$ $\frac{11}{76\%}$ $\frac{5}{89\%}$

C O N F I D E N T I A L

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

NOT IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

The refugees are self seeking and criminals:
People who have something against them come here and pretend to be refugees and earn more than we do; they don't want to fit in politically, and part of them are criminals; many escape because of criminal offences, to find shelter in the West; because they are guilty of something, perhaps they committed burglaries, I hear that people also flee to the East Zone to escape the police here; etc.

$\frac{2\%}{2\%}$ $\frac{2\%}{2\%}$ $\frac{1\%}{1\%}$ $\frac{2\%}{2\%}$ $\frac{1\%}{1\%}$

AMBIGUOUS

Neutral answers on conditions: Because of the food, they are forced to work there - they are sent to the mines, have a different living here in the West; they believe they have better opportunity to get a living in the West; maybe after all they don't like it much over there; they think life is better here; but one doesn't know what reality is like over there, they believe West Berlin or West Germany is paradise; etc.

4% 5% 4% 1% 2%

Neutral impersonal answers about political disagreement and fear of the Russians: Because they are of different opinions and afraid of being arrested; they did not conform with the government's orders which are indeed a bit strict; mainly because they disagree with the East Zone program; scared of the Russians; etc.

2% 2% 3% 1% 7%

Pro and con views: They fear another war, try to escape it, people do talk of war; to act as agents; the greater number of the refugees are agents, in my opinion; some may have to flee because of political reasons, but mainly they are agents; etc.

$\frac{3}{9\%}$ $\frac{3}{10\%}$ $\frac{3}{10\%}$ $\frac{3}{5\%}$ $\frac{5}{14\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THE PURPOSE OF THE VOLKSPOLIZEI

The question: "What do you think is the main purpose of the People's Police in the East Zone?"

HALF OF THE POPULATION NOT YET CONVINCED BY WESTERN CASE ...

Highlighting the problem of reaching, not to say convincing, a majority of the German people as to the Western case in the East-West struggle are their reactions to a query on the purpose of the East Zone Volkspolizei (People's Police). Only half of the West German population explain their purpose in a fashion that accords with the Western interpretation. A fifth either diverge entirely from or are in doubtful accordance with the Western views on the aims of the People's Police, and a third fail to have any opinion at all about the matter.

The views of those sharing the Western interpretation (51%) are unequivocal - they see the Volkspolizei as an instrument for potential military aggression against the West and for the oppression of the East German people. Five per cent give ambiguous answers which in no case show marked accordance with American and Western views.

Among the minority (15%) clearly not in accord with the Western view, the prevailing reaction is that the Volkspolizei are just another police force. There is scarcely any echo of the Communist line that the purpose of the police is to guard against "capitalist - imperialist" agents. Evident in most of the comments of the group is not so much an acceptance of the claims of the East as a thorough lack of acceptance or unawareness of the Western viewpoint.

Thus it appears that 15 per cent of the population see no difference between the purposes of the para-military East Zone police and any other police force. Added to this group are the 29% who fail to have any opinion at all on their purpose. This means that American and West German information efforts have made little or no impression among two fifths of the West German population despite the fact that the Volkspolizei provide such clear and close proof of what Soviet domination means.

Only in West Berlin is the situation otherwise. Here where the People's Police are neighbors, so to speak, an overwhelming majority (79%) describe their functions in accordance with the American view of them.

Summary Table of Division of Replies

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
In accord with American views	51%	53%	50%	41%	79%
Not in accord	15	15	17	15	13
Ambiguous	5	4	4	10	4
No opinion	29	28	29	34	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMENTS LISTED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

The question: "What do you think is the main purpose of the People's Police in the East Zone?"

WEST	British	US	French	WEST
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	BERLIN

IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

It is actually a disguised army that will, one day, fight against the West. We have to face the fact that the Volkspolizei will shoot at their German brothers one day; I think they are a secret army, something similar to our former Bereitschaftspolizei and the old post-World War Wehrmacht; they are trained for the war which the Russians will make; these police will overrun Western Europe just as happened in Korea; the Volkspolizei serves the same purpose as the North Koreans, once the situation has developed here similarly, they are much too big an army to act as a mere frontier guard; they are an army, the child wants a name, equipped with heavy guns - they are cannon-fodder for Soviet purposes in case of an attack on West Germany; the Russians need well-trained troops, to be used against the West or Berlin; the East plans war against the West: this is no police but a military troop; this army plays a double part, one of police, the main part will be attacking West Germany in order to cause revolution; hidden militarism of course; the East Zone re-arms and the Volkspolizei is the new army; etc.

35%	38%	31%	30%	51%
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To suppress the people, to limit political freedom and to prevent any revolutionary acts against the government. It is a kind of Gostapo or SS, we have known it before; as a means of pressure to keep the people's opinion down to one level; to keep the people in check, to avoid friendly feelings for the West, the population grows scared and unfree; like the SS, the Volkspolizei is to scare the people and to control them politically; to enslave and suppress the people; freedom is not tolerated in the East Zone; Hitler also kept the population in check politically; to maintain the Communist regime; to establish a power able to act by force of arms against those whose opinions differ from the East Zone government's prescriptions; that people become scared of the police and remain faithful to the government; a formation with military training modelled after the Red Army and intended to stop insurrections or danger of subversive action against the government, and besides act as police; the Russians use them to make the East Zone Communist, the VoPo keeps everybody in check; they have to prevent a revolution; etc.

10	9	11	8	13
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

It is an army suppressing the East Zone population and at the same time preparing war against the West: Call it Volkspolizei or not, it serves as everything, it is political and also an army; to pillage the population and as soldiers in case the Russians attack us; to form a Praetorian guard and an active military troop of Bolshevism; to keep their own people down who don't agree with it and also it is a masked army of hirelings for the Russians, to be used in an eventual war; and to make the East Zone population pliant to Russian purposes; to victimize the workers. The laborers have to be kept under control: if it comes to war, they will have to fight against the West; to get as many soldiers as possible and to keep the people under control; they serve as agents, they are trained men for the East's purposes; to be used as an army by the Russians; it is an army actually, to make their own people and the West keep quiet; etc.

6%	7%	8%	4%	15%
51%	54%**	50%	42%**	79%

NOT IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS.

It is like any other police - maintains law and order in East Zone; Police are necessary, enough criminals are about; to protect mankind; I suppose it is the same kind of police we have here, though they say it is an army, but one must not believe everything, much is propaganda and agitation, here just as there; to maintain peace and order - or what else?; to serve the purpose any police does; in the East Zone as in any other state, order has to be maintained; same purpose as police has everywhere; to give a certain security to the East Zone, to maintain peace in the country; to maintain order in East Zone as police have to do elsewhere; to maintain public safety; etc.

13%	11%	16%	15%	11%
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To guard the frontiers and to prevent people from crossing the border: So nobody can cross the border from East to West and vice versa; to watch that nobody crosses the border; that no East German crosses the border to the West; that nobody can cross from this side; they form the frontier guard against the West; prevent the Germans from crossing the border illegally; etc.

2	3	2	-	*
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(cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
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To maintain peace and to safeguard against capitalistic sabotage: To maintain peace, to prevent the "Amis" and the British from colliding in Berlin, they are police; for security, a "workers" state with leftist and anti-capitalistic tendencies is easily exposed to attacks - I take it from the RIAS reports that the West has agents over there; they need police to protect themselves against sabotage; etc.

$\frac{1\%}{16\%**}$	$\frac{2\%}{16\%**}$	$\frac{5\%}{18\%**}$	$\frac{5\%}{15\%}$	$\frac{2\%}{13\%}$
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AMBIGUOUS

Pro- and con- views: To fetch the youth from the streets, rather like any other Wehrmacht, so big a police force is like an army; the Russians usually make other people fight for them; I don't know the purpose, many were forced to join, many joined to get a job; as a police they maintain order, and also a disguised army in case of war against us; dual purpose; 1. peace and order, 2. an armed force with military equipment, to overrun Germany eventually and to force Communism upon us; a kind of Wehrmacht but under different name, to watch peace and order, if necessary they will be used; etc.

2%	1%	3%	6%	2%
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Neutral views: To secure and to safeguard the East government; they underwent military training to protect the people and the Russians in case of war in which they will be used straight away; to prevent riots; etc.

2	1	1	3	1
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Other opinions: It is much rumoured, for instance that Volkspolizei men be used to work in coal mines; that is the Volkspolizei and here in Lichterfeld they call people up; etc.

$\frac{1}{5\%}$	$\frac{2}{4\%}$	$\frac{*}{4\%}$	$\frac{1}{10\%}$	$\frac{1}{4\%}$
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	------------------	-----------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE OF PARIS DEPUTIES CONFERENCE

The question: "In your opinion, for what reasons were the Four Big Powers unable to reach an agreement at the Paris conference so far?"

ONLY MINORITY IN ACCORD WITH WESTERN CASE ...

The Deputy Foreign Ministers' conference held in Paris during the past summer has significance from the information point of view not for its accomplishments or lack of accomplishments, but because it represents an effort, in a long series of such efforts, of the Western powers to resolve salient issues with the Communist powers.

Considered so, the large preponderance of the West German public do not share the American viewpoint that the Deputies' meeting in Paris failed, as all previous Four Power conferences have failed, because of Soviet intransigence.

Only a quarter of the West German people express views that are in general accordance with the US position on reasons for the failure of the conference. The comments are a variation on the theme that it is impossible to do business with the Russians.

Non-accordance with American views, which are held by a fairly large minority (17%), centers very much around the same arguments advanced by those three in ten West Germans who attributed main responsibilities for Germany's continued division to the United States and the West. (See page 1.) Again the charges made against the West and especially the US are those of self interest and particularly inability to compromise. Almost all of those who are out of accord with the American stand see those traits as characteristic of both sides, whereas hardly any indicate a direct impact of Russian propaganda by attributing them solely to the West. Both these results and those on the issue of German disunity indicate that doubts about America's ability to compromise and sacrifice her own interests are held by enough West Germans to represent a problem for the attention of American information efforts.

A similar attitude is apparent among the fifteen per cent with ambiguous views. Although stressing irreconcilable clashes of ideologies and interests they, for the most part, avoid giving any blame or credit to either side.

The largest single group (42%), however, has no opinion at all on the reasons for the failure of the Paris conference. In view of the way the Paris meeting became buried in the news during the prolonged and fruitless negotiations, this reaction is perhaps understandable. It is, nevertheless, another illustration of majority lack of information or understanding of the American viewpoint on the important issue of East-West relations. That the American position on the failure of the Paris conference can be put across is shown by the West Berlin results. Here a majority (59%) share the Western view and only 16 per cent are without opinions - less than half as many as in West Germany.

Summary Table of Division of Replies

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
In accord with American views	25%	26%	21%	21%	59%
Not in accord	17	19	16	13	11
Ambiguous	15	12	19	18	12
No opinion	43	41	44	48	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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CONFIDENTIAL
COMMENTS LISTED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

The question: "In your opinion, for what reasons were the Four Big Powers unable to reach an agreement at the Paris conference? So far?"

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

The Russians do not want an agreement: The East works against it again and again - they want the power and the others are supposed to respect their wishes; the Russians don't want to give in - they are not interested in reaching an agreement; the Russians only talk about it, yet in reality they work against any kind of agreement; the Western powers had the best intentions of reaching an agreement with Russia - but the Russians play false and don't want to agree since they want to conquer the world; everything the Western powers want the Russians won't accept - they always drive a wedge between everything; etc.

16% 18% 15% 14% 38%

The Russians want to win time - they use delaying tactics: The Russians want to win time until they are ready for a war; it couldn't be any other way - just their tactics to win time - the East wants to get everything by way of the cold war; they just want to win time in order to rearm against the West; etc.

5 5 4 3 12

The Russians demands are not acceptable: Because the Russians stubbornly insist on their demands and refuse to compromise; because the Russians make demands which are not acceptable to a democracy; etc.

4 6 3 3 11

It is mere Russian propaganda: Paris is just a stage for Russian propaganda performances; because the Russians just make speeches for propaganda reasons, so they can spread their ideas; Mr. Gromyko is apparently not interested in it - they just want to hinder everything and make propaganda; etc.

* * - 1 4

Other opinions: Because the Russians just play with the others; etc.

$\frac{1}{26\%}$ $\frac{1}{30\%}$ $\frac{1}{23\%}$ $\frac{2}{23\%}$ $\frac{1}{66\%}$

NOT IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

Each side seeks its own advantage and is unable to compromise: The Russians want Germany and the Americans want Germany too - therefore they can't agree; because each power wanted to get its program accepted; because the differences between the powers are too great - each of them acts on its own behalf; they really don't want to - they blame each other and none of them wants to give in; neither of them wants the welfare of the world - the various powers think of their own nation first, and since none of them is broadminded they can't find a solution; they don't want to agree - the reason for that is, that the Russians have a different ideology from the Western powers - on the other hand the Western powers are not interested in Germany, the political interests of

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone ~~WEST~~
BERLIN

all four go in different directions - none of them wants to make a concession - they only want to get the best for themselves; all of them are wrong because all of them accuse each other, yet none of them wants to break off the conference since they don't want to take the blame for it; each of them wants to rule the whole world - each of them is afraid that it might lose something if it gave in; because their national attitude determining them - two different ideologies clash and none of them wants to give in - neither East nor West; etc.

15% 16% 15% 10% 10%

Both are to blame: They won't ever agree - why, I don't know, since one doesn't know enough about it, all of them should be hanged; etc.

1 2 1 1 *

The West seeks its own advantages and doesn't want peace: There are always the same reasons. The West just wants to win time in order to finish their war preparations; the Americans sabotage the Russian proposals; etc.

* 17% * 19% 16% 1 13% 1 11%

AMBIGUOUS

Their opinions are entirely different (fairly neutral statements);

Because their conceptions are fundamentally opposed to each other - Germany is not the important topic at this conference, but their own different ideologies; because they could never agree - they live in two different worlds - there is no possible agreement between East and West; the contrast of their ideologies; an agreement between the democratic system and the Bolshevik system is impossible; because the Russians represent a different idea from the Western powers - the contrasts between the two nations are too great to be overcome; because each of them has a different opinion and each of them thinks his is right - that's why they can't agree; Russia wants world revolution and the Western powers represent their capitalistic ideals; the Russians want to drag it out - they want to win time so they'll have a better chance to arm - but the West is not broadminded enough either; etc.

8% 7% 11% 9% 10%

They just don't agree: They just can't agree - I am not well versed in politics; because they just talk and don't do anything because they quarrel all the time - I just can't understand why they won't agree; they just don't agree - I don't know why; etc.

3 2 4 4 *

(cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

Their opinions on certain problems are fundamentally different (neutral comments, but not favorable toward West): Because the Russians demanded the withdrawal of the occupation powers which the other powers won't permit; because the Russians wanted to have the Atlantic pact the Americans military bases on the agenda - the Americans don't want that; etc.

1% 1% *% 1% 1%

The Russians want to prevent German rearmament: Because the Russians demand the demilitarization of West Germany - yet they are arming themselves; the Russians want to win time in order to hinder the remilitarization - the Russians are more afraid of one German than of 100 Americans; it's all because of the army issue - the Russians are afraid that if the Germans establish an army they'll lose the war; the Russians want to have the demilitarization of Germany on the agenda and the Americans want Germany remilitarized, which the Russians oppose; etc.

* * 1 1 *

Other opinions: Each of them wants to be prouder than the other; if they want to agree the Oder - Neisse line has to disappear, but I haven't concerned myself with it enough; economic cooperation is impossible - that's the main reason; etc.

$\frac{3}{15\%}$ $\frac{2}{12\%}$ $\frac{3}{19\%}$ $\frac{4}{19\%}^{**}$ $\frac{1}{12\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. ISSUES RELATED TO MILITARY DEFENSE AGAINST AGGRESSION

REASONS FOR WESTERN REARMAMENT

The question: "For what reasons, do you think, are the Western powers rearming?"

MAJORITY IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEW, BUT POSITIVE AIMS NEED EMPHASIS ...

The American case for Western rearmament — through defensive power to restrain aggression and thus maintain peace — is in general also the way the preponderance of the West German public state the case. Most emphasis, however, is placed by them on its defensive nature. The more positive aim of Western rearming — to maintain peace — is apparently not too clearly seen, or at any rate so frequently voiced.

In all, seven out of ten (68%) West Germans hold that the West is building up its military strength only in order to ward off or restrain aggression.

With about one in ten (12%) it cannot be clearly established from their statements whether they are in general accord with this view or not. They tend to stress East-West tensions but omit any value judgments.

Opinions of only five per cent imply a definite rejection of the American case for Western rearming. Most of this small group echo the Moscow line of Western war mongering, and a very few add a Marxian twist by referring to the inner compulsions and contradictions of capitalism.

Fifteen per cent, comprising mainly the hard to reach, indifferent, lesser educated segments of the population have no opinion on the issue.

The foregoing suggests that a counter-information campaign would probably not be in high priority order. (The five per cent divergent group probably represents the "hard core," in issues of this kind impossible to convince.) Aside from informational efforts to reduce the proportion without any opinions, which might yield only marginal results, the main problem appears to be one of further elucidation and emphasis. Clearly, the more positive purpose of Western rearming — to preserve and maintain peace through strength — has not had much impact on German opinions. The importance of making this clear to the West German public not only as regards Western rearming, but also as to their own participation in it, is patent.

Summary Table of Division of Replies

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
In accord with American views	68%	68%	67%	66%	84%
Not in accord	5	5	6	7	6
Ambiguous	12	12	13	10	6
No opinion	15	15	14	17	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMENTS LISTED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

The question: "For what reason do you think, are the Western powers arming?"

WEST British US French WEST
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone Zone BERLIN

IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

To protect themselves in case of a Communist attack: In order to have security in a potential war, they don't want war, but have to be armed against the rearmament of the Russians; lest the Russians attack them one day; to counter a potential aggression; because they have to take into consideration an armed attack by Russia and want to protect themselves; to be prepared for Russia; to be armed for a potential war with the East, the Russians want war; in order not to be defenseless in the event the Russians come, from fear of the threatening Communist peril, which starts with Russia; to be strong in case of a war against Russia; etc. 48% 51% 46% 43% 47%

To prevent Communist aggression, to maintain peace: To teach the Russians respect and not to attack the West; perhaps they only want to deter the Russians; to prevent the East from attacking; to warn the Russians; every aggressor should see that a conquest would not be easy; because they want to show the Russians that they are prepared to defend freedom; to maintain peace; they must do it, the Russians should at least fear something; deterrent to the Russians - by it they want to avoid war; etc. 11 9 11 16 24

To be as strong as the East: I believe that the Western powers are arming in order to be equal with the present armament of the Soviet Union; in order to restore the balance of power; to attain equal strength with the Eastern nations; not to be inferior to the Russian power; etc. 8 6 10 7 13

To back up their policies, stop Communism: They want to advocate their view with armed troops and not to make concessions as in Persia, because they were too weak; because Communism is increasing; to prevent infiltration of Bolshevism; etc. 2 2 1 1 3

Other opinions: It would be paradoxical if they disarm and thereby go into the lion's den, the Russian steam-roller and would overrun us relentlessly; etc. * 69%** * 68% 1 69%** 67%** 87%**

NOT IN ACCORD WITH AMERICAN VIEWS

To attack Russia eventually: To start war, for peace one doesn't need to arm - I understand that much; perhaps they want to start war again; because they are afraid of Communism, they want to attack the East at the right time, when they are strong enough; perhaps once to surprise the Russians; etc. 3% 2% 3% 4% 3%

(cont'd on next page)

Reasons for Thinking West German Rearmament is Unjustified

Rearmament means war (eventually a sudden attack on East Germany) - never a war again; we want peace: Rearmament means war and we want peace; if there are soldiers again, there will also be war; if there is rearmament again, there is easily the possibility of a war, and we don't want that; etc.

8%

We don't want war again, have had enough of it: Because we are fed up with war; we have had war for six years; I myself lost three uncles, we certainly have enough of war, we never again want a war; etc.

5

Rearmament is premature, because Russia is not planning an aggression, there is no danger of a war for West Germany: It would be too early - Russia doesn't intend to attack yet; because I haven't the impression that at the present time Russia plans an aggression, rearmament would be premature at the moment; because at the moment there is no real danger of a war for West Germany, because there aren't so many troops stationed here - yes, this is my personal opinion; etc.

2

To neutralize Germany - a people that doesn't rearm will not be attacked: A people that doesn't rearm can't be attacked so easily from another side, therefore as a German I'm against it; I take the view that they should neutralize all of Germany, the conqueror nations shall not again carry out their fights on our backs; etc.

2

Others: For this would give the East an occasion to incite, it was settled in the Potsdam agreement that both sides are not allowed to rearm, and what is happening in the East, I mean that about the People's Police, one can't directly consider as rearmament; if there will be a peace treaty one can't rearm; because the people are doing well, if they have a job they can live reasonably, why should they need an army; etc.

4

No opinion / No answer:

21%

Qualified Answers Regarding West German Rearmament

"I'm for it, if it serves as a protection and defense, against it if it serves for aggression;"

"Yes, if it serves as protection, no, if it means an eventual attack;"

"It would be unjustified if one wants to bring about a new war through it, it would be justified if it were solely for defense, since everyone has the right to defend and to protect himself;"

"Justified, I presume, but then it could lead to a new war, who wants one - noone, either here or in the West; etc."

2%
of total
responses

MAJORITY IN ACCORD WITH WESTERN VIEW OF MARSHALL PLAN ...

One of the most frequent targets of Eastern propaganda is the motivation behind the Marshall Plan. The US objective, so the Communist line runs, is to get control of Europe for economic and political purposes, with the ultimate aim of aggression against the East.

That the East Zone youth have not been taken in by this distortion is amply attested by their responses to a query on the main purpose of the plan. Although 30 per cent will not venture an opinion, only an insignificant fraction (3%) give answers echoing the Communist theme. Almost half are correctly informed as to the plan's primary purpose, and another 15 per cent mention secondary aims, such as aid in the unification of Europe, economic aid for Western defense, and so on.*

Of those who know of the plan, the majority do not believe that it would endanger economic and political freedom in West Germany.

"In your opinion, is there a danger that West Germany might lose her economic and political freedom through the Marshall Plan or not?" (Is this danger great or not?)

Yes, great	2%
Yes, not so great	7
Qualified replies	9
No	44
No opinion	7
	<u>69%**</u>

"What do you think is the main purpose of the Marshall Plan?"

Comments in Accord with Western View

To lend economic aid to Western Europe: To foster economy and prosperity in West Germany, foreign trade, to create a better standard of living through the exchange of goods; reconstruction, raise the economic standards of the West; support those European countries which up to now have had an unstable economy (this is my impression after I had been to the ERP-exhibition); assist the population in reconstruction; to set European economy on its feet; to reestablish a normal standard of living in the European countries by sending goods; the exchange of goods, to supply the countries with food; wants to set West Germany on her feet in order to make her independent; mutual help with the purpose of supporting the Western countries and also strengthening them; raise the standard of living of the working masses; etc.

46%

(cont'd on next page)

* East Zone youth appear to be better informed on the purposes of the Marshall Plan than is the West Zone population, of whom 45 per cent are unable to express any opinions on its aims. (See Report No. 107, Series No. 2, entitled: A BALANCE SHEET ON WESTERN INFORMATION EFFORTS - Extent of German Accord with Western Viewpoints on Some Major East-West Issues, dated 30 October 1951, page 36.)

** 69 per cent knew of the Marshall Plan.

To unite Western Europe: To unite all European countries in a peaceful way; the Plan is meant to help in uniting Europe, without custom bars, to the countries' benefit; to urge the European countries to hold together and to strengthen them; to make a United Western Europe; etc.

8%

To strengthen Western Europe against Communism by lending their economic aid: That all countries unite in case Communism should attempt an aggression, in order to be strong and united in defense; help the European people to get over the misery created by the Second World War and above all, to prevent them from being a prey of Communism; etc.

4

To create and maintain peace: To create peace between all peoples, I don't know much about the details of the Marshall Plan - we get to know nothing about it; etc.

1

Comments in Accord with Communist View

America wants to take advantage of Europe and get Europe into her power: Our information is naturally biased; the sole purpose of the Marshall Plan is to make West Germany dependant on the USA; etc.

2%

The Plan is a preparation for war; I fear the Marshall Plan wants to win the German youth for the Western defense pact, and to make them fight against us; etc.

1

Ambiguous Comments

To support the economy of the participating countries and create market outlets for American economy; we were told the Americans force the prices down and promote the war - I don't think so, I suppose it is a loan to Germany because she is in debts; etc.

11

No opinion/No answer

$$\frac{30}{103\%}$$

* Percentages add to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answers.

MAJORITY SHOWS UNFAVORABLE ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ...

That Communist propaganda does little to brighten the dim view taken by the East German youth of life in the East Zone is testified by their comments concerning the good and the bad aspects of the German Democratic Republic. Not only does an overwhelming majority (83%) say that the bad aspects outweigh the good, but when asked to comment on the good aspects, almost half of all respondents give negative replies - 38 per cent say that nothing is good, and 7 per cent express clearly anti-Eastern sentiments saying, for example, that whatever good aspects there are exist only for the activists and "big shots," never for the people in general. Furthermore, when asked what the bad aspects are only 1 per cent say there are none (as compared to the 38 per cent who think there are no good aspects).

"And which aspects tip the scales in the DDR - the good ones or the bad ones?"

The good aspects	8%
The bad aspects	83
Both the same	6
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

By far the most oppressive aspect of the DDR, according to these young Germans, is the political system under which they are forced to live and which, apparently, no amount of propaganda improves. Lack of freedom, pressure to conform and to join political organizations, unwarranted and sudden arrests, and the system of "informers" seem to weigh most heavily on the minds of the youth. The economic situation in general, the treatment and status of the worker, and the propaganda and political training which are forced upon them are also criticized by large fractions of the group.

On the other hand, it cannot be said that these youths see no favorable aspects of the government system. A substantial number point to the promotion of youth activities, scholarships, apprenticeships and general advantages given them. They also mention the lack of unemployment, the improvement of the worker's situation, and the efforts made to raise the standard of living. In a good many of the comments, however, there is a strong suggestion of "parroting" - of repetition of propagandistic clichés which by now are ingrained: for example, "the wealth of the soil belongs to everyone," "through equality of rights, every class distinction is eliminated," etc. It should not be overlooked, however, that somewhat more than half the group questioned does see some good points in the regime.

"In your opinion, what are the good aspects in the DDR (German Democratic Republic - East Zone Government)?"

Comments in Accord with Western View

No good aspects: Sorry to say - no good ones; not much is left, everything is unjust; nothing, everything is bad; nothing at all, it's all big rubbish; none at all; I doubt whether there are any good aspects; there's nothing good at all, since everything they tell us is only humbug; I wouldn't know any; it doesn't have any, since everything is compulsory; I've had only sad experiences, I don't know of anything good; I couldn't say anything, since everything that is said to be good operates disadvantageously; etc.

38%

Other anti-Eastern replies: The good aspects are only for functionaries and activists; that they give new buildings to new settlers and refugees - but I'm afraid there's something else behind it; the furtherance of the youth, particularly the talented, without regard to class - of course they demand a so-called progressive conviction; etc.

7

(cont'd on next page)

Comments in Accord with Communist View

Furtherance of the youth and youth education: General furtherance and assistance for studying; aid for students through scholarships, but only for those who follow the political line; apprenticeship in technical or industrial schools, apprentices get better paid than those in the West; for children, everything is done - vacation homes; the furtherance of studying through scholarships; furtherance of the youth; laws for the youth - more vacation for the young; that very much is done for the youth and for the working people, that the consumers' goods are cheap, that youth can make its way; etc. 22%

Improvement of the worker's situation and his furtherance: For the worker the HO (trade organization) shops are good; that big villas are made into FDGB (Free German Trade Union) homes in order to let the worker rest, the vacation regulations; that each capable worker earns enough money - if he has brains he may decide on any profession he wants to learn, even if he is only from the workers' class; whoever has learned can become well off and make a good living; the recreation homes for the workers; etc. 9

The rebuilding efforts to raise the living standard: That they are trying very hard to complete rebuilding, that they are trying to rebuild everything that has been destroyed in the war, that in spite of everything the prices are reasonable; the rebuilding of steel factories, of the economy in general - one can't overlook that they are rebuilding there; the only thing would be a raise in production and that would be all; it would be good if the Five-Year Plan were fulfilled the way they say. - I hope it will be this way; at the moment they are getting ahead, as long as there are raw materials which we are getting from the West; we get living quarters, we are satisfied with the living standard; etc. 8

Other social innovations and improvements: Everybody has the same rights, through the equality of rights every class distinction is eliminated, everybody gets paid for what he works for; that the great industrial undertakings, especially heavy industry, have been socialized - the wealth of the soil belongs to everybody; rental payments to the old and sick; that they did away with different classes in hospitals, that one need not pay relief funds; etc. 7

No unemployment: That there aren't so many unemployed people as in the West; that almost everybody has a job through the People's Police and the mining; that almost everybody has a job; that very few are unemployed, but that is about all; etc. 6

Ambiguous Comments

Ambiguous replies: I think that all nations should hold together according to our propaganda, that's all; several things are managed well, one gets incited to work, a lot of things have been done; the unity; etc. 5

Other Eastern comments: They are offering a great deal to us in the cultural fields; condemnation of trash; they care about peace; etc. 3

No opinion / No answer: 4
109%*

* Percentage adds to more than 100 per cent because some respondents gave more than one answer.

00517

"Which are, in your opinion, the bad aspects in the DDR?"

The whole political system (dictatorship, spying, political pressure, over-emphasis on politics, radical political methods): The general situation, the holding down of the people; that the middle class and the intellectuals have to submit to the government and the middle class is being systematically exterminated; the seclusion from the other world, no freedom of speech; that they want to force Communism upon us; the political one-sidedness and the compulsion under a system camouflaging itself as a democracy and actually being a dictatorship; everything is bad, because all measures that are taken are only for the purpose of enslaving people; the so-called voluntary coercion in everything; not being free, in every respect; political coercion and injustice; if one wants to keep his means of existence, one has to act according to the political line and has to take an active part in the progress; personal freedom is not guaranteed, freedom of opinion is lacking, everybody who wants a job has to join the FDJ; the system of informers, arrest without warrant, at the working places there are only SED members; that everything is dependent on the political conviction and not on the efficiency of work - the arresting of people who refuse to adhere to the political line; etc.

68%

The economic situation (wages, prices, food, high taxes, lack of goods, economic measures): Still not enough to eat; bad food situation, high prices in the HO shops, the workers should get higher wages; food and clothing ought to be better; the norms in farming, wage deductions for the world youth festival; that we don't see much of what we are producing, like special productions from Zeiss in Jena, in the textile industry - that we don't have any trade agreements with the Western countries, what the reason for it is I don't know; that there are no productions of quality, high prices, that there is no competition; that wages are low and nobody can buy anything; one can't earn enough money, because the wages have to be in accordance with the output; the high prices; etc.

32

Propaganda and political training (lies, one-sidedness in news reporting, political rallies): That many unemployed workers are called "workers looking for jobs"; the propaganda used for trying to talk the workers into something which isn't good - they talk about peace and the People's Police proves one's doubts; that they agitate against West Germany; false propaganda, agitation; that they don't honestly enlighten us about other countries; the training, the assemblies; first of all the completely one-sided news reporting; etc.

23

The situation of the workers and critical social conditions (exploitation, no welfare for the worker, inhuman treatment): They strip the worker; I have worked in Aus, I have seen how bad the working conditions are there; the so-called introducing of the working norm, the five-year plan, one could write a whole book about it; the output norms and the exploitation; when the apprentices have finished learning they don't find a place to work; increased work, the functionaries and the intellectuals need not work so hard and yet they get everything - we have to do everything voluntarily; that one treats the workers inhumanly, for they suspect every second person to be a rascal; poor organization in trade unions, they don't represent the workers' interests at all; etc.

21

(cont'd on next page)

The dependence on Russia; the bondage to Russia, the conduct of the Russians: The bondage to Moscow; that everything is too dependent on the Russians, the politicians are being influenced too strongly by the Russians; that the Russians are stripping us entirely; they all listen to the Russians; etc.

7/

They fight against private businessmen: That they brand every private owner a capitalist; the expropriating of the small businessmen, that they are aiming at ruining the small craftsmen; an independent professional is already a capitalist, exploiting the worker; etc.

6

The exertion of influence on social and cultural life: One can't even dance the way one likes to, as soon as one dances in the Western manner, they blow up, although they preach friendship with the black race, they prohibit jazz; that they bolshevize everything - in cultural fields, etc., etc.:

2

General pro-Eastern replies: There are none, I wouldn't know any; etc.

1

Others: That the socialistic ideas aren't carried through the way they are written down; here everything is defective, even justice; our homeland, the Erzgebirge (mountain in Saxony) forests are being completely cut down, because of the pits; everything there is, is poor - especially the establishment of the HO (trade organization) which has only been established to make West Berlin bankrupt; everything is written down but nothing is carried out; etc.

6

No opinion / No answer:

2

168%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent because some respondents gave more than one answer.

PREPONDERANCE SEE PEOPLE'S POLICE AS CAMOUFLAGED ARMY ...

Despite the persistent efforts of the East to obscure the real purpose of the People's Police behind the mask of a traditional police force, the ever increasing volume and control of the organization has made it clear beyond a doubt, that it is nothing more than a para-military organization. The extent of impact of Communist propaganda on the East Zone youth was measured by asking them directly to state the main purpose of the People's Police. Three out of four respondents reveal by their replies that they are completely out of accord with the Eastern definition. The preponderance say that the outfit is no more nor less than an army which, under the guise of a police group, is being armed and augmented for the purpose of eventual aggression. Another motive frequently attributed to the establishment and maintenance of the organization is that of control and oppression of the people. In echo of the Eastern assertion, a relatively small group maintains that the force is designed and used as a protection for the people and the state, to maintain order, and as border protection.

"What do you think is the main purpose of the People's Police in the East Zone?"

Comments in Accord with Western View

A camouflaged army that is being used for war preparations (aggression against the West): Since the People's Police are also drilled on heavy arms, they can only be misused for aggression, or for being enrolled in the Red Army; a provisional army, since it is ten times as big as a normal police force; if the West doesn't do what the East wants her to do, they will simply strike, they are an army; to be extreme, eventually to be part of the Red Army in case of an attack on West Europe; in case of the withdrawal of the occupying powers the People's Police means an army which represents Russian interests in a 100 per cent way; the future army, they are only trained politically; they all say it is a camouflaged army; an army, to create a stock of trained men in order to have subordinate leaders, the People's Police is to replace the army in the DDR so as to wage war easily against Germans on German soil without the Russians having to interfere, they will do that later; it is to be for a new war so as to have auxiliaries for the Russian army in the event of a war or aggression against the West; etc.

56%

It serves for oppression of the people, the restriction of political freedom and suppression of eventual revolts against the government: They see to it that everything works out right and everybody keeps at bay; it's an army that West Germany still needs to establish and that is meant for oppressing people who don't agree with our government here; to suppress the propaganda from the West and to get the people who say anything against the East; to spy on people; a kind of an army; to suppress an eventual revolt; it's purpose is military in case the tension is intensified; establishment of a future army for civil war and oppression of its opponents; so as to have an army in case of a collapse; etc.

17

Others: For purposes of propaganda, people shall be converted to Communism, they are supposed to interfere on every occasion, in the factories, at work, etc.; so as to train young people in Leninistic, Marxist and Communist ideas and then take over the government, even by force; etc.

3

(cont'd on next page)

Comments in Accord with Communist View

It serves - like every police force - for the protection (of the state) and for the maintenance of security, peace and order: as protection; it serves as protection of the economy; it is meant to protect the people's property and to prevent sabotage; there has to be a police everywhere; to protect the DDR; to keep order, that's the purpose of any police force; etc.

11%

Guarding the borders: For protecting the zonal borders; for securing the borders; they are supposed to see that we don't go over the borders, for example here, to West Berlin, then they take away the participants' cards; etc.

2

Others: In order to establish a people's army to liberate West Germany; until now I only saw that the People's Police helped us; etc.

4

Ambiguous Comments

Replies which consist of comments from different categories: It is a military unit, actually for protecting the DDR - the People's Police, I presume, won't make any attack, for they would have to attack Germans; the People's Police is the former "Wehrmacht," also to place the unemployed and to have an army for the Russians in the event of a future war; a program for creating jobs; a squad, so as not to be without protection, it means the remilitarization of East Germany to be used in the event of war; etc.

13%

Others: For the population; to protect people's property, as they say on our side, to support the Russian army in case of aggression, actually the military for the Russians; I don't believe that they are meant to lead a war against the West, later on they may be used as a core of an army, but not at the present time; etc.

2

No opinion / No answer:

108%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 per cent because some respondents gave more than one answer.

YOUTH SHOW "LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR FDJ ("FREE GERMAN YOUTH")...

One of the most publicized programs in the East Zone is the Communist front organization of the FDJ (Free German Youth). By maintaining a virtual monopoly on activities which most interest youth (particularly sports), and by surrounding the organization with an aura of emotional appeal reminiscent of the Hitler Youth, the East Zone leaders have sought to clothe the almost compulsory enlistment with a cloak of enthusiasm and national pride. The extent to which their efforts have been successful is indicated by the following results.

Seventy per cent of the East German youth questioned in this survey are members of the FDJ. Of these, more than half (33%) allege they joined out of professional necessity - that they must be members in order to get and keep jobs, to acquire academic or technical training, and in general, to get ahead. Others maintain that they were forced to join, either because they work in jobs which demand it (for example, in the "people-owned" factories) or because of social pressure. Still others say that they joined on the basis of false information and that now they cannot resign. A very small percentage cites positive advantages of membership - "because the FDJ fights for peace," "in order to participate in the Berlin festival," and so on.

Apparently whatever drilling they have had in the glorified aims and ideals of the organization has made little impression on these young East Germans - they have either ignored it from the beginning, or they have become disillusioned through experience.

Reasons for Membership in FDJ

In order to get a job, or not to lose one's job - for professional reasons (further educational progress, studying, etc.):

Otherwise I wouldn't have gotten my apprenticeship; on account of applying for a job; I have been forced by my employer; because my firm made trouble; otherwise I would be fired; because I was forced to join in order to practice my profession; for tactical reasons, for the sake of profession and family; with regard to professional prospects. As an employee in public service I'm forced to, otherwise I would be fired; because of oppression, otherwise one loses one's job; otherwise I wouldn't have gotten a job; because I have to, because otherwise I wouldn't have any possibilities for further professional progress; because I've been at the gymnasium to study, it couldn't be possible otherwise; because I intend to study music and since my parents aren't well enough off financially to support me, I need a scholarship at the cost of my conviction; otherwise I wouldn't have any advantages and be able to study; so as to get a scholarship for studying; to make professional progress possible, otherwise one can't get ahead; to make any progress; I intended to make better professional progress, otherwise one gets tripped up; etc.

38%

Because I'm a worker in a people-owned factory:

I'm working in a people-owned factory and had to join; I'm in the VEB (people-owned business), so I had to join so as not to lose my job; because I am a teacher at a professional school and am working on a people-owned farm; I'm working in a VEB, there I had to join; etc.

6

In order to have privileges through membership:

So that I can get more in touch with the youth and can visit all the events free of charge; through it one has a lot of advantages; I'm better off through it, since I'm occupied as a pioneer leader; I've advantages at my work; because I can attend schools free of charge; etc.

6

(cont'd on next page)

In order not to have any disadvantages (general):

Because this way one is outside of everything; I had to, in a small town one can't be excluded; when in Rome do as the Romans do; etc.

4

From compulsion, because I had to - (without detailed reasons):

Because I have to; out of compulsion; they were so insistent that one had to join; etc.

4

Because of lack of experience - because of false (propagandistic) information:

I was told that in the FDJ there was play and no politics, of course I realize now that this isn't true; I joined because I was inexperienced and did not want to be too obvious; when I joined I did not realize what would come from it once, and retiring from it means too many troubles; etc.

3

In order to be able to participate in the FDJ rally in Berlin:

I only joined to come to the Berlin festival; because last year I wanted to participate in the German rally; etc.

2

Others:

Because I joined a sports league in 1946 which today demands membership of the FDJ; formerly I was in the HJ (Hitler Youth), I had to join the FDJ because otherwise I would be considered a Fascist; everything is compulsory, so as not to have to join the party; etc.

2

Because all other young people are members:

Because all have joined it; every youth has joined it; etc.

2

In order to fight for peace:

In order to fight for peace; because the FDJ fights for peace; etc.

1

Others:

To rebuild the DDR; etc.

2

No opinion/ No answer:

*

70%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Reasons for Non-Membership in FDJ

No interest - I'm against the system: I don't want to have anything to do with it; I keep away from it, don't want to join; it is the same thing as the "Hitler Youth" was formerly; I still have enough of Hitler, and this business is exactly the same thing; I have no interest; I want to be free; because I don't like it; I could not justify it after all I have experienced, because as an honest person I couldn't stand all this injustice; I had to quit my job as a joiner because I did not want to join; I don't agree with the political tendency, and thank God, I managed to keep out of it; I'm not interested; I'm against the system; etc.

8%

We managed to shun the compulsion: I wouldn't then be able to take an active part in the struggle for peace, and I have not been forced to join up to now; we have managed to keep away up to now, and so far it didn't endanger my job; I have not found work and thus attention has not been drawn to me; etc.

2

I resigned from it because I did not like it: I resigned from it, because I have been in Russia and don't want to have anything to do with it; I was a member once, I didn't like the whole organization and didn't believe in it at all; I succeeded because it was against my inner conviction; etc.

1

I'm already a member of another party: I am a member of the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party); I am a member of the SED (Socialist Unity Party) and Soviet Friendship Association; etc.

1

Others: I am a bit older and smarter; no, but I belong to the FDGB in order to be left untroubled, in one way or other you have to be in it; I'm too old, I need not; I have resigned; I've never been approached; too little time; etc.

7

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{11}{30\%}$$

YOUTH RECOGNIZES REASONS FOR GREATER UNEMPLOYMENT IN WEST GERMANY THAN IN THE EAST ZONE ...

The threat of unemployment is obviously a personal one and one immediate to the interests of youth. Unemployment in West Germany has for some time served as a target for attack in Communist propaganda and as a valuable card in their game of comparison with the East Zone.

At first glance, their purpose appears to have been fulfilled - almost half of the East Zone youth questioned say there is more unemployment in West Germany than in the East Zone, as against only 19 per cent who hold the opposite belief.

"Where are there, in your opinion, more unemployed people: in West Germany or in East Germany?"

West Germany	45%
East Germany	19
Both the same	11
No opinion	25
	100%

On closer inspection, however, their comments reveal that, for the most part, their sympathy lies with the West. On one hand, the fact that all unemployed in the East are immediately forced into labor - either in the People's Police or in the mines - precludes any long-term or widespread unemployment. On the other hand, the over-population of the West, consisting in part of Eastern refugees, is seen as a very real and possibly unavoidable hindrance to full-scale employment in the West. The comments of only 7 per cent of these respondents plainly reflect anti-Western attitudes, while the remainder give answers which are questionable in their sympathy.

REASONS GIVEN FOR MORE UNEMPLOYMENT IN WEST GERMANY THAN IN EAST GERMANY

Comments in Accord with Western View

The unemployed in the East are forced to join the People's Police or go to Aue (mines):

The reason is that the unemployed are forcibly put into the People's Police, the Combinates and uranium mines; because there is a People's Police in Eastern Germany which takes in the unemployed; in Eastern Germany the unemployed are caught hold of and put into the police or sent to Aue; the reason is primarily that no unemployment dole is paid - the younger unemployed either have to go to the uranium mines at Aue or to the People's Police; etc.

13%

Because of the over-population in the West and too many Eastern Refugees:

Because West Germany is more populated and has more refugees; over-population; because so many people move to the West; West Germany is too densely populated, many are seeking refuge there daily; because thousands of political refugees are going to the West; on account of so many Eastern refugees who were expelled after the war; because of the political refugees from the East Zone; etc.

13

Comments in Accord with Communist ViewBecause they dismantle factories and import goods into West Germany:

Because the Western powers are dismantling factories; because they import goods instead of producing them themselves; in West Germany many American products are imported, thereby limiting the West German economy; in West Germany too many manufactured goods are imported - therefore the laborers in the factories have no work; because the imports into West Germany are too great; etc.

7%

Ambiguous CommentsBecause East German factories are working for Russia: (In people-owned factories, etc.)

Because we have more orders from Russia and the so-called democratic countries; the East has more factories working to a greater extent for the Russians, in the West factories have shut down; because the laborers themselves are fully occupied and the laborers in West Germany are not employed in people-owned factories which are financed to a great extent by the HO (trade organization) and other state-owned trade organizations; etc.

5%

General economic situation and reconstruction in the West are not so progressive as in East Germany:

They say there are things here to buy because they don't rebuild; perhaps there was more destroyed here and not so much rebuilt; the economic situation, everything has to get started, many people don't want to work here, while in the East everyone has to work; etc.

3

Others:

7

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{3}{51\%*}$$

- * Percentages add to more than the 45% who think there is more unemployment in West Germany than in East Germany, because some respondents gave more than one answer.

WORKER'S CONDITIONS MOST FAVORABLE IN THE WEST, ACCORDING TO YOUTH ...

Further evidence that Eastern propaganda is by no means swallowed whole by the East German youth appears in the results of a question which was put to them regarding the relative conditions for the worker in the world. Despite the loud cry of Communism in the cause of the worker, only 5 per cent of the total group name Russia as providing the best conditions for the worker, and no other Eastern country is even mentioned. Almost half of the respondents name America, 18 per cent say the Western world in general, and 27 per cent mention other specific Western countries - England, France, Switzerland, West Germany, etc.

"In your opinion, where, in the world, are the conditions for the worker best?"

America: In America, I know it from a cousin; in America there is the highest standard of living for the workers; in America, I have been there myself; etc.

46%

In the Western world: Generally in the Western world; in the free world, the democratic world; generally in the Western countries; in the capitalistic countries; etc.

18

West Germany: In West Germany, I don't know others; in West Germany, there the trade union has more to say; etc.

9

The Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Belgium and the other West European countries:

8

Russia: In Soviet Russia the conditions for the worker are best; etc.

5

Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland):

5

England:

4

Australia:

2

Others: Nowhere are the conditions for the worker best, there exists no country where that would be; anyone who has special knowledge and good intentions can get anywhere, the youth has more chances in the East Zone, more freedom is naturally in America; etc.

3

No opinion/No answer:

8
108%*

* Percentages add to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

EAST-WEST ORIENTATION AS RELATED TO INFORMATION SOURCES ...

Possibly one of the most telling indications of the value of Western propaganda is the extent to which Western orientation of the East Zone youth varies as a function of information sources.

In order to investigate the relationship between attitudes and sources of information, the respondents were divided into groups according to their chief informational sources.

"Where do you mostly get your information if you want to know what is going on in the world?"

Only Western sources (Radio, Newspapers, etc.)	32%
Mostly Eastern sources (Radio, newspapers, etc.)	25
Both Eastern and Western sources (Radio, newspapers, etc.)	43
	<u>100%</u>

Responses to several of the more significant questions were then divided according to the respondent's chief source of information with the finding that those youths who get their information from Western sources are much more in accord with the Western position than those who hear or read mainly Eastern material. Furthermore, the respondents whose informational sources are both Eastern and Western tend to be much closer to a Western than to an Eastern orientation.

Although it is difficult to determine with certainty, in such correlations, which factor is cause and which effect, it would not seem unlikely that exposure to Western information media has had some effect in giving these young East Zone Germans a Western orientation.

"Which aspects tip the scales in America - the good ones or the bad ones?"

	Western Sources	Eastern Sources	Both
Good aspects outweigh bad	88%	58%	82%
Bad aspects outweigh good	2	15	2
Both the same	4	4	8
No opinion	6	23	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"So far, have you the impression that the West makes propaganda?" (Much, some, or little?)

Yes, much	10%	6%	7%
Yes, some or little	90	40	34
No	-	50	57
No opinion	-	4	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Who is mainly responsible for the present tensions in the world: Russia or America?"

Russia	84%	41%	71%
America	1	17	5
Both	15	23	18
No opinion	-	19	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Would you consider it justified or not if West Germany were rearmod?"

Justified	87%	60%	79%
Unjustified	13	33	18
Qualified replies	-	4	3
No opinion	-	3	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

(cont'd on next page)

"Which aspects tip the scales in the DDR - the good ones or the bad ones?"

	Western Sources	Eastern Sources	Both
Good aspects outweigh bad	3%	19%	4%
Bad aspects outweigh good	95	64	90
Both the same	-	12	6
No opinion	2	5	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"In your opinion, is there a danger that Western Germany might lose her economic and political freedom through the Marshall Plan or not?" (Is this danger great or not?)

Yes, great danger	4%	4%	3%
Yes, some danger	13	4	6
Qualified replies	10	4	12
No danger	52	25	50
Were not asked question*	22	56	24
No opinion	3	7	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* This question was asked only of those who knew of the Marshall Plan.

APR 1954
DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE:

Size of Community:

Village up to 5,000	22%
Small town up to 50,000	28
Medium sized town between 50,000 - 100,000	26
City over 100,000	22
No answer	<u>3</u>
	100%

Sex:

Male	75%
Female	<u>25</u>
	100%

Age:

14 yrs.	4%
15 yrs.	8
16 yrs.	13
17 yrs.	17
18 yrs.	13
19 yrs.	6
20 yrs.	7
21 yrs.	6
22 yrs.	8
23 yrs.	3
24 yrs.	2
25 - 29 yrs.	14
30 and over	<u>3</u>
	100%

Education:

Elementary school	70%
Middle school	10
University	<u>20</u>
	100%

Present Occupation or
Intended Occupation:

Occupation of
Breadwinner:

Professional	14%	5%
Independent business-		
men	5	8
White collar worker	16	17
Skilled workers	42	28
Semi-skilled, un-		
skilled worker	8	16
Personal service	2	1
Farmer	8	10
Housewife	1	1
Unemployed	4	13
Student	-	-
No answer	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
	100%	100%

Religion:

Protestant	85%
Catholic	10
Others	-
None	<u>5</u>
	100%

Frequency of Church Attendance:

Once a week or more often	8%
Two or three times a month	9
Once a month	13
Several times a year	19
Once a year or less	11
Never	34
No answer	<u>6</u>
	100%

Membership in FDJ:

FDJ member	70%
Not a member	<u>30</u>
	100%

02531

PLEASE DO NOT FILE
RETURN TO DR. CRESPI

Classification cancelled
1 NOTE ON THE REPRESENTATIVE LISTENER LETTERS
by authority of **Leo P. Crespi**
PUB/RAS.

(after 108)

Special Report
November 7, 1951

~~RESTRICTED~~
~~FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY~~

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

Since the inception of the Voice of America broadcasts to Germany, letters from German listeners have been relied upon as a major source of information as to program impact and evaluation. A question that has always existed in this connection has been, of course, to what extent reactions from such a source can be taken as representative of general listener response.

In connection with a recently completed survey study of the status of VOA in West Germany and West Berlin* it was possible to gather information which sheds some light on the degree of representativeness of German listener letters. Thirty-six-hundred West Germans and West Berliners were questioned as to whether they had ever written letters to VOA, and those who responded in the affirmative were compared in certain key respects to the entire VOA audience.

FINDINGS ...

The proportion of the VOA audience who reported having written a letter to VOA proved to be rather small - 1.3 per cent in West Germany and 3.9 per cent in West Berlin. Despite the extensive initial sampling, therefore, only a total of 41 cases of letter writers became available for analysis from West Germany and West Berlin. This places severe limitations on the statistical reliability of any comparisons, but a few important ones are still worth making for their general indications.

"Have you ever written a letter to the Voice of America?" (Asked of all radio listeners who have heard VOA)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Yes	1.3%	0.7%	2.2%	4%	3.9%
No and no answer	98.7	99.3	97.8	100.0	96.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(No. of cases)	(1492)	(598)	(728)	(166)	(534)

A first comparison reveals that letter writers quite materially depart from the total VOA audience in the extent of favorable general evaluations of the program. Nine in ten of the letter writers selected among favorable adjectives only when asked to choose among a list to characterize the VOA program.** This contrasts with a six in ten figure for favorable characterizations among VOA listeners generally.

WEST GERMANY and WEST BERLIN	Selected favorable adjectives only	Selected unfavorable adjectives only	Mixed selections	None of them; no opinion/ no answer	No. of cases:
Letter writers to VOA	91%	7%	2%	4...100%	41
Total VOA audience	61	15	8	16	2026

Bearing out this difference in evaluation is a correlated difference in frequency of listening. Whereas two-thirds of the letter writers indicate themselves to be very frequent listeners to VOA, only a quarter among the

* See Reports: GERMANS VIEW THE VOICE OF AMERICA - I. The Extent and Characteristics of the VOA Audience in West Germany and West Berlin (No. 95, 28 Aug., 1951) - II. Some Technical Factors in VOA Listenership (No. 97, 31 Aug., 1951) - III. Program Preferences and Evaluations of VOA Listeners (No. 104, 17 Oct., 1951) - IV. The Question of Effectiveness (No. 105, 17 Oct., 1951.)

**The question went as follows: "On this list you will find some adjectives. (CARD) Which of these reflect your opinion on the Voice of America best?"

- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Impartial | Useful | Convincing | Appealing |
| Dull | Prejudiced | Poor | Overbearing |

VOA audience as a whole indicate such frequency of listening.

Listen to VOA:

	Very frequently (4-7 times a week)	Frequently (1-3 times a week)	Occasionally (1-3 times a month)	Seldom (Less than once a month)	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY and WEST BERLIN					
Letter writers to VOA	68%	27%	5%	1%	41
Total VOA audience	24	31	11	34	2026

Comparison of the population characteristics of letter writers versus VOA listeners generally, revealed that just as in general evaluations, very appreciable differences exist. Letter writers are most markedly unrepresentative of VOA listeners in general in level of education. Only 26 per cent among the total VOA audience indicate education at a secondary school level or beyond; among letter writers the comparable figure is 61 per cent. Religion also reveals lack of comparability with a considerably lower proportion of Catholics among the letter writing listeners than among listeners generally.* Finally, letter writers are revealed to be unrepresentative as to age with appreciably fewer younger listeners than characterizes the general VOA audience.

"Have you ever written a letter to the Voice of America?" (Asked of all radio listeners who have heard VOA.)

WEST GERMANY and WEST BERLIN TOTAL VOA AUDIENCE** LETTER WRITERS TO VOA

Education:

Elementary school	74%	39%
Secondary school	20	51
Diploma and University	6	10
	100%	100%

Religion:

Catholics	37%	12%
Protestants	55	71
Others	8	17
	100%	100%

Age:

19 - 24 years	14%	5%
25 - 34 years	19	7
35 - 44 years	24	22
44 - 54 years	23	39
55 years and over	20	27
	100%	100%

* The protestant bias in the letter writer sample is undoubtedly owing in large part to the fact that a disproportionate number of letters came from largely protestant Berlin.

** In this and preceding tables these figures include those for letter writers as the question is the extent to which the sub-group represents the total group.

~~RESTRICTED~~

In the other demographic characteristics investigated no appreciable departures came to light between letter writers and the total VOA audience.

TOTAL VOA AUDIENCE LETTER WRITERS TO VOA

Sex:

Men	49%	54%
Women	<u>51</u>	<u>46</u>
	100%	100%

Income (per month):

0 - 149 DM	22%	20%
150 - 299 DM	45	41
300 - 599 DM	28	32
600 DM and more	4	5
Not ascertained	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

Party Preference:

SPD	34%	39%
CDU/CSU	20	20
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	12	15
Other parties	6	2
No party	18	12
Don't know	9	10
Not ascertained	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

Trade Union Membership:

Yes, member	18%	24%
No	<u>82</u>	<u>76</u>
	100%	100%

Origin:

Natives (& Evacuees)	84%	78%
Expellees	11	15
Refugees (fr. East Zone after 1945)	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%

No. of cases:

(2026)

(41)

CONCLUSION ...

There is rather convincing indication from the present study - despite the limited number of letter writers available for comparative analysis - that letter writers as a source of information about VOA impact in Germany are not representative of the VOA audience. Besides differing markedly in important population characteristics - particularly education - letter writers as a group are revealed to be much more favorably inclined toward VOA than are German VOA listeners generally.

The above finding in no wise minimizes the value of VOA listener letters for many important informational purposes. But it does suggest that, where possible, assessment of VOA audience reactions is advantageously based upon more adequately representative methods of study than analysis of listener letters.

ATTITUDES OF EAST GERMAN YOUTH

A Series Of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted
During The Berlin Youth Festival

IV. Radio Evaluations And Recommendations
Of East Zone Youth

Report No. 109
Series No. 2

November 19, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

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02537

INTRODUCTION

A target group of major priority in the Western campaign to win and hold the allegiance of East German residents is of course youth. Supplementing an earlier study of general East Zone radio listening the present inquiry concentrates its attention upon the radio listening habits of East Germans from 15 to 30 years of age - as sampled during the recent East Berlin Youth Festival. Youth were also asked in the present study to evaluate current Western efforts to inform them and to suggest - in their own words - optimum procedures, using available facilities. As one will note in the body of this report, the questions were designed to get practicable information which can be put to work for the West, not to elicit daydreams from the youth. In a sense, we have asked the "target" how we can most successfully get through to them with a minimum of navigational error.

The present report is the fourth in a series based on a program of survey conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, among young East Zone Germans who came across the sectorial boundaries into West Berlin during the Communist Youth Festival in East Berlin. The methodological considerations involved in this and other studies in the series has already been presented in a general introduction accompanying the initial report.*

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT . . .

The Importance Of Western Radio Stations To East Zone Youth

As regular carriers of the Western point of view to Soviet Zone youth, Western radio stations are much more effective than printed media from the West. Distribution of newspapers, magazines and other printed media is severely limited by Soviet-imposed deterrents. Only 4 per cent of the youth interviewed report reading a newspaper from the West as often as once a week, and the same proportion see Western magazines as often. Obviously, printed material from the West gets through to a small segment of East German youth. Almost nine of every ten youths interviewed report listening to the radio, and fully 83 per cent of the listeners listen mainly to Western stations. The extent to which the Western message can be heard by those youth is indicated in detail in the body of this report.

When asked their reasons for this dependence mostly upon Western stations the youth spoke more often of the validity of what they heard than of any other factor. They believe that what is said on Western programs is true - or more nearly true than the fare offered by Soviet outlets. The next most frequently mentioned reasons for listening are concerned with the variety and interest of the Western programs and the calibre of the musical fare offered.

RIAS' Dominance In Carrying Western Message

Confirming earlier studies of radio listening behavior in East and West Germany, the present survey points up the importance of RIAS (Radio in the American Sector), Berlin, in getting the Western message to Sovzone listeners. Its dominance over other stations---both Soviet-controlled and Western---is notable among East German youth, as it is among the general population of Germany.

RIAS enjoys the largest regular audience of any station available to East German youth - having over three times as many listeners who listen to it mainly as has its nearest competitor, Radio Leipzig (Soviet). In addition to being named as a station "mainly listened to" by nearly three-fourths of East German youth who listen to the radio at all, RIAS is preferred over all others as a news source.

* See Report No. 101, Series No. 2, dated 29 September 1951 - ATTITUDES OF EAST GERMAN YOUTH - A Series Of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted During The Berlin Festival - I. Evaluations Of The Festival And Impressions Of West Berlin.

Most Effective Western Progress

Of five Western political programs beamed to the East Zone from RIAS, the most-often heard is "Berlin Speaks to the Zone". Furthermore, this program is voted the most valuable to the listeners by a large margin over the runner-up, "The Voice of America". The major East Zone political program, "The Truth About America" (Radio Leipzig), compares very poorly in extent and favor of audience. When asked why they felt "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" had the most value to them, personally, the youth mentioned credibility of the program's content and the importance to them of what is said.

Only Very Limited Audience Yet Achieved for Special Western Youth Programs

The youth were queried about two Western programs designed especially for an audience of youth behind the Iron Curtain in Germany. The finding was that only 11 per cent of the young listeners interviewed had ever heard one of these, and only 5 per cent had listened to the other. It was discovered that the times of day at which both programs are broadcast are not considered good by the youth themselves. Other explanations for the dearth of listeners are considered in the section of the report dealing with programs for Sovzone youth.

What More Can the West Do to Enlighten Sovzone Youth?

Three-fifth of the youth interviewed think that the West should do more towards the enlightenment of East German youth in political matters, and only one per cent felt that too much already is being done. Not only are the East German youth receptive to more information from the West, but they have definite ideas as to how this information can best be disseminated and what kind of enlightenment they want. Radio broadcasting, personal contact and the distribution of printed information were the principal means suggested by the youth. The first was advised by four-fifth of the Sovzone youth, compared with 15 per cent and 10 per cent of them favoring the latter two methods.

The body of this report includes several specific considerations of the potentiality of listenership among Freie Deutsche Jugend (Soviet-sponsored) members, and the value of attempting to reach them via radio. When our respondents were asked to place themselves in the shoes of a Western program planner and create radio shows for East Zone youth, only 6 per cent found themselves unable or unwilling to recommend program content. Their recommendations are discussed at the conclusion of the report.

EXTENT OF EXPOSURE TO THE FORMAL INFORMATION MEDIA ...

The pre-determination of news content offered to Sovzone residents by the Grotewohl regime (through press and radio) is well-known. The severe restrictions put upon the import of information from West to East are also known. And when we compare the exposure of Eastern with Western printed news to Eastern youth we at once can see the tremendous advantage held by the Soviets in the competition for attention via newspapers and magazines:

Over two-fifths of the Sovzone youth are regular readers of newspapers published in the East - and can be considered accessible to this form of Communist propaganda several times a week. An additional one-fourth of the young people sometimes read the Eastern press, although not regularly.

Contrast the extent of exposure to Eastern newspapers with that to the Western press: only 16 per cent of Sovzone youth even have the opportunity to read newspapers published outside the Iron Curtain.

"In general, how often do you read Eastern newspapers during the week?"

Daily	26%
Several times during the week	18
Once a week	12
Seldom	16
Never	28
	<u>100%</u>

Frequency of Western Newspaper Readership .

Once a week or more often	4%
1 - 3 times a month	4
6 - 11 times a year	-
Seldom or 5 times a year or less	4
"Sometimes" (that is all comments not giving figures but must be understood as "sometimes", e.g. every few weeks)	2
No opinion / No answer	<u>2</u>
	<u>16%</u>

The summary fact is that over four times as many respondents read Soviet-controlled newspapers as even have a chance to see what's printed in the pro-Western press. While the process of reading a newspaper is something apart from the absorption of what is read, it must be noted that there is greater probability that what is planted in the Soviet Zone press will reach the young reader to the comparative exclusion of news and comment appearing in Western newspapers.

The picture of availability of printed information from Western media to youth in the East Zone is not brightened much by looking at data on magazine reading. Only 17 per cent see any magazines from the West.

All in all, nearly two-thirds (64%) of the youth said that they had no opportunity to read Western newspapers or magazines. When this is compared with the 28 per cent (less than half as many) who say they never read Eastern newspapers, the more advantageous position of the Soviet-directed press is obvious.

Another facet of comparative exposure is frequency of reading. The Soviet news output appearing in print enjoys a dominance not only in availability, but in the frequency of exposure to East Zone young people:

Over one-half (56%) reported reading Eastern newspapers at least once a week. By contrast, a negligible 4 per cent read the Western press as often. (See precoding tables.)

Furthermore, six times as many read Eastern papers every day as read Western papers even once a week.

Frequency of reading Western magazines is as appallingly low:

Frequency of Reading Western Magazines

Once a week or more often	4%
1 - 3 times a month	7
6 - 11 times a year	-
Seldom or 5 times a year or less	3
"Sometimes" (that is all comments not giving figures but must be understood as "sometimes", i.e. every few weeks)	1
No opinion / No answer	1
	<u>16%</u>

The avenues by which East Zone youth obtain printed matter from the West are discussed in some detail in a forthcoming report in this series. Suffice it here only to note that relatives and friends who live in the West are by far the principal source of the literature.

The success of the Soviet-imposed deterrents to exposure to the Western printed word is understandable, of course. Distribution of newspapers and magazines is obstructed by the establishment of barriers at border points, by inspection of the mails, and by constant surveillance of what is sold and what is carried home by Sovzone residents.

One at once thinks of another avenue by which information and ideas can be transmitted from one place to another. It is here that the hope of reaching German youth behind the Curtain is given promise: radio broadcasting the free world's message. While "jamming" of radio frequencies and surveillance of listening behavior are controls attempted by Eastern authorities, the responses of East Zone youth testify that these obstructions are not very successful. Certainly, the availability of Western radio programs is many times that of exposure to the Western printed media.

RADIO BROADCASTING BRINGS THE WESTERN MESSAGE TO THE EAST ZONE ...

The potentiality of a sizeable radio audience among East German youth is indicated in this fact: 88 per cent of those interviewed report listening to the radio.

To what extent is this potentiality of exposure to Western news and comment by radio actually realized? When asked to which stations they mainly listen (and they could name more than one), nearly three-fourths (72%) of the listeners named RIAS (Radio in American Sector), Berlin. Eighty-three per cent of the respondents named Western outlets.

RIAS' nearest competitor for the position of most-listened-to station by East German youth was Radio Leipzig (East Zone). One-fifth (22%) of them nominated it as a station mainly listened to - one-third as many votes as for RIAS.

However, it cannot be said that Eastern-sponsored programs are not heard to any extent. Over one-half (59%) of the youth indicated that they listen "sometimes" to Radio Leipzig. Seventeen per cent of them mentioned Radio Berlin - another Eastern outlet.

Stations Listened to "Mainly and "Sometimes" by Sovzone Youth

	Mainly	Sometimes
<u>Western Stations</u>		
RIAS (Radio in American Sector)	72%	19%
NWDR (Cologne, Hamburg, West Berlin)	9	29
Other Western stations (Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, SWF, Paris, etc.)	2	29
<u>Eastern Stations</u>		
Radio Leipzig (Central German broadcast, Weimar, Schwerin, Deutschlandsender)	22%	59%
Radio Berlin	1	17
Other Eastern stations (Prague, USSR, etc.)	-	2
<u>Don't know / No answer</u>	-	1
	106%*	156%*

An earlier study by the Reactions Analysis Staff - ATTITUDES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN - IV. Radio Listening in the East Zone - (Report No. 90, Series No. 2, dated 25 July 1951) indicates the popularity of RIAS among both young and old residents of the East Zone. The same question was asked then as was asked in the present study of East German youth, and results discussed above can be considered substantiation of the earlier reported dominance of RIAS among East Zone radio listeners.

* Figures add to more than 100 per cent because more than one station was named by some respondents.

More than one reason frequently was given by those who listen mainly to Western stations, but the one most often cited was some form of the following: "...because here one is told the truth." One-third of the Western station devotees attributed a high validity to what they hear on Western broadcasts as a reason for listening mainly to them.

Next most frequently given reasons for listening mainly to Western stations are concerned with the variety and interest of the programs and the calibre of the musical fare offered.

Reasons Given for Listening to Western Stations

<u>Tell the Truth (Eastern Stations are Lying):</u> Because there we hear the truth about all problems of the day; to come to know how it is actually; because there one is told the truth; at the RIAS I am listening to the truth; I am firmly convinced it is telling the truth; here everything is humbug; the Eastern stations are only telling lies, RIAS is much more interesting and is telling openly how it is in Korea, telling the truth, at least to 80 per cent - I believe RIAS most of all; etc.	33%
<u>Are Up to Date, Many-Sided, Variable, Beautiful, Deal with Common Problems:</u> One wants to be informed politically and culturally; he has the best programs and brings many interesting things for us; because it is more interesting, it brings really something for everybody, has the best program; because it is most interesting, deals with all problems of interest; better program; to hear about the current world news and the political events; variety of programs; etc.	24
<u>For their Musical Programs:</u> For their musical programs; on account of the good music; musical hits of the week; because of the musical hits of the week and the good music; etc.	20
<u>Because they do not only send Politics and Propaganda:</u> Doesn't send politics incessantly like Leipzig; it is without tendency; because it is not so political like Leipzig; because our stations are always talking about politics only; because the Eastern stations are only sending political programs and as a youth I'd rather listen to music; the programs are without politics, there we can only hear politics; etc.	11
<u>Reports about the Situation in the West:</u> It is to my liking - the report about the life in the West; to hear how well off the people are here; one likes to hear about the free life; to learn the latest news just about Berlin; I would also like to know what is happening on the other side, one listens to the Western stations so as to be better informed; etc.	7
<u>For their News:</u> Good news reporting; because of the news; because of the news - one is told what happens in the world; etc.	6
<u>Are not inciting (so much):</u> It is so interesting because it doesn't incite so much; etc.	5
<u>Their Political Attitude Responds to Mine:</u> Because I'm very skeptical towards our government; they advocate my opinions in the best way; etc.	4
<u>For their Entertainment Programs:</u> Its entertainment program is better liked than others: for "Mach mit " (Join with us); general events, quiz programs; etc.	4
<u>One can receive them best:</u> RIAS is to be heard most easily of all Western stations; because in the evening the receiving of RIAS is most favorable; it's heard very well here; etc.	4
<u>Other Replies:</u> Sport programs; it's no use to listen to other stations; to make comparisons; to improve my English (BBC); I'm not interested in the Eastern stations; for the weather news, sports; warnings on informers; etc.	7
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	15 140%

* Figures add to more than 100 per cent because some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS GIVEN FOR LISTENING MOSTLY TO EASTERN STATIONS ...

Among those who listen mostly to Soviet Zone and other Eastern stations, the most often mentioned reason is the comparative inaccessibility of Western stations. Programs from the West cannot be received at all by many of the listeners, or reception is so limited (quality of transmission is poor to varying degrees) that those who try to hear them are discouraged.

The remaining explanations given (one half as many as in the category discussed above) for listening mostly to Soviet outlets are interspersed with references to the risk of listening to anything but Eastern programs. However, some comments indicate an interest in some of the program content.

Weighing the number of pro-Eastern reasons with the number citing deterrents to listening to Western stations, it is apparent that the majority of East Zone youth who listen mainly to Eastern outlets do so because they have little choice.

Reasons given for Listening to Eastern Stations

Can't receive (or can receive poorly another station): Our set is an old wreck and we can't receive another station; RIAS is not loud enough; because one can hear this best; RIAS is always jammed by Leipzig; we can't receive RIAS well, the set is too small; because I can receive RIAS clearly only in the evening, at noon and in the morning I have to listen to Leipzig; because we can't receive another station; etc.

(24)

List: Because of inquiries; because it is forbidden; it is entertaining and interesting; because it is easy to hear; because I need the topics of the day for school; it is our home station, others we aren't allowed to listen to, but we are doing it in spite of it; RIAS is a risk; I'm living in a home for youth where I have to listen to Leipzig because it is tuned in; I don't know exactly, sometimes Radio Berlin, sometimes Weimar, wherever there is good music; etc.

(10)

No opinion / No answer;

(7)
(41)*

* Number of responses.

Predominant among the reasons given by Sovzone youth for listening mainly to stations outside the area of Soviet control is the greater reliability of information than they attribute to Eastern stations. Implicit in their comments was the great dependence upon broadcast dissemination of news by Western outlets.

The extent to which this is the case can be seen in the distribution of responses to the question: "Which stations do you mainly listen to for the news?" (The earlier question said nothing about news.)

As was the case in the more general question of station preference, more than one station often was named by the respondents as a primary news source. Ninety-seven per cent of them named Western outlets. Only 9 per cent nominated stations behind the Curtain. The contrast in dependence upon the two sources of radio news could not be more eloquently presented.

"Which stations do you mainly listen to for the news?"

Western Stations

RIAS (Radio in American Sector)	73%
NWDR (Cologne, Hamburg, West Berlin)	20
Other Western stations (Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, SWF, Paris, etc.)	4

Eastern Stations

Radio Leipzig (Central German broadcast, Weimar, Schwerin, Deutschlandsonder)	7
Radio Berlin	1
Other Eastern stations (Prague, USSR, etc.)	1
Other Stations (unidentified)	4
Don't know / No answer	1
	<u>111%*</u>

RIAS enjoys the position of being a station mainly listened to for news by almost three-fourths (73%) of young listeners in the East Zone. Of all other stations - both East and West - the nearest competitor in this respect is NWDR, with transmitters in Cologne, Hamburg and West Berlin. One-fifth of the Sovzone listeners between 15 and 30 years of age consider NWDR a major source of news.

* Figures add to more than 100 per cent because some respondents name more than one station.

WHY DO SOVZONE YOUTH DEPEND MORE UPON WESTERN STATIONS FOR NEWS? ...

The listeners who said that RIAS is a principal news source for them were asked why they said so. Appraisals of the truth of news content were most often given. Over two-thirds of the reasons given stress either the honesty of RIAS reports or the dishonesty of Eastern news presentations.

Closely related to truth are the next most frequently mentioned reasons for RIAS listener loyalty - objectivity and comprehensive coverage. In essence, these mean the reporting of "both sides of the story" and of "all the news".

Reasons Given for Listening Mainly to RIAS for News

SOME ASPECT OF TRUTH

EAST ZONE

Tells the truth: Because one hears the truth; because here the truth is told; because we want to hear the truth; I want to be informed objectively; one can trust it; through RIAS one hears what really happens; because it presents everything clearly and truly; to see the political situation, and I think that RIAS brings the truth; etc.

37%

Is more truthful: Because most of it is true; it is closest to the truth; it is most truthful; RIAS is more trustworthy; because it gives more true facts; because I want to hear the Western side, to hear more truthful news; because I have had the experience that it is the most truthful; etc.

17

The Eastern stations are lying: The Eastern news isn't of any value, it tells only lies anyhow; because one cannot trust the other stations; because the Eastern stations are telling only lies; our station talks nonsense, at least for the most part; for Radio Leipzig tells only humbug anyway; one wants to hear about politics, in Radio Leipzig it is not possible - everything is humbug there; etc.

15

OBJECTIVE AND/OR COMPREHENSIVE NEWS COVERAGE

The news is more variegated, more embracing (list of specific mentions): Because here one is told about all world events; it is the only connection with the external world; one is told many things from all over the world; it is most interesting; we want to know the West's opinion about everything; because I can hear more about the church; because it brings the most about the East Zone - that is not so frequently the case with the other stations; it gives everything one ought to know about the event all over the world; etc.

23%

One cannot listen anymore to what the Eastern stations offer: To hear the other side too, here it is so one-sided, therefore we don't want to hear anything; because it doesn't talk so much about politics; it offers something new, Leipzig gives always the same, e.g. at present incessantly about the world festival; because here one is told something else than what they continuously trumpet into one's ears; etc.

10

The news is up to date: Because it always brings daily events; perhaps because it is most up to date; one can get informed about the topics of the day; etc.

3

OTHER REASONS

Does not agitate so strongly: Here there is not only agitation as in the East; RIAS does not agitate so much as Leipzig does; because they don't agitate; etc.

7%

Because it is pro-Western and corresponds to my attitude: I'm just opposed to the other stations; because I like its political attitude; etc.

3

Other reasons: One hears the difference, one represents it this way, the other one that way; so that I can compare and see the difference from the East; it is most suitable for refugees; to learn about the difference of opinion between East and West; because our teacher in the lessons (Gegenwartskunde) always talks about political matters and I want to annoy him with it; etc.

4

No opinion / No answer:

119%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

We have looked at the radio news listening habits and preferences of young radio listeners in the East Zone. The extent to which they depend upon radio news from the West (notably RIAS and NWDR) is heartening, and their reasons for this dependence give substantiation to the West's philosophy of honest news reporting. Before leaving this matter of news distribution, let's see how the youth as a whole - not just radio listeners and those who express certain station preferences - evaluate the reliability of news from the East and from the West.

All were asked this question: "In your opinion, what is the difference between the news service from the East and from the West?" It was asked in the context of radio listening (questions preceding it referred to radio listening), although this question did not include a reference to radio. It did not offer the respondent any choices; it left the response entirely up to the individual:

Only 10 per cent of the youth had no opinion or gave no answer. In other words, almost all of them could frame in their own words how they felt about it.

Fully four-fifths of the youth attribute some difference in terms of validity/objectivity of news content - in favor of the Western news output. This can be taken as a high vote of confidence by the East Zone young people, and underlines the view expressed about radio news, specifically, by the radio listeners.

About one-sixth (15%) are critical of Eastern news treatment in another way: Eastern stations attempt to agitate and/or to incite public opinion.

"In your opinion, what is the difference between the news service from the East and from the West?"

EAST ZONE

VALIDITY/OBJECTIVITY OF WESTERN NEWS OUTPUT

The news from the West is reliable (honest, truthful, founded on facts, correct, impartial, without propaganda); while the news from the East is unreliable (all lies, humbug, phrases, propaganda, untrue, not founded on facts, incorrect, not impartial): In the East they are only giving the dominating political opinion, while the Western countries are very impartial; the East serves only propaganda, the West brings the world events the way they are; that the West talks openly about everything, criticizes itself, which the East doesn't do; that the East is telling only lies, I believe the West more; the West brings the truth, the East makes too much propaganda; from the East one hears only propaganda and from the West, it seems, one hears mostly facts and unbiased reporting; in the East they are telling lies and in the West they are telling the truth; truth is coming from the West and lies from the East; etc.

44%

The news from the East is tuned in with Russia, the East Zone and Bolshevism (political, biased, Communistic, one-sided) while the news from the West is of general interest and deals with problems of the day and with world problems: The Eastern nations are all bringing the same news, only what is commanded by Moscow - the West has freedom of the press and writes also what is true; the West brings reports on the world situation; there they talk only of the Soviet Union and how much she is accomplishing and that we should take her as our model, the West brings also something about the achievements of the Germans, that they are also able to accomplish something; in the West they talk of all countries, while the East is only reporting about the so-called people's democracies, one is secluded from the external world, one hears of rallies, but (e.g. nothing of plane crashes); etc.

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(cont'd on next page)

EAST ZONE

The news from the West is more truthful than that of the East: That the West isn't telling so many lies as the East is; those from the West keep more to the truth; the West - more truth, the East - also some truth, but mostly lies; the news from the West comes closer to the truth than that from the East; I think one ought to believe the West more; etc.

9%

INCITEMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION IN EASTERN NEWS OUTPUT

The Eastern stations are inciting more, while the Western stations avoid inciting: In the East there's only agitation against the West; there's too much agitation; I'm only listening to the Western stations, they don't incite so much, I turn the Eastern stations off; that the Western news is less inciting against the Eastern Germans than the Eastern news is against the Western Germans; Leipzig incites, and RIAS offers what is really happening; only half of the listeners believe what the East is telling, the East agitates more, the West does not agitate; etc.

15%

NEUTRAL STATEMENTS OR NEGATIVE APPRAISALS OF WESTERN NEWS OUTPUT

The news programs from the East and from the West don't differ (essentially): Our station (Radio Berlin) is mostly lying, but RIAS isn't always telling the truth either; there isn't much difference, everyone talks about politics, everyone talks against the other one; there isn't much difference, everyone talks about politics, everyone talks against the other one; there isn't much difference; no side, it seems, brings the actual truth; RIAS makes propaganda and Leipzig makes propaganda; they are both lying; etc.

4

The news from the East is more truthful than that from the West: In the West it is mendacious and vile, so as to involve youth in a new war - in the East according to the truth; etc.

1

OTHER OPINIONS

The East distorts everything the West is saying; they are opposing each other in everything, the difference is rather great; the one is saying this, the other one that, I don't care for politics; we can't judge about that, we aren't accustomed to freedom in the East, so we don't know at all what we may believe and what we may not; the West brings what the East doesn't bring, the East brings what the West doesn't bring; the West talks also about Korea; the East brings always only half of it, always only for 5 minutes, the West at least for 10 minutes; differences in reported facts, one doesn't know what to admit as true; etc.

7

No opinion / No answer:

10
117%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Those who did not volunteer reliability of Western output as a difference between the two sources were asked which (East or West) they consider the most reliable in general. In this way another one-third of all youth interviewed joined those who are of the opinion that the West's news output is generally more reliable.

"In your opinion, what is the difference between the news service from the East and from the West?"

If reliability not mentioned:

"Which news service do you consider more reliable in general - that of the East or that of the West?"

	EAST ZONE
East	1%
West	34
Both the same	1
No opinion / No answer	30
	<u>66%*</u>

Thus, the favorable evaluation of news from the West is extensive throughout the youth population of the German East Zone. There can be little doubt that most East German young people attempt to discern between truth and fiction in the news they hear on the air (or get elsewhere). There exists a large audience of young radio listeners who believe what they hear on news-casts from the West and who are skeptical of Eastern-originated news and comments.

* Only those respondents who didn't mention reliability in answer to previous question.

ESTIMATED SIZE OF EAST GERMAN YOUTH AUDIENCE WHO LISTENS TO WESTERN NEWS PROGRAMS ...

The young men and women who were interviewed were asked to estimate the proportion of youth in East Germany who listen to news broadcasts from the West. Although the question calls for a statement of opinion, not of fact, there is reason to believe that their estimates should be seriously considered. Knowing the extent to which young people spend their time together - in school, in leisure time activities (whether organized or self-initiated) - and thereby know much about each other's behavior, we can assume that their estimates are not mere guesses.

Slightly over one-half (55%) of the youth estimated that most of their comrades or "almost everybody" listens to Western news broadcasts. Another one-fourth of them thought that from one-third to two-thirds of East German youth listen.

"How many young comrades in the East Zone listen, in your estimation, to Western news broadcasts?"

1 - 30 per cent of them listen	3%
31 - 50 per cent of them listen	8
51 - 70 per cent of them listen	17
71 - 90 per cent ("most of them" or "almost everybody")	55
91 - 100 per cent of them listen	12
No opinion / No answer	5
	<u>100%</u>

This estimated high proportion of Sovzone youth listenership is consistent with our earlier reported findings of the extent to which the youth depend upon Western stations for news and other program fare.

EXTENT OF LISTENERSHIP TO CERTAIN WESTERN PROGRAMS BROADCAST TO THE EAST ZONE ...

Five Western radio programs whose content is largely political, and which can be heard in the East Zone, were studied with the purpose of evaluating the extent of their coverage and the nature of East Zone youth's receptivity towards them. In addition, they were compared with the well-known Soviet-sponsored political program broadcast on Radio Leipzig, "The Truth About America."

Given a card listing six (five of them Western) programs broadcast to the East Zone, the respondents were asked to name those which they'd heard recently. The five Western programs are aired over RIAS.

Of the five Western programs, two are listened to by at least two-thirds of East Zone young listeners. These are "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" and the "Voice of America".

Forty-four per cent of the young radiol listeners in the Sovzone interviewed report hearing "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" at least three times a week, and 38 per cent of them report hearing "The Voice of America" at least three times weekly. Each of these programs, then, appears to regularly reach about two-fifth of the East German youth who listen to the radio.

"Which of these programs have you heard recently?" (CARD) "How often do you listen to 'Berlin Speaks to the Zone' ('The Voice of America') during the week - approximately?"

	Berlin Speaks to the Zone	Voice of America
Did not listen	30%	30%
Listened	70	70
7 times (every day)	(1%)	(13%)
5 - 6 times	(26)	(6)
3 - 4 times	(17)	(19)
Twice	(13)	(14)
Once	(4)	(9)
Less than once a week	(1)	(1)
Others	(5)	(4)
No answer	(3)	(4)
	100%	100%

A third Western program which is directed to both youth and adults is "Boerner's Commentary". At the time of the present survey, this program was broadcast only twice weekly and was limited in length to five minutes. Any comparison of "Boerner's Commentary" with the two programs discussed above must take into account the considerable differences in frequency of presentation and length of program. Despite these limitations, over one-fourth (29%) of the young listeners interviewed reported listening to the program with some regularity.

"Which of these programs have you heard recently?" (Boerner's Commentary")

Did not listen	71%
Listened	29
	100%

Two other RIAS programs do not do very well when compared with those considered above. This is especially disappointing in that the two having by far the smallest audience are designed primarily for youth behind the Iron Curtain in Germany. "Youth Speaks to Youth" and "For Young People" suffer a dearth of the very audience they are directed towards. Only 11 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively, of listeners between 15 and 30 years of age hear them at all.

"Which of these programs have you heard recently?" (CARD) "How often do you listen to 'From Youth to Youth' ('For Young People') during the week - approximately?"

	Youth to Youth	For Young People
Did not listen	89%	95%
Listened	11	5
	100%	100%

Why do these programs designed especially for youth have comparatively few listeners? Certainly one should not attribute the very small audiences of the two programs to the program content, because one can readily discover other factors which - alone - would reduce the audience. They are the time of day of broadcast, the length of time the programs have been on the air and the frequency of their being broadcast. Let's look at each of the youth programs in these respects.

"Youth Speaks to Youth"

At the time of the survey it was broadcast at 6:10 AM - for ten minutes.

It was broadcast only on Wednesday and Saturdays.

It had been on the air for only four months (and during the summer months, when young people are most likely to be out-of-doors and away from radio sets).

"For Young People"

It was on the air at 3:00 PM - for one-half hour.

The program was broadcast only once a week - on Fridays.

It had been on the air for less than four months at the time of the survey.

Both programs were on at times which certainly could not be expected to secure much of an audience of youth - 6:10 o'clock in the morning and in the middle of the afternoon! Our respondents were asked what hour of the day they thought would be best for a program intended for East German youth. Their responses underline the unfortunate scheduling of the two youth shows:

Only 4 per cent of them suggested broadcasting youth programs before eight o'clock in the morning! Twelve per cent suggested some time between 2:00 PM and 9:00 PM. (The total of percentages is more than 100 per cent because some of the people named more than one time.)

"In your opinion, which is the best hour for a program for the youth in the East Zone?"

EAST ZONE

Before 8 o'clock	4%
8 - 12 o'clock	3
12 - 14 o'clock	8
14 - 18 o'clock	12
18 - 19 o'clock	21
19 - 20 o'clock	35
20 - 21 o'clock	31
21 - 22 o'clock	8
22 o'clock	4
Specific hours not indicated	5
No opinion / No answer	1
	<u>132*</u>

The winter schedule (in effect since October 28th) does not improve the position of these youth programs, and if it is possible, a re-scheduling of them should be examined. At any rate, we can attribute the very small audiences to "Youth Speaks to Youth" and "For Young People" in some degree to their placement on the broadcast schedule. Of the seven youth broadcasts currently aired on RIAS, only two are scheduled at optimum times - in the evening.

* Some respondents suggested several hours.

Note that at the time of the survey, both shows were not daily features, and could not be expected to compare favorably with "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" and "The Voice of America". "Youth Speaks to Youth" has been given a greater frequency of broadcast in the winter schedule than it had at the time of the survey - having been moved from two days a week to four times weekly. "For Young People" still can be heard only once a week.

Another probable contributing factor to their limited audiences is the relatively short time which both shows had been on the air at the time of interviewing. In this respect, our two youth programs could not have been expected to gain a large audience during so short a time - and in the "outdoors" months of May, June, July and August.

Before we investigate the relative popularity of the single East German program ("The Truth About America" - Soviet-sponsored), let's look at the evaluation of the Western output by those interviewed. Certain follow-up queries were put to the respondents who listened to the programs; these dealt with each program mentioned and asked what interested the listeners most and least about it.

LISTENER CRITIQUE OF CERTAIN WESTERN PROGRAMS ...

Content of the two most-listened-to Western shows ("Berlin Speaks to the Zone" and "The Voice of America") elicits interest for two different reasons. The appeal of the two programs is different, apparently.

Interest in "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" centers around the truth told about the Soviet Zone - with emphasis upon the enlightenment gained from listening to the program. More specific references are made to the refutation of Eastern-originated information, and one-tenth of the Soviet-zone radio-listening youth mention their interest in warnings given on the program about "informers" active in their Zone.

"What interests you most of all that is offered on "Berlin Speaks to the Zone?"

The true representation of the situation in the East Zone, the enlightenment, comparison of the conditions in the East Zone with the West: The political affairs; the contrast between East and West, that they are telling us we are not free individuals; the revealing of the conditions in the East Zone: all the events in the East Zone, what is happening, in politics too, about the political events; that we have possibilities of comparison; because topics concerning the East are dealt with; that we are told the truth about everything, that we are enlightened; the conditions in the Zone, the political persecution; etc.

28%

Everything, it is exciting, many-sided, important, interesting:

Everything interests; one listens to it just because it is interesting; what they want to do for the East Sector in Berlin; everything interests me because it concerns us in the East; everything interests me without distinction; it's all equally interesting; everything; etc.

13

Information on police-spies; warning information: The information on police-spies; information about spies; the warning information; warnings on informers; when certain villages are informed about informers; the warning information; etc.

10

(cont'd on next page)

The refutation of Eastern information: Because the things happening in our zone are pointed out from a non-Eastern aspect; one can see how much they are lying there; how the inciting in the East Zone is refuted; what they told about the World Youth Festival before, there they had agitated and were refuted at the same time; the themes repudiating great propaganda actions of the Russians; etc.

4%

The truthful news reporting (general): To hear the truth at all; how it is in the West, what takes place in the West, also politics; the truth about what is now happening, for example, the World Youth Festival; the truth it is telling about our conditions there; etc.

4

Instructions: That they encourage people, the other day somebody said Silesia will become free again and that we shouldn't lose hope, one day it will be free; how the population in the East Zone ought to conduct itself; etc.

2

The news reporting: The news, etc.; etc.

2

Information about the People's Police, rearmament: When they are telling the truth about the police; etc.

1

Other replies: Information for the farmers; the events in cultural fields; humorous programs; aims and purpose of the FDJ; opinions about the daily events, what the West is doing for unification; what they are telling about the zonal borders; about the homelands (East Prussia), about the prisoners who haven't been released in the East; that they pity us and we aren't forgotten; the letters from listeners from the East; the delegate from the Bundestag who speaks about the characteristics of Communists, e.g. Reimann; etc.

11

No opinion / No answer:

4
76%*

* Some of the "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" listeners gave more than one answer.

The majority of listeners who listen to "The Voice of America" attribute their main interest to what they hear about America, her customs, daily life and people. Considerably less is said about what the listeners hear about Russia or the East Zone or other elements of the international situation. In interpreting their pattern of response it should be appreciated that listeners to "The Voice of America", to a large extent, are also listeners to "Berlin Speaks to the Zone", and thus, what they hear on each of the two programs is supplemental to the other:

Eighty-five per cent of those who listen to "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" also listen to "The Voice of America". This very high overlap of the two programs' audiences, plus the difference in proportions of people who attribute a great interest in the political information offered by each, suggests that many people look more to "The Voice of America" for information about America than they do for political information because they already get the latter on "Berlin Speaks to the Zone".

"What interests you most of all that is offered on the VOA?"
If: "The Voice of America"

Reports on America, the country, the people, life, customs and habits: About business life over there; in the Radio Car through America; the living conditions of the American workers; the living conditions of the youth; life of the American people, economics, culture; the reports on America; about the conditions in America, the whole life over there; etc.

28%

(cont'd on next page)

Other programs of VOA or topics referring to the USA: Hit tunes, Broadway Melodies, science, research, techniques, new inventions, especially in atomic energy; the technical progress in America; building activity and about skyscrapers in America; technics and politics in America; the kaleidoscope of the week; economic questions; geographic pictures and inventions; novelties in zoology; etc.

15%

It is up to date, interesting, variegated: To be well informed about everything; I am interested in everything that is offered; they present always interesting things; everything is interesting; etc.

12

News, commentaries, politics: Political problems concerning Russia; weekly commentary; etc.

9

About the East Zone, comparison: At least they tell us openly what is happening here in the Zone; how the American people live, so that we can see the difference from Russia; that the Eastern lies are being refuted; also to draw comparisons; etc.

5

We answer letters from Listeners: There are questions in which I take an interest myself, and it is the opportunity to get to know things; the letters that have been written to the VOA and the answers to them; etc.

2

The attitude of the Americans toward Germany: America's attitude toward Germany; etc.

2

Other reasons: The equal rights of the colored people; I listen to these programs because they are very variegated, what they say about Communist Hungary, how they strip the people; transmission of German operas from American opera houses; etc.

5

No opinion / No answer:

5
83%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Mr. Boerner's calm dispassionate style and the general relevance and detail of his commentaries are the features which appear to find most frequent favor among the listeners to his program.

"What interests you most of all that is offered by Boerner?"

His style: Particularly his calm way of describing things; he presents and discusses the problems very much in detail, also uneducated people are able to follow his trend of thought which is of importance just for the people in the East who need to understand everything well; his way of talking, his dispassionate expression appeals, what he really thinks is said in a nice, indirect and ironical way; etc.

6%

(cont'd on next page)

His political commentaries: The overall political situation; the political radio programs; the commentaries that are very detailed; the detailed reports on Korea; etc.

4%

Everything: Everything is of interest; everything, politics in particular; etc.

4

That he tells the truth and is objective: His commentaries, he gives the facts as they really are; etc.

1

That you get acquainted with the American way of thinking: The American views on the topical events; etc.

1

General statements (very interesting, informative): That is generally very interesting; that he knows everything and is well informed; he predicts the events that will actually happen over here; etc.

1

It is new and topical: That we get to know details about the most important political events of the week; etc.

1

His political attitude, conception:

1

Others: The comparison he draws between East and West; about the Youth Festival, that was of great interest to me; nothing in particular; etc.

6

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{4}{29\%}$$

No statistical summarization of reasons for listening to the two youth programs can be offered, because too few people are listeners. The responses are varied, and no single comment will typify them, but the tone running through them is that of satisfying the curiosity of the listeners regarding Western youth.

THE EAST ZONE COMPETITOR - "THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA": EXTENT OF LISTENERSHIP
AND LISTENER CRITIQUE ...

Only 6 per cent of the East Zone young listeners report listening to the Soviet-controlled program, "The Truth About America", as often as three times a week. Its audience among Sovzone youth, then, is about one-sixth that of each of the two Western programs - "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" and "The Voice of America".

More often cited than other elements of interest - by a considerable margin - are these two: 1) the desire to hear what "whopper" the Soviet-inspired broadcasters will tell next, and 2) the interest in comparing Eastern with Western points of view (by those who apparently listen to both Eastern and Western radio output).

"Which of these programs have you heard recently?" (CARD) ("How often do you listen to 'The Truth About America' during the week - approximately?")

	EAST ZONE
Did not listen	67%
Listened	33
7 times (every day)	(-5%)
5 - 6 times	2
3 - 4 times	4
Twice	6
Once	11
Less than once a week	4
Others	4
No answer	2
	100%

"What interests you most of all that is offered in 'The Truth About America'?"

To hear their lies: They incite and I believe nothing of it; it is "Dyed" and you notice what is behind it, I believe nothing of it; to hear the inciting propaganda; everything is just propaganda, I listened only because father had turned it on, it is merely agitation; you discover that it is swindle; everything is built up on lies and agitation; etc. 8%

As a basis for comparison: To see the difference; all three programs a generally different and you try to make yourself a picture; it is interesting to consider the opposite side; what of it is true and what is exaggerated; I draw comparisons between here and there and I can see that what America tells is right; to hear it only as a basis for comparisons; etc. 8

Nothing, I turn it off: Nothing of it has interested me; it does not interest me; I take no particular interest in it; etc. 4

To get to know something about America: They reported continuously on a Negro leader of workmen who was being kept in jail and at last executed merely because he defended the right of the workmen, the VOA has not mentioned anything about it; because the conditions are like that over there; I'd like to hear about American life and doings; the difference between the white and the black race, that the Negroes are not well off in America; I want to hear what they say about America, how the East judges America; etc. 3

(cont'd on next page)

I listen casually: It does not interest me so much, I just like it because it is transmitted right after the news; I cannot remember properly what it is like; I'm not at all interested, they present their songs, I listen to it only when it happens to be in the program; etc. 2%

News about rearmament in the West: They say that the West is rearming for a war, but I don't believe that; etc. 1

Other answers: The songs of freedom and the musical programs; I'm interested in the economic topics; no interest, the songs they sing are so funny, they are singing through their noses; what arguments the East is putting forward to influence the people; and also I have to listen, I like to hear the Negro-singers; I listen to the program and mostly I'm annoyed because I know exactly what America is like; they just tear America to pieces; etc. 7

No opinion / No answer: 5
38%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

After the respondents were queried in some detail about each of the programs they'd heard, they were asked which of the programs had the most value for them.

PROGRAMS HAVING THE MOST VALUE TO SOVZONE YOUTH---IN THEIR OWN OPINION ...

With half the young East Zone radio listeners sampled according it first place, the RIAS program - "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" - comes out far in the van as the program having the most value among the political programs offered for choice. The runner-up, but considerably behind in judgments of most valuable, is VOA.

"To which of these programs do you attach the most value?" ("Why is this program of most value to you personally?" (Asked of only those radio listeners who have heard several programs.)

Berlin Speaks to the Zone	51%
Voice of America	16
Mr. Boerner's Commentary	4
The Truth About America	3
Youth Speaks to Youth	3
For Young People	-
No opinion / No answer	3
	80%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHY IS "BERLIN SPEAKS TO THE ZONE" VOTED AS HAVING THE MOST VALUE BY MOST EAST GERMAN YOUTH? ...

"Berlin Speaks to the Zone" enjoys its nomination as "most valuable" program to East German youth because of three things, according to the youth themselves. They were asked, "Why is this program of most value to you, personally?"

- 1) The credibility of "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" information about conditions both in the East and in the West is considered important to listeners. The tenor of the comments more often given than others is expressed in the following verbatim responses: "...because you really get to know what happens in the East Zone, otherwise you would never get to know it," and, "I learn what things are really like in the West and can compare it to things here."
- 2) The second group of reasons for the placing of a high value upon "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" suggest that its listeners believe that the program recognizes what is important to East Germans and introduces program content accordingly. That is, the program answers questions which the youth want answered.
- 3) The third group of reasons given clearly show the value of including in "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" information about "informers", their identity and activities.

Reasons why "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" is Considered Most Valuable

CREDIBILITY OF PROGRAM CONTENT

You learn the truth about the East Zone: Because here they speak of the Soviet Zone and because they tell the truth; it does give us the best information about the real life in the Zone; because you really get to know what happens in the East Zone, otherwise you would never get to know it; etc.

12%

Because of its news, its authenticity: Because of authentic reporting; etc.

3

As a basis for comparisons between Eastern and Western conditions: The rectification of what really happens in the East and as a comparison to Radio Leipzig; I learn what things are really like in the West and can compare it with things here; etc.

3

IMPORTANCE OF PROGRAM CONTENT TO EAST ZONE YOUTH

It concerns us personally and is important to us: Because this program concerns us more personally; it is addressed directly to us; because you can hear everything you want to know; etc.

11%

Because it gives us hope:

1

INFORMATION REGARDING "INFORMERS" AND SUGGESTED BEHAVIOR

Because of the news on informers: Because I listen to the news on the informers, also to the trials and the sentences; because of the warnings; etc.

7%

It gives us instructions: The precautions we have to take in order not to be caught; because it warns the population and gives them directions as to their attitude; it is a guide for us telling us how to act; etc.

2

(cont'd on next page)

OTHER REPLIESBecause it is topical:

2%

Others: I expect this program to give me mostly political information; because it deals with economic problems; because you get information on subjects you don't get to hear here; you get to hear most about the West Zone; etc.

4

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{5}{53\%*}$$

* Some respondent gave more than one answer.

We have reviewed certain current Western efforts to reach the minds of East German youth via print and radio broadcasts, inquiring into the extent of exposure to the media of communication. Then we examined the appraisals made by East Zone youth of what seems to succeed most in getting pro-Western ideas and information through the Curtain - namely, radio programs from the West (principally RIAS, and to some extent, NWDR).

Our next inquiry is concerned even more with future attempts to influence the attitudes within our "target area", using the comments of the target components themselves.

DO EAST GERMAN YOUTH WANT THE WEST TO DO MORE ABOUT ENLIGHTENING THEM ON POLITICAL MATTERS? ...

Sixty per cent of Soviet Zone youth think that the West should do more toward enlightening them regarding issues of the day. About one-half as many think that the West is now doing enough. This is a mandate from Soviet Zone young people to increase its efforts to disseminate information to them - however it can.

"What do you think - is the West doing enough to enlighten the youth in the East Zone politically, or should it do more in this respect or less?"

Does enough	32%
Should do more	60
Should do less	1
No opinion	7
	<u>100%</u>

IN THE OPINION OF EAST GERMAN YOUTH, WHAT IS THE BEST WAY OF INCREASING OUR EFFORT? ...

More than one suggestion was made by many respondents toward further enlightenment. By far the most often recommended avenue of intensified effort is radio broadcasting. Fully four-fifth of the youth favored the continued use of radio by the West.

Fifteen per cent expressed confidence in some kind of idea exchanges and/or first-hand discussions on the face-to-face level. Comments of this kind illustrate this view: "...if they (the West) would invite the Eastern youth and would have discussions with them," "to arrange a youth meeting from the side of the West by personal enlightenment of individuals which would spread it by word of mouth," and "the West should try openly to send youth from the West (Wandervogel, Falken) camping into the East, so that the youth can have mutual discussions ..."

One-tenth of the youth recommended the use of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets or books (and leaflets and posters were mentioned by 8 per cent). The great disparity between the number of recommendations of radio and that of printed information testifies to the general awareness by Sovzone youth of the comparative inaccessibility of the printed media.

"In your opinion, what should the West do in order to enlighten the youth in the East Zone politically?"

Through radio programs: "Youth Speaks to Youth" should be more extended; should speak to them through RIAS, to offer things more convincingly; they should use the Russian method; this is good - this is bad, conflicting with each other, the best way is by radio; since books and leaflets are dangerous; like in the radio - that helps much; etc. 49%

Reports on the West and comparison between the conditions in the West and those in the East (commentaries which deal with enlightenment):

To portray the Western youth, how they work and what they strive for and to describe this example to the FDJ by radio; programs about the situation in the West and the contrast to the situation in Russia and the Eastern countries; should report in the programs how the youth here is actually doing, what they can learn, that they don't have to carry arms; report on the life of the youth in the West, there they tell always how spoiled youth is here; tell them through the radio how it looks here and what they do for the youth; to offer a program following the program "Hits of the Week" on Friday 2000 hours, report on the work of the youth; etc. 30

By personal contact (discussions, invitations, etc.) The best means of propaganda is the extremely good reception of the youth at the festival; they should continue being friendly towards those coming from the East; if they would invite the Eastern youth and would have discussions with them; to arrange a youth meeting from the side of the West by personal enlightenment of individuals which would spread it by word of mouth; the West should try openly to send youth from the West (Wandervogel, Falken) camping into the East, so that the youth can have mutual discussions - these youths would only have to discuss their freedom and democracy, since that is the most topical; etc. 15

(cont'd on next page)

Through newspapers, news magazines, pamphlets, books, etc.: By humorous printed matter which has to be brought over in some way; to distribute advertising copies of newspapers and magazines to people from the East Zone, there should be places where one could fetch those papers to send newspapers and similar matters there; to smuggle in newspapers which have the same headlines as ours, but with wholly Western facts; like the pamphlets: development of the HJ (Hitler Youth) to the FDJ (Free German Youth); etc.

10%

Reports on the East: More reports on the lost territories; to tell them they should remember that Communism won't dominate forever; to refute the Eastern politics; there isn't much to enlighten, one ought to find a way to understanding; the West should send food and clothes, then they would not need political enlightenment; etc.

10

Leaflets, posters, etc.: Also to have leaflets dropped by plane; to drop leaflets; etc.

8

By correspondence: Correspondence with youths in the West; correspondence with Western youths; correspondence with youth and elders in the West; etc.

3

It is very difficult (there are no possibilities - the West does whatever it can): That is very difficult and the countries are already doing as much as possible; there are no possibilities, everything is suppressed by the East; etc.

3

Others which refer to methods: (To let people from the East speak, etc.);

3

Through sport events: To have sport events and plays between teams from East and West Germany, on this occasion many could be enlightened; it is difficult to influence the youth in the East from here, the great possibility is now during the World Festival, such occasions ought to be utilized further, at sport events in the Zone; etc.

2

Other opinions: To do more so that (we) will be free as soon as possible; the West should keep peace with Korea and should drive the Russians out, so that we can go back to our homeland; etc.

6

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{13}{152\%*}$$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer, hence figures add to more than 100 per cent.

WHAT OF THE POSSIBILITY OF EFFECTING ATTITUDE CHANGES AMONG CONVINCED FREIHEIT DEUTSCHE JUGEND MEMBERS?

We have said earlier in the report that almost two-thirds of the East Zone youth interviewed in this study claim to have membership in the Soviet-underwritten youth organization, the Freie Deutsche Jugend. Notwithstanding this fact, estimates of the proportion of listening to Western radio news by young East Germans are high. Other findings introduced have pointed to the positive receptivity of East Zone young people to Western programs, including news. In a later question in the schedule our respondents were asked whether or not they thought that convinced FDJ members listen to Western radio programs.

Slightly more than one-half of them believe that many convinced FDJ members listen to Western broadcasts. An additional 30 per cent feel that a few do so. Over four-fifth, then, think that some listening to programs from outside the Curtain is done by "good" FDJ members.

When asked why they think that convinced FDJ members listen, the youth most frequently cite the desire for information as a motivating element. More specifically, their comments referred to the need for satisfaction of curiosity about things which many youth entertain, to the desire for learning the truth or to be informed, and to enable listeners to compare conditions in the East with those in the West.

Two kinds of reasons given were less frequent, and had about equal incidence. They are very much opposed in meaning: 1) because only a part of the FDJ members are really convinced of FDJ tenets (of course, technically, this category should not be included as a legitimate response; however, it suggests that many East German youth do not feel that the supposedly "convinced" FDJ members are actually convinced). 2) Because convinced members can use what they hear from Western sources in the development of counter-propaganda when they have the opportunity to refute Western arguments.

"Do you think that even convinced FDJ members listen to Western radio programs? (Many or few?)"

Yes, many	54%
Yes, few	30
No	9
No opinion / No answer	7
	<u>100%</u>

Reasons Why Youth Think That Convinced FDJ Members Listen to Western Programs

To be orientated and informed (about the conditions in the West)
- also want to hear the truth; As to know everything; to be well posted; they want to know what is being said here; they also want to know the truth; they just want to listen to the alleged programs of lies; as to listen to the so-called untrustworthiness of the West; etc.

21%

Because only a part of them are convinced adherents (compulsory membership): They are none convinced, they want to know how the wind blows; because here everything is compulsory; because actually there are no convinced members, they follow outwardly; our Kreisvorstand (president of the county) also speaks differently than he thinks; because they have seen what's going on - they pretend to be convinced so that they don't lose their good jobs; because mostly they aren't so convinced as they act; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

To use the reports for their counter-propaganda - to refute them, etc.

To have themes so that they can agitate; to find out how much non-convinced FDJ members are pro-Western, and also to counteract the Western programs; half of them listen to make propaganda about the alleged lies they are telling; to make conclusions and to refute them; to be able to say that everything RIAS offers isn't true; to inform themselves, naturally they rail against them then; to hear what happens here so that they can agitate against it; etc.

15%

Because they are curious: Everybody is curious; because they are curious about the West; because they also can hear how it looks here, they deny it however, but are still curious; they like to hear the truth, for they are of course convinced, but still curious; because they also want to learn about the good life in the West; etc.

9

To be able to make comparisons (between East and West): They certainly will compare the East with the West; they want to know what is talked about here and then to make comparisons; also want to convince themselves whether it is different here; nevertheless they want to learn the difference in politics; to learn the difference of opinion; they want to hear both sides; etc.

8

Other opinions: They all have radio sets and will listen to anything; because it is not prohibited; to learn how the FDJ is doing in the West; they don't believe what the West says and believe RIAS tells lies here too and they even make fun of it; to be able to talk about it in assemblies; etc.

9

No opinion / No answer:

11
90%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Asked whether they felt that it's possible to sway convinced FDJ members from their conviction through Western radio programs, those who think that convinced FDJ members do listen at all were about split in their answers. About the same number felt that the convinced FDJ members could be swayed as felt they could not. Only a few had no opinion in the matter.

"Do you think that even convinced FDJ members listen to Western radio programs?"

If either "Yes, many" or "Yes, few" to previous question:

"Do you think it possible to sway convinced FDJ members from their conviction through Western radio broadcasts?"

Yes	41%
No	38
No opinion	5
	84%

Reasons Given by Those Who Thought FDJ Members Could Not be Moved from their Conviction

Only by personally getting to know the real democracy can they be converted - radio broadcasts are not sufficient: They would have to come to the West themselves; they would have to come here themselves, radio broadcasts don't overcome their political training; etc.

4%

They are too fanatical (too persistent, too convinced): They are stubborn, they can't be cured anymore; they are absolutely convinced out of idealism; etc.

3

(cont'd on next page)

They are for the most part opportunists and want to retain their jobs:
They are absolutely convinced because of opportunism; they have mostly political jobs and they want to retain those; they might be caused to waver, but not be dissuaded from it, since they are materially dependent; etc.

1%

Other opinions: They cannot be swayed in general, but this meeting has swayed many of them; etc.

3

No opinion / No answer:

28
39%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

It can be noted in the table above that most respondents could not explain why they felt that FDJ members could not be moved in their conviction. However, the two-fifths who were optimistic in their appraisal of altering the conviction of FDJ members could give substance to their optimism by suggesting what should be told convinced members in order to sway them from their belief.

The content proposed by the "optimists" runs along two general lines: recommendations specifically aimed at evaluation of FDJ purposes and activities by FDJ members, and more general content which would raise questions about Communism.

In the first category comments asking Western program planners to convince the FDJ members that they are working for Russian goals and not for German interests; another group of suggestions relevant here (partly relevant, also, to the next group of recommendations) would induce the young people to independent, critical thinking as opposed to the easier course of accepting whatever is spoon-fed them.

In the second group are suggestions that Western program fare include comparisons of living conditions in the East with those in the West so that FDJ members will know the differences. Also included here are recommendations that the truth be told them, that Communist distortions be exposed, etc.

Suggestions (by East Zone Youth) which Might Sway FDJ Members from their Conviction

Enlighten them about the different living conditions in West and East:

That they are much better off in the West and that there is freedom; enlightening by depicting the real conditions - how it is in the East and how in the West; just to explain to them the difference between the life in East and West, and also to tell them to think about how it will be if the Russians are victorious; etc.

11%

To convince the young people that they are working for Russian goals and not for German interests: Again and again to point out the goals of Bolshevism; by bringing enough reports on actual facts and by enlightening them sufficiently about their dependency on the Russians, and that they talk only about democracy but actually it is a dictatorship; that the Russian system does not suit Germany and they ought to recall their war experiences in Russia; to make it clear that they aren't free people and work only for Moscow, not for the German people; that what they are doing isn't right and serves only a war; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

One should induce the young people to independent thinking and thereby to real criticism of the conditions: One should advise them to look closely at the conditions in the DDR and to think about it; again and again to enlighten them about the real situation; they don't say what they actually believe, to challenge them to really weigh the matter in their minds - then they will perceive that they don't really think what they say; etc. 5/

One should tell the young people the truth: Best, I think, the truth; the truth about everything and the proof that it is the truth; best, I think, true facts; etc. 5

One should explain to the young people that the East lies and deludes them: One should point out how many lies are told, give examples of how much better it is in the West; they should not let themselves be talked into things an adult hardly believes; one has to appeal to their conscience, to open their eyes that there's nothing behind the promises they are getting; to tell them that free elections would promptly be followed by the unification they are fighting for; etc. 4

One should enlighten the youth about the goals of the Western world: To explain to them the Schumann Plan, to try to give them an idea of the Western viewpoint; etc. 1

Other opinions: Objectively and not aggressively, say what is good and bad; tell them to go to West Berlin and to look around; etc. 5

No opinion / No answer: 2
41%

Throughout the preceding analysis we have touched again and again upon the young East German listeners' reasons for liking certain programs, for disliking certain of them, and upon their suggestions toward the improvement of Western radio fare inasmuch as the radio offers the greatest promise of carrying the West's point of view to Sovzone youth. We've found that most of them think that more can be done in the dissemination of the free world's viewpoint on matters of concern to East German youth. There is reason to believe that even some convinced Freie Deutsche Jugend members are not so "convinced" that they don't want to hear the other side of the story - as presented on Western broadcasts.

One more opportunity was given our respondents to define the radio program content which would most effectively reach them and others like them in East Germany. In a sense, we've asked them to be program planners long enough to give us their ideas of how radio shows designed for Sovzone youth should be shaped. What should the programs say? - we asked them. In fact, the question put to them was, "If you were program manager, and had to arrange a program for the youth in the East Zone - what would you feature especially?"

The preponderance of suggested program features are of an informational nature. The youth know what they want - what they think would be best: information on developments and conditions within both the East Zone and the Western countries (including West Germany), and reports comparing the East with the West.

Sixty-two per cent of the youth clearly favor featuring this kind of material.

By contrast, only 7 per cent want no political programs. However, one-fourth of them would stress the programming of music of one kind or another. Otherwise, the comments largely indicate a thirst for information of the kind outlined in the paragraph above.

"If you were program manager and had to arrange a program for the youth in the East Zone - what would you feature especially?"

Information about the true conditions in the West (about the living conditions of the Western youths, about the democratic freedom and the aims of the West): Frequent reports about the life of the Western youth, about the free exchange of ideas; the good way of life here in the West; the truth about conditions in the West, to put right the lies of Radio Leipzig; technical matters, how the Western countries developed in the technical and scientific fields - we don't get to hear anything about it here; the truth about the West, to point out that everything is swindle (in the East); to give facts about the West, that the youth live in freedom without any pressure; news about the true conditions in the West Zone; much about the Western youth organizations, to show that they live in freedom, also about techniques, because they are far ahead of us; about the youth in the Western democracies and in West Germany; to enlighten the youth about politics so they get to know that nobody prepares for war (in the West); about the life of the West German youth, tell them how they actually live in comparison to what they tell us about them here in the camps; etc.

26%

Music of all kinds (dances), entertainment programs: Dance music; a pure artistic program with songs and tunes containing themes about truth and freedom; merry and humorous programs (youth has had enough sad experiences); music that is not "progressive"; dance music, folk songs, also classical music; etc.

24

Information about the differences between East and West (comparison): Information about their way of life and about the Western freedom, perhaps about the future possibilities in the East Zone and in other countries; I would offer programs pointing out the difference between Eastern and Western youth organizations; programs with the purpose of enlightenment about East and West; comparison of the conditions in East and West; news about the conditions in the social states (democracies, like Sweden and Norway), in opposition to the socialist states (like Russia and the satellites); the news should be developed into lectures on living conditions, then about the legal proceedings; I would tell them the truth about the World Youth Festival - what promises they had made and what quarters they offered us, and in contrast our experiences in West Berlin, and also that the youth in West Berlin lives much more at liberty; I would make every possible effort to enlighten the Eastern youth sufficiently about the happenings here - contrast to the East; etc.

22

Information on the true conditions in the East Zone (on Communism and its organization, the untruthful propaganda and the aims of the East): The truth about the East Zone and their way of life, about the development of private trade in the East that has been anchored in the Constitution; about the Constitution of the DDR, what it looks like in practice; try to explain to them what the real conditions in the East are like, the political conditions - that is the main thing; to arrange a discussion - to convince them that what is told in the East cannot be founded on truth - any reasonable person, any child can see that all of it is humbug; to reveal the truth about politics and the economic abuses; radio plays that conform with the truth, dealing with the victimization of the Eastern youth, what can happen to them, that they can suddenly disappear - and also with the Russian prisoner camps; to enlighten the youth about Communism and demonstrate our experiences (as Russian prisoners-of-war) in order to make it clear to them not to compromise

(cont'd on next page)

with the Russians lest we should get where we have been during the Hitler regime; first to inform them about the swindle of the Russian system; first I would tell them how they are cheated, shouldn't believe what they are being told in the East; the truth about the swindle in the East Zone, that Pieck, Ulbricht are no Germans but Russians, mainly to throw light into the conditions in the DDR; etc.

14%

General instructive broadcasts for the youth, radio plays:

Comparison of the way of life of youths from all countries; reports on discussion evenings of the youth; programs that contribute to understanding; cultural news; etc.

13

About sports: Reports on sports events, stories about sports; always to intersperse reports on sports events - that interests us most; etc.

10

Enlightenment about ideological problems, and to give help mentally:

Ideas that might help the youths build up new ideals to overcome the old militarism and Communism; a program that would inspire new hope for a better future for the youth - good lectures on religious and ethical problems; should discuss children's education to community work without pressure and force; to prove to the young people that they can build themselves a happy life as an individual, in opposition to "unity means everything"; besides many youths have self-reproaches through their membership in the FDJ which is very often compulsory - they should be calmed by pointing out to them its necessity; through the hint that they will have no disadvantages because of it later on; etc.

9

News, political programs, topics of the day, actual reports: That the youths are being convinced of the truth in view to politics, warning on informers; naturally politics too, but then reports from all over the world, no party policy; how it is in Korea; etc.

8

No, or fewer political broadcasts (no agitation): On no account politics; nothing about politics, it's of no use anyhow; something about everything, not always politics; not so much politics like those in the East; they should never agitate; etc.

7

Ideas about and suggestions for a re-unification of East and West Germany:

To work towards the unity of East and West, so that the zonal borders will be abolished; broadcast with the underlying idea of unification of East and West Germany; about the possibilities of re-uniting East and West; that the youths should fight together for peace and unity; etc.

2

Other programs: I would arrange for correspondence between East and West German youths through the radio; to report for instance about the Scouts; about Western films, talk about thrilling murder pictures - here most pictures are merely agitation; something for girls and the household, so that they know how to do it once they are married; etc.

5

No opinion / No answer:

6
146%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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ARE EAST ZONE YOUTH SPREADING THE MESSAGE OF
WEST BERLIN?

A Study of the Effects of the Berlin Youth Festival
on the East Zone Population

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R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

What happened to the young residents of the East Zone who visited West Berlin during the World Youth Festival after they returned to their home towns? Were their lives made more difficult or more easy by the realization that another way of life exists? Were they able to tell others what they learned in the West? This was the first glimpse most of the youth had of the free world since the end of the war, and as previously reported by RAS, they were by and large very impressed by what they saw. What kind of impact did they and their newly acquired knowledge have on the East? To shed some light on these important questions, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, interviewed between September 13th and 19th, 1951 - one month after the East Berlin Festival - 201 East Zone residents, obtained from among visitors to an automobile exhibition held in West Berlin.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

Prior studies have already demonstrated that the West won a great propaganda victory over the East among those East Zone youth who attended the Communist Youth Festival in East Berlin - and during the course of it, examined West Berlin.

The object of the present study was to see if this propaganda victory was confined to the participants themselves or whether through word of mouth dissemination of experiences, the pro-Western impact of the Festival has been extended and multiplied. That the Western victory had indeed gone beyond its youthful participants and extended into a broader segment of the East Zone population is borne out by the evaluation of the repercussions of the festival made a month after the event by East Zone visitors to the West Berlin motor-show.

Almost all of them had heard that the festival had occurred, though three quarters of the motor show visitors had not themselves attended the festival. They reported that the youth rally had had considerable impact on the East Zone population, but that its repercussions were almost entirely favorable to the West.

The youthful visitors apparently had not hesitated to talk about their experiences to friends and acquaintances on their return home. Especially they had stressed, according to the automobile show visitors, what they had heard, seen, and done in West Berlin. Freedom, prosperity, and hospitality sum up the overall impressions of the West which they had passed on to their East Zone neighbors.

In contrast, their accounts of the poor management, bungling, attempted repression, and favoritism were the aspects of the Communist efforts that appear to have greatly impressed their East Zone acquaintances.

The end result of their reports is that nine out of ten East Germans visiting West Berlin a month after the rally claim that the effect of the festival was to increase confidence in the West, and the same proportion say it must be considered a failure for the East.

Almost as many (79%) also assert that the glimpse these Eastern youth had of West Berlin has made life more difficult for them - largely because it is so hard for them to readjust to Eastern conditions after becoming acquainted with the possibilities and prospects of life in a free society.

R.E.S.T.R.I.C.T.E.D

DID WEST BERLIN VISITORS REPORT UPON THEIR EXPERIENCES?...

A first series of questions was designed to get at respondents' judgments of the extent to which East Zone youth had visited West Berlin during the East Berlin festival, and had subsequently disseminated their experiences by reporting upon their visit to friends and associates. The answers add up to a strong indication that the impact of the festival has not been confined only to the young East Zone visitors, but has been widely projected and multiplied by the young people passing on what they had seen.

"Do you know anyone personally who participated in the world youth festival?"

Personally participated in festival	11%
Did not personally participate but know those who did	75
Do not know anyone who participated	14
	<u>100%</u>

"About how many do you know who participated in the festival?"
(Asked of all respondents who reported knowing participants or, who personally participated.)

1 - 5 participants	25%
6 - 15 participants	32
16 - 30 participants	15
31 - 50 participants	7
50 participants and over	7
	<u>86%</u>

"Of those you know who participated in the festival, about how many visited West Berlin?"

All visited West Berlin	42%
Between 60 - 99%	26
Between 20 - 59%	8
Fewer than 20%	2
Don't know how many visited	7
Don't know anyone who visited West Berlin	1
	<u>86%</u>

"About how many of those would you guess reported on their visit in West Berlin?"

All who visited West Berlin reported	63%
Between 60 - 99%	5
Between 20 - 59%	6
Fewer than 20%	4
Don't know	8
	<u>86%</u>

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REPERCUSSIONS OF THE FESTIVAL ON EAST ZONE POPULATION ...

The youth festival appears to have had considerable effect - seven in ten respondents saying that it had an impact on the East German population.

"Did the world youth festival held during the preceding month have any kind of effect on the people in the East Zone, or not?"

Yes	70%
No	29
Don't know	1
	<u>100%</u>

The repercussions were largely in the West's, not the Communist East's, favor according to the respondents' estimates. Though a few do mention improved morale resulting from the enthusiasms engendered by the festival, and an additional small group cite retaliatory measures against youth who visited West Berlin, the reported effects for the most part add up to a victory for the West. Respondents report either that attitudes toward the East have become more negative, with some going so far as to say that the resistance against the government has become greater, or that attitudes toward the West have become more positive - that trust in the West has increased. In their own words:

"The population is disgusted that young people were sent to Berlin in order to propagandize for the East in the Western Sector. It had the contrary result since the youngsters know now what the West is like. They will be even more interested in listening to RIAS now."

"Most of them have come to the conviction that conditions have to change here and many who were strong adherents are of a different opinion now. They don't believe all the DDR propaganda any more."

"The hope in the West is rising again after it had gone down very much."

Those who believe that the festival had no repercussions on the East German people indicate either an opposition to the festival specifically, or to the East government generally when they explained why they thought it had no effect. Some of these answers might also be interpreted as a score for the West: "Because it was considered Bolshevik propaganda from the start and then the festival proved to be a success for the West, not for the East." "Most people in the Zone are cured of mass demonstrations and they won't let themselves be influenced by them any more - it was just considered a big show, which is over now anyway." "It was all nonsense and we had to pay for it with our money - besides it wasn't of any advantage to us."

R E S T R I C T E D

Kind of Effect Festival Thought to Have on the Eastern PopulationANSWERS NEGATIVE TO THE EAST:

People have become more critical of the goals and methods of the East; the disapproval has become greater: Because everybody is disgusted that we do not have a real democracy; many who were convinced are of a different opinion now - they don't believe everything they are told in the DDR; it did not contribute to bringing the youth closer to Communist aims and made them withdraw from them; it will have an influence on the parents to whom they tell about their experiences in West Berlin; they don't believe in that fraud anymore - everybody knows what's really up; etc.

20%

People are disappointed in the festival and are angry about it: The kids were very disappointed in the festival and in the poor food - they were drenched to the skin and had to march right away; everybody was disgusted about the organization - they said once is enough, never again; the festival is considered a circus; etc.

19

The resistance of people has increased: A counter-propaganda has started since the festival and resistance has increased because the youth talk more about West Berlin than the Eastern sector; there is certain unrest which I think is due to the reports and experience (in the West); many people speak their opinions more frankly in the Zone now; the resistance against the East has increased; the "Jugendfreunde" (Young Comrades) do poor work in the organizations; they have learned much and are rebels now; etc.

14

The festival has only brought economic disadvantage and debts to the East: The food shortage here has increased; there is no meat now and gasoline has become scarce; less food hardly any butter, and in return for it we get other fats; the food supply got worse - we didn't get any margarine for two weeks; the people had to eat fish for four weeks; etc.

12

ANSWERS POSITIVE TO THE WEST:

Sympathy and trust in the West has grown: The youth was in the West and only talks of the West; the longing for the West was kindled again; the FDJers talk only about West Berlin and the population is strengthened in the belief in the West; everybody talks about the West - they hardly go to the company meetings - everybody is for the West; etc.

17

RETALIATION BY THE EAST:

The East has taken counter measures against the visitors to the West by releasing them from jobs, arresting them, etc.: They arrested several people in Leipzig when it was heard that they had been to West Berlin; several have lost their jobs due to their visit to West Berlin; friends of ours were arrested because they had propaganda material from the West; etc.

4

The East has increased its fight against information from the West and sharpened its own propaganda: They pester the staffs with thorough indoctrination; the daily controls have increased; they turn off the current when RIAS brings its program "Berlin Speaks to the Zone"; the Russian station jams the RIAS programs at 7 o'clock in the evenings; the youths have to undergo extensive courses in which they are told how wonderful the festival was; etc.

3

ANSWERS POSITIVE TO THE EAST:

General improvement of morale due to the enthusiasm over the festival: The active FDJ members (Funktionäre) were enthusiastic; people worked with more enthusiasm in the factories because all those who participated were enthusiastic about the festival; etc.

1

Other answers:

1

Don't know:

1

2.4

* Some people gave more than one answer.

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Reasons Festival Thought to Have No Effect on the East Zone Population

The results had no meaning - the people had no interest in it: It didn't have any influence and everybody calmed down - we have so many festivals here that it doesn't make a bit of difference if there's one more or less; etc.

15%

People are opposed to the East Zone government: About 90% of the population here is opposed to it all anyway - though we were supposed to decorate our street with flags, nobody did it; etc.

6

No effect can be observed: The festival has been over for a long time now - there are no effects; I haven't heard anything about it yet; etc.

6

People have seen through the fraud of the festival: They didn't pay much attention to it - it was all a false front anyway; everybody knows what's behind it; etc.

4

People were forced to participate: The people weren't interested in it - they just had to go along; etc.

2
33%

* Some people gave more than one answer.

WHAT THE YOUTH REPORTED ABOUT THEIR FORBIDDEN TRIP ...

More striking evidence of how widely information about the West has been spread in the East Zone by the young people who visited West Berlin is found in the results to an additional question. When people were asked what the youth who visited West Berlin reported about their trip, they were able to give detailed descriptions of the impressions East youth had received.

The findings make it clear that the young people brought back to the East glowing reports of their visit to West Berlin - their friendly reception, the economic well-being and spirit of freedom observed. They described the movies and news reels that they saw "without a political tinge," the television, the open discussions, their visits to RIAS, the free meals, the efforts of the Youth Centers, and the friendly policemen who were "real policemen and not soldiers."

Those interviewed also have heard the FDJ members compare the economic conditions of the West to East. They reported that one could buy everything, that "a Mark is a Mark," that an unemployed man in the West has a better living than a well-paid laborer in the East.

The young visitors to West Berlin also carried back with them some of the spirit of the free West. One of the respondents says that the FDJ members are very cautious but they "tell their intimate acquaintances how free the people are in the West."

Except for only a few individual instances, everyone claims that what the youngsters reported about the West was favorable to the West, and unfavorable to the East. The very infrequent adverse judgments reported by the youth ran along these lines: The youth did not like the fact that war toys were for sale in the West, or "West Berliners are not much concerned about the Zone because they have full bellies."

Some of the unpleasant features of the festival itself were also mentioned in answering this question, although people were asked to say what they had heard about West Berlin. One youngster had related how he was offered 20 Marks to go into West Berlin and create a disturbance. Another had

talked to the chauffeurs of the French delegation who were shocked at the surveillance and the favored treatment given to foreign and Western delegates.

What the East Zone Youth Reported About Their Visit to the West

About the friendly reception and assistance they received in West Berlin, the helpfulness of the Western police: They were nicely received and attended cultural activities; the food in the Taberna and that they looked at the Marshall Plan Train; they had been well received, been fed and admitted to the pictures free of charge; people were hospitable; they were well treated and fed; they got good meals in the Youth homes; they attended the movies and went to the theatre; they were not arrested as they were told before but nicely received and the police were very friendly; etc.

40%

About the good living conditions in West Berlin; about the economic and financial well-being of the West: Mainly about the prices, the better qualities; you could buy everything in West Berlin; you could look at the full shop windows; the shops had wonderful things in the windows; many new cars drove around and people live a better life; I was most interested in the prices of shoes; about good food; it is mainly a question of material matters; etc.

39

About the freedom in the West, and good political conditions: You could actually express your views freely; the freedom and the interest of the West Berliners; they had seen for themselves what freedom means; about the freedom of political opinion; a student was impressed by the freedom, the open way of life, he saw what stands behind the externals; the freedom of Western youth impressed them very much, that everything was done without any pressure; etc.

24

Other favorable things about the West: Have told only positive things; I haven't been able to talk to them myself, but only good things are told, that they were satisfied; that they like it better here than over there; in general they were enthusiastic, mainly those who had been here for the first time; etc.

8

About the dishonesty of the East and a comparison of the Eastern propaganda with the West: That people have to starve in the East Sector, that nobody bothers about them, and that they have seen the truth in West Berlin; that the Eastern system is not what it should be - and where the proper workers' paradise is. The East Zone government is like a Potemkin village. They are now convinced that the East has nothing to offer them; that there is an immense difference between the West and the East and that the things told about the West don't conform with the facts, the West doesn't want war; etc.

10

About the bad organization of the festival in the East and unfair treatment of the delegates: They are upset about the difference made between the foreigners and the East Zone participants; each (foreigner) of them is said to have received 3000 DM, a special department store established for them, that could only be entered with a foreigners' pass; most of all they are upset about the three classes of food; one of them had to sleep in a pig stable; about the barriolading; within five days they got only two meals; etc.

7

Some unfavorable things about the West: He claims that everything in the West is only borrowed and that the chances for a career are better in the East; about the thrashing they got though they were invited; etc.

1

Other answers neither favorable nor unfavorable to the West: Nothing else, just confided to us that they were there; I am from Falkensee, where everybody goes to West Berlin - I know the conditions; they talk about West Berlin anyway; etc.

2

*Percentages add to more than 100% because some people gave more than one answer.

134%

R E S T R I C T E D

HAS EASTERN CONFIDENCE IN THE WEST INCREASED? ...

To probe further into the impact of the reports about West Berlin brought back from the festival on the attitudes of East Germans toward the West, a more direct line of questioning was employed. Respondents were asked if they thought this circulation of information had any effect on the Eastern population's attitudes toward the West. Over half were of the opinion that it had a great influence. Two in ten said that they had not observed any influence but most of this group explained their answers by saying that people in the East are already on the side of the West.

"Do you believe that the reports about West Berlin made by the participants in the festival will have an influence on the attitudes of the East Zone population toward the West or not? (A great, not so great, or little influence?)"

Great influence	57%
Not so great	14
Little influence	9
No influence	20
	<u>100%</u>

In describing the kind of influence these reports about the West had had on the Eastern population, about half (47%) answered that they had increased people's confidence and trust in the West. Although answers of the remaining half also indicated a basic identification with the West, they were further asked specifically whether confidence in the West had increased or decreased as a result of the stories carried back by the young visitors to West Berlin. To this, four out of five of the group judged that confidence in the West had been strengthened, and no one thought that it had been decreased.

In all, then, nine out of ten East Zone residents report that increased confidence in the West was a result of the youth festival, as may be seen in the following summary table.

"Do you think that the reports about West Berlin have increased the confidence of the East Zone population in the West, decreased it, or had no influence? (Greatly increased or only somewhat?)"

% answering confidence increased	
in previous question	47%
Greatly increased confidence	22
Increased confidence somewhat	20
Decreased confidence	-
Had no influence	9
Don't know	2
	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

Asked to evaluate the success of the youth festival from an Eastern point of view, almost nine in ten chalked it up as a failure for the East—as would be expected in light of the preceding findings.*

"Do you think that the world youth festival on the whole was a success or a failure for the East?"

Success	6%
Failure	88
Partly, partly	3
Neither/nor	1
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

... The very few who think the Communists scored a success give a variety of reasons: it was well organized (2%); it promoted peace (1%); the West's attempt to prevent Western participation (1%); the international sports events (1%); the free trips given youth (1%), and so on.

Among the bulk of respondents deeming the festival a failure for the Communists more than half appear to believe the effort boomeranged. In their opinion the East lost ground because so many people had an opportunity to become acquainted with the West. An almost equally large group considered the festival as a failure because it was so poorly organized and mishandled. Their comments listed in order of frequency of mention follow:

Reasons for Saying Festival was a Failure

Gave youth an opportunity to compare the East and the West:

Because a vast number of youths came to the West Sectors and saw the difference; the youths could look at the other side for themselves; they have seen West Berlin, that people can live there in greater freedom; even convinced FDJ members have been to the West and have seen that things are much better there; the broad mass of the population got aware of the difference, they have drawn comparisons that are more favorable for the West; etc.

48%

The preparation, organization and execution of festival were poor and disappointing: The food was so bad; the complete confusion; the organization was a complete flop; the views expressed by the youths showed general disappointment at the poor organization; mostly you hear that nothing worked out all right, they all went home dissatisfied and disappointed; great promises were made to the youths which were not fulfilled — they are all upset about that; etc.

40

Differential treatment of various delegations: Too great a difference was made between the Germans and the foreigners; the difference in treatment of individuals, foreigners and activists; the whole organization was a flop, because the foreigners received better food than East Zone youth, it even upset staunch FDJ members; etc.

8

Rejection of Eastern ideology and pressure: Everybody lost any interest in the FDJ; nothing that would appeal to them ideologically, as the youth were forced for a great part, yet were opposed to it mentally; the attitudes of the youth toward the government is negative as it was before; participation was forced and this can make nobody enthusiastic, because we are mentally against it; etc.

6

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* This evaluation compares closely to that made by the participants in the festival itself. When asked the same question, 80% said they considered the festival a failure for the East. See RAS Report No. 101, Series No. 2, "Attitudes of East German Youth," a Series of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted During the Berlin Youth Festival; I. Evaluations of the Festival and Impressions of West Berlin.

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The people in the East Zone (East Berlin) had to pay for it:
The population doesn't approve of it because the expenses will have to be met by taxes; many cattle were requisitioned and when the sons came home people were told that they even did benefit from it; even before the festival, yarn, meat etc. became short; you cannot make such festivities at the expense of the people, we'll have to suffer for it for a long time yet; people said they should pay for this business themselves; etc.

4

West Berlin's hospitality counteracted Eastern claims:
The friendly reception of the youth in West Berlin was something the East certainly didn't intend; people got better food in West Berlin than in East Berlin; the support and reception on the part of private persons in West Berlin proves that the financial situation in the West is better; the youth were well received in the West - the East had told the contrary; etc.

4

Western propaganda was influential: Because the information given by the West has had its effects; by the contact with the West much informative material penetrated the Zone; etc.

4

Visits to West Berlin were prohibited: They felt the pressure properly when they were prohibited from visiting West Berlin; they were kept by force from visiting the West; etc.

3

Judging by what the DDR press and authorities say it was a failure: Because our newspapers write about a great success one can safely speak of a failure; it was no success, as they don't mention anything of it; etc.

1

Others: Looked at it from the Eastern point of view, the opposite of the Eastern goals was really reached; people didn't take it really serious anyway, they merely laughed at it; etc.

$$\frac{3}{121\%}$$

* Percentages add to more than 88% because some people gave more than one answer.

WILL LIFE FOR THE YOUTH BE EASIER OR HARDER IN THE FUTURE? ...

Life in the East will be harder for the young people who had a chance to become acquainted with West Berlin, in the opinion of most of the Eastern residents interviewed. Although some respondents are probably projecting their own reactions when answering the question, the findings, nevertheless, demonstrate how Eastern residents feel about living in the East after they had observed life in a free society.

"Do you think that the participants of the world youth festival who visited West Berlin, will find life harder or easier in the East Zone now?"

Harder	78%
Easier	5
In some way easier,	
some way harder	14
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

Although some describe the physical danger, the threats and oppression that the youth must face as a result of their illicit visit, most of those

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interviewed point to the psychological readjustment which these young people now must make, how hard it is for them "to keep quiet and adjust to the system again after they've gotten to know the difference." Bitterness and frustration are also observable in the remarks:

"They realize now that they are being exploited and kept ignorant on purpose - they can't say anything even if they know that they are being lied to."

"So far they have thought that there was a purpose in their work, and now they have seen that they can never catch up with the West Berliners."

"They have seen the easier living conditions in the West. In the East they can't buy a pair of shoes."

"We feel like outcasts and as if we were the only ones that lost the war."

"They realize more and more every day that they can't even obtain freedom and the same living standard. They have seen now what life can be like, but not for them."

The following table presents a summary of their replies.

Ways in Which Life for the Youth is Expected to be Harder

<u>Their becoming acquainted with the differences between the East and West makes their situation in the East Zone appear more hopeless; They say that the return to the East seemed to them as if they had to go to war; because in the West all ways are open to them while in the East they are barred; because they have seen what real life is like; etc.</u>	65%
<u>As they have seen the West, they suffer even more under the pressure, the threats, and propaganda in the East; Because they have seen for the first time how much better it is to live in freedom; pressure and force seems even worse to them after they have caught a breath of "free" air; there is a certain indecision now - at least I feel that way - Germans live everywhere and then this difference between dictatorship and democracy; etc.</u>	24
<u>Knowing of the better life in the West paralyzes their working in and for the East; They are indifferent toward their work and in school, because they have seen another world for which all of us long; because one has to work without getting anywhere; etc.</u>	2
<u>Their confidence in the West has lessened; they are disappointed and have no hope for help anymore;</u>	1
<u>Others (harder): They will long for the West and yet they can't get there; the next youth festival is to be held in Leipzig, they won't have it in Berlin another time; if they find out that somebody was in West Berlin they fire him from work; etc.</u>	4
<u>Nothing has changed: The youth up to the age of 25 is not too openminded toward the problems in the East Zone - they are too occupied with the cares and worries of the day - they'll forget it soon; no influence, because what they have seen doesn't change anything about their life; etc.</u>	4
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	1
	101%

* Some people gave more than one answer.

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Of the minority which could think of some ways in which life for the returnees would be easier, the largest number thought they received now hope that the "hour of liberation wouldn't be too far off." "It will be easier since they have gotten more confidence in the strength of the West through personal discussions - McCloy, etc."

Ways in Which Life for the Youth is Expected to be Easier

Hope in liberation and in a change in the political and economic situation has grown: Because of that they hope that it can't be much longer until they'll be liberated from Russian bondage; they have more hope, they say that it can't be much longer until they'll be freed - Rauter promised it; one believes that the turning point will come soon; etc.

9%

Confidence in the West has increased: They have more confidence in the West now; they believe in the West; etc.

3

They received strength of character and a greater power of resistance: They have found something to hold on to; their will of resistance has been strengthened; etc.

2

Others (easier): They won't talk well of West Berlin anymore since they got a beating there; etc.

$$\frac{1}{15\%}$$

* Some people gave more than one answer.

HAVE WESTERN PAMPHLETS REACHED THE EAST? ...

People who worked in Youth Centers and at other places where the young persons from the East Zone gathered when they visited West Berlin during the festival, reported that many of the youth took political pamphlets, magazines, etc. with them when they left.

In an attempt to get some indication of whether or not Eastern youth smuggled any of this literature into the East Zone and passed it on after their return, those interviewed were asked whether or not they knew of any Western pamphlets brought back by visitors to the festival that are circulating in their home towns. Almost one third said that they knew of such pamphlets.

R E S T R I C T E D

To check how familiar they actually were with them, respondents were asked if they could remember the names of any. As many as two in ten could remember either the names of one or more pamphlets, or could indicate the subject matter. A few (9%) could even name two or more titles.

Evidently the Tarantol, a satirical, many-cartooned leaflet put out by the SPD, has achieved considerable circulation in the East. About one in ten (13%) were familiar with this sheet. Mentioned by fewer people were the Tolograph, the Tagesspiegel, (West Berlin newspapers) and the "100 Worte Kominform," a small satirical pamphlet with caricatures taking sharp jabs at the Soviet system. It is surprising that two people reported seeing "1984" and one, "Das Volk der stummen Millionen," both good sized books. One speculates how the youngsters were able to smuggle them over the border.

"Do you know of any Western leaflets or pamphlets that visitors to the festival brought back with them, and are now circulating in your home town? (Many, some or only a few?)"

Yes, many	8%
Yes, some	14
Yes, a few	10
None are circulating	14
Don't know of any	54
	100%

Can name two or more titles	9%
Can name one title	8
Can name no title, but subject matter	5
Can name neither title nor subject matter	10
	32%

WEST GERMAN THINKING ON A FEDERATION OF EUROPE

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R E S T R I C T E D

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RELATIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

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clearly apparent in the selection of alternative forms of a possible union. As many (36%) select a loose political confederation as select (36%) a common, sovereign all-European government. Moreover, comments of those making the former choice strongly suggest that the kind of union they have in mind is a tenuous one indeed.

The continued strength of nationalist sentiments which some of the comments in favor of a loose confederation suggest is further underscored in attitudes toward the uniforms and flag of an integrated European army. The weight of West German opinion tips in favor of the retention of national uniforms and flag (33%), rather than for an international uniform and flag (28%) for any such army. Though this point of view probably arises in part from a failure to realize that federalism in armies as well as in government would provide a place for local or national loyalties and symbols, some of the comments indicate the presence of rather firm nationalistic orientations.

Loyalty to Eastern Germany, while not diminishing West German acceptance of the principle of Western integration, interposes another qualifying condition to many Germans. Though on the one hand a large preponderance of those who favor the idea of Western union complain that European statesmen are laggard in moving toward integration, on the other hand as many as 37 per cent assert that West Germany should not join a United States of Europe until Germany is united again, while 33 per cent say it should go ahead without the East Zone, and 30 per cent have no opinion. It should be noted, however, that the issue is posed in terms of very complete integration and it does not necessarily follow that all of those persons who would prefer not to join a United States of Europe until East and West Germany were united, would not go along on a less inclusive European organization pending German unity.

Moreover, despite personal predilections on the matter, more than seven in ten expect West Germany would join a United States of Europe.

Notwithstanding the fact that nationalistic thinking is not always absent from West German views on a European union, the present study turned up little or no support for the fears of some observers that the Germans seek Western integration with the intention of ultimate domination. The view that Germany stands to gain more than any other European country does indeed outweigh the view that Germany is likely to gain the least, but it is among those holding the latter rather than the former position that nationalistic thinking tends to occur, as is revealed in supporting comments. Furthermore, the prevailing opinion among West Germans is that no one country is likely to dominate a united Europe. Among those who do foresee such a possibility, Britain is mentioned much more frequently than Germany as playing the dominant role.

INTRODUCTION

This study which explores various aspects of West German thinking on a federation of Europe is based on a survey made in late August, 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The sample used in the survey was a stratified, probability sample of 800 cases drawn from the U.S., British and French zones of West Germany and is representative of the population in these areas. The interviews in the survey were made by the trained staff of DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main), the German interviewing organization which is under contract to RAS. Analysis of the data was done in the Frankfurt headquarters of the Reactions Analysis Staff.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The findings of this study indicate considerable readiness on the part of the West German public to participate in a united European organization.

The issue was presented in varying degrees of elaboration and qualification and though, as could be expected, the extensivity of acceptance decreases as the frame of reference narrows from the general to the particular, the prevailing sentiment continues to favor West German participation in a European union.

The most widespread approval is apparent when the idea of a European union is presented without elucidation or qualification. Seven in ten West Germans agree that a European union is a good idea, and only six per cent take a negative view.

Support diminishes when the issue is posed in more exacting and also more concrete terms, but nevertheless remains the preponderant sentiment:

Quarried on their readiness to accede to a United States of Europe, on the assumption that West Germany together with all other participating countries would have to yield national rights to a supra-government, half of the West German public claim they would want to join under these conditions. A quarter are opposed (in contrast to the six per cent against the idea of a united Europe), and another quarter are undecided.

When the issue is further spelled out and in terms which assume the Germans to be bargaining from a stronger national position than they have at present, adherence to a united Europe continues to remain in the preponderance, though opposition increases somewhat. This line of inquiry posed the issue of accession to a United States of Europe in terms of a Germany in which the East and West Zones were already united, the occupiers had withdrawn, and the united Germany was presumably a sovereign state. Considered so, almost as large a preponderance (46%) votes for participation in a supra-European state, and opposition rises to 34 per cent. The remaining 20 per cent are without opinions on the matter.

There are indications that, despite the appeal that the concept of a united Europe holds for the preponderance, there is considerable reluctance to abandon sovereignty completely if the choice does not have to be the extreme one of virtually complete integration as against national isolation. This is suggested not only in the variety and range of spontaneous definitions of the term "European union," but it is more

I. GENERALIZED ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERNATIONALISM

THE IDEA OF EUROPEAN UNION ELICITS WIDESPREAD FAVOR ...

The idea of European union appears to have considerable appeal to the West German people. When the concept is presented to them without elucidation of any kind, affirmative responses outweigh negative reactions by more than a ten to one preponderance. Seven out of ten (68%) say they are for a union of Europe, and an added four per cent give qualified approval. In contrast only six per cent claim to be opposed to the idea, and a fifth (22%) have not made up their minds.

"Are you, generally, for or against a union of Europe?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
For	68%	70%	67%	65%
Against	6	7	6	3
Qualified replies	4	2	5	3
No opinion	22	21	22	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERM VARIES CONSIDERABLY ...

That the West Germans' approval of European union is probably more a reflection of an emotionally-based reaction to a "good thing" than a decision deriving from a clear or cohesive understanding of the concept is apparent in their replies to a query asking for definitions. Not only are a third unable to come forth with an explanation of the term, but among those who do, the variety of definitions is marked. Understanding of the concept runs the gamut from a formal closely-knit organization along the Coudenhove-Kalergi pattern to broad generalizations on peaceful amity among nations. For example, one group appears to regard a European union as confined to economic cooperation, either as a sort of extended Schumann Plan, or as a custom's union or general trading unit. Another emphasizes the general political aspects with definitions ranging from a union under a single government to something like the United Nations. Related to this interpretation are the views of another more specific group who see a union planned in the pattern of the United States or of Switzerland. Others understand it as a road to peace or to equality of all nations, a defense unit, and so on. Their definitions categorized and presented in order of frequency of mention, follow on the next two pages.

"What would be your personal conception of a united Europe?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Economic Cooperation; Improvement of Economic Conditions:

Joint use of natural resources, exchange of goods and delivery of surplus goods to countries lacking these - all European countries should have a share in it; every nation ought to have its own rights, but a joint economy; better economic exchange, abolishment of custom boundaries; uniform planning of economy - then the other problems would solve themselves; so that trade is boosted, that unemployment decreases, that there is a possibility of systematic rebuilding; European customs union; one aim - a single currency; that the worker is better off, and that goods become cheaper; that everybody is well off - that should be the aim; etc.

15% 17% 15% 11%

Peace, Unity, Mutual Help and Assistance:

That all European nations make peace; I can imagine that all humans can live well together and side by side; the individual nations should stick together as in a family, one should support the other; that there will be no war again - close cooperation of all peace-loving nations; cooperation in a peaceful manner; a league of mutual assistance; the nations would cooperate, the quarrels would cease; mutual help of everyone, that everybody helps everybody else; etc.

14 13 15 18

Political Union, a Close or Loose Federation:

Practically everything should come under the same administration; to aim at a political union, starting from economic conditions - in the end all nations, also the Soviet Union, with the government formed of individual representatives of the single nations; a government led by men of different nations - I imagine, like in the UNO; so that all nations are under one leadership in the most important questions, but otherwise every nation for itself; a unification of nations under a central government, every nation should, however, keep its own native government with sufficient sovereignty; a unification of European nations under one government which should be formed by the two largest nations, France and Germany; a democratic nation, on no account a dictatorship; etc.

12 12 12 11

As an Example, America or Switzerland:

Like it is in America; as an example, the United States of America; with a government like Switzerland's, that is one of the most stable governments of modern history; like the USA - a continent by itself with a government like the one in the USA, so that one can go everywhere and can work wherever jobs are offered, that in case of war all hold together; the same as in the USA or in Switzerland, with one council, the borders according to the languages, with a joint head, all West European nations like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Rumania should join gradually; analogous to Switzerland, a federation without customs barriers, with a superior government; etc.

11 11 11 11

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Equal Rights for the Participating Nations:

That they all have equal rights; a union of all European nations - but in a way that nobody would have any disadvantages; only with fully equal rights, without claims to leadership of any nation; etc. 10% 8% 13% 9%

Abolishment of Political Borders:

That one could travel anywhere without passports and much ado; that the borders fall, that one isn't hindered so much anymore, that there is no longer an Iron Curtain and that there is more freedom; etc. 7 8 6 3

Joint Defense, Army and Armament:

If any part of Europe is attacked by the East, all other nations should help and support; we all must hold together, so that the yellow race cannot overrun us; etc. 3 4 2 3

One Language:

Uniform language, probably Esperanto; it won't be possible as long as there is no uniform language; etc. * 1 - -

Others:

Churchill has good ideas about it; one ought to do away with the hatred abroad towards Germany - if the Russians were more yielding the unification of Europe could be furthered more easily; if the white race were under one hat, all politicians would be out of their jobs; etc. 4 5 2 2

Comments Rejecting a Union of Europe:

I don't believe it will be done, couldn't imagine anything like it; I don't care a bit about Europe, I'm badly enough off anyhow; Germany ought to remain German, and the others should also remain to themselves; I cannot imagine anything because I'm just not in favor of it; I can't imagine it at all, we never had friends, all nations only hate us; etc. 4 4 3 5

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{34}{114\%}$ $\frac{34}{117\%}$ $\frac{32}{111\%}$ $\frac{39}{112\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

HALF SAY WEST GERMANY SHOULD JOIN UNITED STATES OF EUROPE ...

Clearly, then, though the West German people have a great deal of good will toward the idea of a union of Europe, they appear far from agreed on the nature of such a union. The central problem remains, the extent to which the German people are prepared to accept a thoroughgoing union of Europe with all that such a union implies in the way of yielding national rights and privileges. In order to measure reactions on this theme, a complex of more pointed questions on West German participation in a united Europe was asked.

The first query posed the issue of participation in the United States of Europe, with a strong accent on yielding of national sovereignty, but without further elucidation or comment.

Enthusiasm for European union falls off somewhat when the issue is presented in terms of a United States of Europe. Obviously not all of the people who welcome the idea of unity favor the degree of integration implied by federalization. Nevertheless a two to one preponderance is prepared to yield national rights for the sake of unity. Half (48%) agree to German participation in a United States of Europe based on a mutual transfer of national sovereignty to the union, 25 per cent are opposed, and 27 per cent have no opinion.

"Supposing each nation would have to give up its independence entirely and would have to transfer its rights to a jointly established government of the United States of Europe: Should West Germany, under those circumstances, join the United States of Europe or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Should join	48%	45%	56%	39%
Should not join	25	30	17	28
No opinion	27	25	27	33
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

It could be argued that this readiness to give up sovereignty is specious inasmuch as the West Germans do not have a great deal to lose since their sovereignty is already limited. That this is not an important contributing factor is suggested by the results obtained to the following inquiry.

PREPONDERANCE PREFERS COMMON EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT TO NATIONAL ISOLATION ...

The second approach was to pose the issue with alternatives, within the frame of reference of a united, unoccupied and presumably sovereign Germany. The choice was between joining a common European government and remaining a sovereign, national state as in the past. A preponderance (46%) again votes for European union, though the strength of the opposition rises (34%) when the issue is so phrased. There are indications, however, that the nationalist viewpoint as reflected in this query is losing ground, as is seen in comparisons with findings obtained when the same question was asked in March, 1951. Whether or not the internationalist position is gaining is not too clearly established, though from French Zone and, to a lesser extent, US Zone results, it would appear that this is the direction of the trend.

Mr. Braun and Mr. Schulze are discussing what Germany's policy should be when East and West Germany are re-united and the four occupation powers have left Germany.

Mr. Schulze says: I am of the opinion that Germany should try to form a common government together with the other European nations. That would not only contribute to the welfare of the Germans but to that of the other West European nations as well.

Mr. Braun says : I am of the opinion that Germany should rather remain by herself - as she has been in the past - because the Germans know best what is good for themselves. Only then the common welfare of all Germans will receive the necessary attention.

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	March 13-16	August 20-30	March 13-16	August 20-30	March 13-16	August 20-30	March 13-16	August 20-30
Mr. Schulze	45%	46%	46%	43%	44%	47%	42%	52%
Mr. Braun	45	34	44	37	47	32	45	23
Qualified answers	1	1	-	1	1	1	3	1
No opinion	2	19	10	19	8	20	10	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

... Thus even when the issue of participation in a European union is put in rigorous terms, either with or without alternatives, internationalist sentiments prevail over nationalist orientations. If the choice has to be one between union and the nationalist sovereign system, the preponderance of the West German public clearly prefers something like a United States of Europe.

BUT PREFERENCES DIVIDE ON A SINGLE GOVERNMENT OR LOOSE CONFEDERATION ...

But if the choice were not so rigorously "either-or," there is reason to believe that not so many West Germans would be prepared for complete abandonment of national sovereignty as would appear from the foregoing results. This is revealed in responses to a third inquiry in which the European unity issue is presented in terms of alternative forms of union. When the form a European union could take is spelled out in concrete terms, there is an even split between preference for a loose confederation of European states (36%) and advocacy of a common, sovereign all-European government (36%).

Mr. Miller and Mr. Schulze are having a conversation about what kind of a united Europe they want and express the following opinions.

Mr. Miller: All participating nations should form a joint government which should have authority over the individual states; all decisions about common problems such as unemployment, refugee problems, and food supply would be made by the common government, and would have to be carried through by all nations concerned.

Mr. Schulze: All nations concerned should join in a loose political confederation. Common problems, such as unemployment, refugee problems, and food supply would be discussed jointly. The final decision in every case, however, should be made by each nation concerned.

"Which one of these opinions comes closest to your own?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Mr. Miller	36%	35%	39%	34%
Mr. Schulze	36	41	31	31
No opinion	28	24	30	35
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

... Reasons given for preferring a common European government vary in specific details, but the underlying theme of all is that European unity is an empty phrase unless it is formally organized politically and administratively. This group of people (36%) certainly may be considered to be firm European federalists. Comments classified and listed in order of frequency are presented on the following page.

"Why would you prefer Mr. Miller's opinion?"

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Only a Common Government Guarantees Unity and Harmony:

It is better that one government makes decisions than that all do what they like, and it would serve unity more; there wouldn't be any decisions if each nation could do what it likes - an authority free from national limitations should exist and any state autonomy should be abolished; if the union is to have significance and permanency, it must have a common government, otherwise there would only be a narrow particularism; it is easier to carry out, otherwise they would all talk, talk, talk to each other; if each nation could decide for itself it would result in too much friction, one single authority ought to give equal directions to all concerned; all participating nations should have equal aims and solve their problems jointly, otherwise there will be neither concord nor peace; one will have to be authoritative for all nations, otherwise it would result in differences and new wars; etc.

13%	12%	13%	18%
-----	-----	-----	-----

More Can be Achieved Jointly:

In a central government one can move ahead more quickly since not everybody can butt in; too many cooks spoil the broth - a joint government would decide and act more quickly; more is accomplished when all work together than when every single nation works for itself; a common government is always stronger and has more power than an individual government to carry things through; for time-saving reasons, so that all resolutions and jointly made decisions could be carried out most speedily; etc.

9	7	11	7
---	---	----	---

A Joint Government can Solve the Economic and Social Problems Much More Easily:

Then the problems would be solved jointly - problems, like the refugee problem, could be solved better; because thereby the refugees can be taken better care of, and unemployment could be abolished; in a joint government economic planning would be better, since it is better acquainted with the conditions in every country - unemployment would be abolished then, economy could be equalized; because this way unemployment, trade, etc. could be equalized in the best way; because Mr. Miller wants to do something for the unemployed and the refugees; etc.

4	6	3	3
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

It Is Fairer, Each Nation Would Have the Same Rights and Duties:

People stick together in good and bad days, if they join in time; because in this case they all would have the same possibilities; in a union all burdens should be borne jointly and therefore it is good to have only one leadership; because then we would all be European and would have equal chances, equal rights and duties - for that only a central government is the right thing; through it an impartial government would be established; because I consider this system more just - if at all, then entirely or not at all; etc.

3%	2%	5%	2%
----	----	----	----

It Is Right, It Is Good, It Is Better:

I think it is right; I just think it is right this way; I consider what Mr. Miller says good; because it is better in general; our whole life would be simplified; etc.

3	3	3	1
---	---	---	---

A Joint Government Is the Prerequisite for a United Europe:

Because it embodies most clearly the meaning and purpose of a united Europe; because otherwise there wouldn't be a United States of Europe, any other way would be incomplete; if there is to be a united Europe, then there has to be a united government; a united Europe cannot exist without sovereignty over its state members; etc.

2	2	2	3
---	---	---	---

Others:

I think of the conditions in America, they fare well with it; because it went well in Switzerland this way; because I am of the opinion that the wealth of the world is for everybody; we advance more and more to the point where the individual nations abandon more and more of their sovereignty, already there is no longer unrestricted sovereignty; etc.

2	2	2	1
---	---	---	---

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{1}{37\%}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{35\%}$	$\frac{*}{39\%}$	$\frac{1}{36\%}^{**}$
-----------------------	------------------	------------------	-----------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

... Comments of those who select the alternative of a loose confederation of Europe suggest that they would prefer a very tenuous union indeed. Main emphasis is given to the theme that each country knows its own interests best, and must retain the final decision. A pattern of thought which frequently characterizes German attitudes is apparent in the thinking of these groups: divergency of problems and interests tend always to be looked upon as irreconcilable; the concept of compromise of differences and the understanding that there can be diversity in union are certainly not clearly understood.

"Why would you prefer Mr. Schulze's opinion?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

East Nation Knows Its Own Problems Best:

Because each state has different problems and can decide best for itself; each country knows best where the shoe pinches; because each country knows best what attention its individual problems require and one measure doesn't apply to all of them; we must know for ourselves what is most important for us; cooperation is a good thing but each country has its own methods and views; each nation has its own habits which it wouldn't like to give up; etc.

16%	16%	15%	19%
-----	-----	-----	-----

Each Country Has to Retain Final Decisions:

Because each nation should retain the right of final decision; you will have to leave the decision solely to our government; each country should have to decide on different matters for itself and not cede all rights; otherwise you get many heads and many opinions; we have to and want to govern ourselves, because only one authority is able to decide and you don't like to have anybody butting into such problems; because they can never quite make up their minds and if pressure were used it would be worthless; etc.

9	10	8	9
---	----	---	---

Each Country Is Mainly Interested in Own Advantage:

Because one's own decisions serve one's own interests, and each country does look after its own interests; some nations are more efficient than others, and I don't see why one nation should work for another; because you don't always find understanding for other nations' problems; etc.

3	3	2	1
---	---	---	---

It Is Better - It Is Right (General Positive Answers):

Because that opinion is best to my mind; it is better that way; because it is the right thing if you consider everything; it sound better, to me it looks more advantageous; etc.

2	3	1	-
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Economic and Social Problems Can Be Solved
More Easily:

Because of unemployment and the refugee problem; for economic reasons, the distribution - particularly of food - would be better; etc.	1%	2%	1%	1%
--	----	----	----	----

It Means More Efficient Administration:

From the point of view of administration it might be more advantageous to the individual countries to be guided by their own country- men; everything must be mutual; all states together will never achieve any results; etc.	1	1	1	-
--	---	---	---	---

Habits and Customs of Past Cannot Easily Be
Changed:

Because it has always been like that up to now and has got us furthest that way; Europe is accustomed to being divided in individual nations, so she would not adopt the habit of being governed by one authority; etc.	1	1	-	1
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

A loose alliance is better as a start; because Mr. Schulze is more in favor of the general set-up; etc.	2	3	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{2}{37\%}$ *	$\frac{2}{41\%}$	$\frac{2}{31\%}$	$\frac{-}{32\%}$ *
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON EUROPEAN UNION ISSUES ...

The same pattern emerges in attitudes of the various population groups toward each of the unity issues. Throughout, the international position is most frequently held by the higher status groups, and the generally better informed opinion leadership groups - the better educated, the upper socio-economic and higher income groups, and the men. On the average, eight in ten of the people in these groups favor the general idea of a European union, six in ten would transfer national sovereignty to a United States of Europe, six in ten think that a future united Germany should join a common European government, and five in ten favor a united European government over a loose confederation.

This is not to say that their counterpart groups - the women, the less well-educated, and the low income people - take the nationalist point of view more frequently. That is not the case. These "hard to reach," politically more apathetic groups tend frequently to have no views at all on the issues. Group breakdowns are shown on the following pages.

"Are you, generally, for or against a union of Europe?"

	For	Against	Qualified Replies	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	82%	5%	4%	9%...100%	361
Women	57	7	3	33	437
Education:					
Elementary school	65	6	3	26	650
Beyond elementary school	84	5	5	6	148
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	61	7	3	29	380
Middle and upper class	76	5	4	15	417
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	64	6	3	27	521
300 - 399 DM	78	6	2	14	157
400 DM and more	83	4	5	8	111
Age: *					
From 19-24 years	72	4	6	18	106
" 25-34 years	75	8	2	15	185
" 35-44 years	68	5	4	23	177
" 45-54 years	67	7	4	22	159
55 years and over	62	5	2	31	170
Party Preference:					
SPD	82	5	3	10	186
CDU/CSU	75	6	2	17	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	94	2	-	4	50
Other parties	76	10	3	11	62
No party	60	9	6	25	207
Don't know	48	3	2	47	163
Occupation:					
Professionals	87	-	5	8	38
Businessmen	82	7	3	8	83
White-collar workers	80	7	2	11	105
Skilled laborers	75	3	3	19	149
Semi-skilled laborers	66	7	5	22	117
Farmers	54	11	3	32	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	57	5	5	33	110
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	77	7	6	10	141
No	66	6	3	25	657
Religion:					
Catholics	70	5	2	23	368
Protestants	66	7	4	23	392
Origin:					
Natives	67	6	4	23	630
Expellees, Refugees	75	6	2	17	138
Veteran Status:					
Yes	84	6	4	6	228
No	77	4	4	15	141

* On this and several other group breakdown tables, age groupings are presented in greater detail than usual in order to show attitude of youth in contrast to their elders on certain international issues.

"Supposing each nation would have to give up its independence entirely and would have to transfer its rights to a jointly formed government of the United States of Europe: Should West Germany, under those circumstances, join the United States of Europe or not?"

	Should join	Should not join	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	63%	27%	10%...100%	361
Women	33	23	44	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	46	24	30	650
Beyond elementary school	59	30	11	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	40	26	34	380
Middle and upper class	57	24	19	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	43	24	33	521
300 - 399 DM	58	29	13	157
400 DM and more	61	24	15	111
<u>Age:</u>				
From 19-24 years	54	23	23	106
" 25-34 years	53	28	19	185
" 35-44 years	46	31	23	177
" 45-54 years	52	19	29	159
55 years and over	40	22	38	170
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	62	26	12	186
CDU/CSU	52	32	16	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	24	6	50
Other parties	63	27	10	62
No party	40	26	34	207
Don't know	28	17	55	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	53	31	16	38
Businessmen	63	20	17	83
White-collar workers	58	28	14	105
Skilled laborers	48	27	25	149
Semi-skilled laborers	51	21	28	117
Farmers	33	28	39	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	45	19	36	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	61	30	9	141
No	45	24	31	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	49	24	27	368
Protestants	45	27	28	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	48	25	27	631
Expellees, Refugees	47	26	27	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	68	21	11	228
No	53	30	17	141

Mr. Braun and Mr. Schulze are discussing what Germany's policy should be when East and West Germany are reunited and the four occupation powers have left Germany.

Mr. Schulze says: I am of the opinion that Germany should try to form a common government together with the other European nations. That would not only contribute to the welfare of the Germans but to that of the other West European nations as well.

Mr. Braun says: I am of the opinion that Germany should rather remain by herself - as she has been in the past - because the Germans know best what is good for themselves; only then the common welfare of all Germans will receive the necessary attention.

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

	Should try to form a common government (Mr. Schulze)	Should rather remain by herself (Mr. Braun)	Quali- fied replies	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	59%	33%	2%	6%	361
Women	35	34	1	30	437
Education:					
Elementary school	41%	36%	1%	22%	650
Beyond elementary school	65	24	2	9	148
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	30%	34%	1%	35%	380
Middle and upper class	56	29	2	13	417
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	40%	34%	1%	25%	521
300 - 399 DM	55	35	-	10	157
400 DM and more	64	26	3	7	111
Age:					
19 - 24 years	51%	35%	1%	17%	106
25 - 34 years	51	35	2	12	185
35 - 44 years	50	28	1	28	177
45 - 54 years	45	37	-	18	159
55 years and over	32	34	1	33	170
Party Preference:					
SPD	58%	36%	1%	5%	186
CDU/CSU	53	32	2	13	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	68	30	2	-	50
Other parties	45	44	3	8	62
No party	40	36	-	24	207
Don't know	27	26	1	46	163
Occupation:					
Professionals	66%	21%	3%	10%	38
Businessmen	60	32	1	7	83
White-collar workers	59	26	2	13	105
Skilled laborers	47	35	1	17	149
Semi-skilled laborers	46	34	1	19	117
Farmers	32	41	1	26	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	32	36	-	32	110
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	60%	33%	4%	7%	141
No	43	33	1	23	657
Religion:					
Catholics	47%	30%	1%	22%	368
Protestants	43	37	1	19	392
Origin:					
Natives	47%	32%	1%	20%	631
Expellees, Refugees	40	37	2	21	167
Veteran Status:					
Yes	65%	30%	2%	3%	220
No	48	38	1	13	141

Mr. Miller and Mr. Schulze are having a conversation about what kind of a united Europe they want and express the following opinions:

Mr. Miller: All participating nations should form a joint government which should have authority over the individual states; all decisions about common problems such as unemployment, refugee problems and food supply would be made by the common governments, and would have to be carried through by all nations concerned.

Mr. Schulze: All nations concerned should join in a loose political confederation. Common problems such as unemployment, refugee problems, and food supply would be discussed jointly. The final decision in every case, however, should be made by each nation concerned.

"Which one of these opinions comes closest to your own?"

	Should form a joint government (Mr. Miller)	Should join in a loose political confederation (Mr. Schulze)	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	51%	38%	11% ... 100%	361
Women	24	35	41	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	33%	36%	31%	650
Beyond elementary school	51	38	11	148
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	32%	31%	37%	389
Middle and upper class	40	40	20	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	31%	35%	34%	521
300 - 399 DM	48	37	15	157
400 DM and more	47	39	14	111
<u>Age:</u>				
19 - 24 years	37%	42%	21%	106
25 - 34 years	37	42	21	185
35 - 44 years	33	41	26	177
45 - 54 years	39	30	31	159
55 years and over	35	27	38	170
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	44%	45%	11%	186
CDU/CSU	42	38	20	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	52	46	2	50
Other parties	42	47	11	62
No party	32	30	38	207
Don't know	21	25	54	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	45%	40%	15%	38
Businessmen	47	34	19	83
White-collar workers	45	40	15	105
Skilled laborers	38	40	22	149
Semi-skilled laborers	33	39	28	117
Farmers	23	38	39	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	40	23	37	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	49%	40%	11%	141
No	33	35	32	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	39%	34%	27%	368
Protestants	31	39	30	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	36%	35%	29%	631
Expellees, Refugees	36	39	25	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	52%	39%	9%	228
No	48	38	14	141

II. OPINIONS ON SOME PROBLEMS RELATED TO INTERNATIONALISM

NATIONALIST SYMBOLS RETAIN APPEAL ...

Despite the generalized internationalist orientation of the West German population apparent in the foregoing results, the spark of nationalism does not appear to be extinguished. When the question of a west European defense army arises, the nationalist symbols of uniform and flag seem to have retained a relatively strong hold on the imagination of many of these respondents. Although a large group (39%) express no opinion, of those who do, somewhat more people (33%) would favor a union of allied national armies, each of which would serve under its national flag and wear its national uniform, than would advocate a thoroughgoing international army (28%) with no distinction of uniform or flag.

"Aside from the question of whether West Germany should participate in it or not: what would be your personal conception of such an army? *

"Should it be an international army in which the troops of all countries wear the same kind of uniform and serve under one flag, or should it be a union of allied armies, each of which would wear national uniforms and serve under the flag of its own country?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Same uniforms and flag	28%	27%	30%	29%
Different uniforms and flags	33	36	30	28
No opinion	<u>39</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>43</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Although justifications for limiting the international scope of a European army to a union of allied armies vary, the theme underlying most of the given reasons is that nations should not be forced to relinquish their identities, that each nation knows itself better than others could ever know it, and that national armies are more able to maintain esprit de corps among their troops than international armies whose troops are naturally more heterogeneous. Examples of this attitude are such comments as: "An international army can never serve the interests of an individual country", "We want to preserve our national feeling and want to have our own flag for which we'll fight", "To each his own uniform - otherwise we could be mistaken for foreigners and that wouldn't be good".

Sentiments of this kind obviously indicate a lack of readiness on the part of many Germans to transfer their loyalties entirely to internationalist symbols. The principle of federalism as applied to Europe would undoubtedly provide for local or national loyalties and symbols as well as for the broader international loyalties and symbols. Possibly, if this aspect of federalist principles were more clearly understood by the West German people, more of them would be prepared to accept international symbols. However, the comments reported above as well as the more complete listing of reasons given on the next page suggest that only a national flag and uniform would seem at present to have great appeal to a considerable fraction of the German public.

Of those who advocate a completely international army, the largest group favors it on what appears to be an extremely internationalistic basis. These respondents see the uniform and flag as symbols of an idea - and the idea they sponsor is internationalism. Typical of the comments is: "The flag is a symbol and it ought to be a symbol which is worth while fighting for, without making a distinction of nationality or language".

* This query was preceded by the basic Atlantic Pact trend question below, the results of which will be separately reported:

"Several West European nations and America recently signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

"Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

Reasons For Advocating Union Of Allied Armies
With National Flags And Uniforms

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Each Country Should Fight Under Its Own Flag and Defend Its Own Interests:

Each country has its own customs and wants to defend them under its own flag; because the respective nationalities would fight much better for their countries; each country should preserve its nationality; an international army can never serve the interests of an individual country; because each country has a national pride which should not be suppressed; etc.

7% 7% 8% 7%

There is too Much Divergency to have an International Army:

Because if all of them were mixed up they would quarrel sooner or later; then they would be by themselves which is better - otherwise nothing good would come of it since the people of the respective countries are too different; because there would be quarrels if all of them are mixed; everybody feels loyal to his own nation and the national peculiarities don't go together - this way quarrels could be avoided; etc.

5 5 7 1

National Uniforms are Necessary in Order to Differentiate Between the National Armies:

One has to be able to differentiate between the different nationalities, otherwise one never knows who's who; so one can recognize everybody right away; one should be able to tell right away from which country the soldiers are - then it won't be possible that the Germans provide the infantry only; to each his own uniform - otherwise we could be mistaken for foreigners and that wouldn't be good; etc.

4 3 5 6

A National Army is More Efficient and Ready for Battle Than an International Army:

National troop contingents will prove to be better; because an international army would not have any moral standards - it would be nothing but a foreign legion; this (international) army would not be efficient in battle since it is so mixed; because they would all have different ideas, and the efficiency of the army would suffer from it because they would be established as a mixed group; they (national armies) would be more efficient since they are more interested in their own; each "tribe" should be permitted to continue in their particular ways, that will boost strength and effort; etc.

3 2 3 7

The Germans Should Fight Under the German Flag:

Our honor as soldiers has always been high and we should fight for our own flag - that will bring better results; we want to preserve our national feeling and want to have our own flag for which we will fight; since I'm a German, I stand by my flag; the Germans by themselves; the German soldier need not be ashamed of his uniform - he should fight under his own flag; etc.

3 4 1 2

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Differences in Language are a Great Obstacle to the Formation of an International Army:

Nothing would come of it anyway since they speak different languages, therefore each army should be under separate command; language difficulties will impede efficiency and effort - the respective countries have to establish their armies which would then be under a unified command; the nations would not be able to understand each other because of language difficulties - differences should therefore be made; etc.

3% 2% 3% 2%

A National (German) Army Avoids Exploitation (Germans as Cannon Fodder):

Because by that our troops will not needlessly be exploited as cannon fodder; each country should be by itself - the Germans can then be in the rear and need not pull coals out of the fire for others; the command of the armies should be unified, yet the contingents should be independent from each other, otherwise the Germans would be used as cannon fodder; German soldiers do not exist to fight for other nations and be nothing but a colonial army; etc.

3 5 3 -

Relative Quality of Troops Better Seen in a National Army:

One could have a better picture of the military efficiency of the individual nation; one can see in combat who is the better soldier; one can get a much better picture of the fighting abilities of the various troops and their alertness in battle; because then one can see which country defends itself best; etc.

1 1 2 2

General Consent to a National Army without Specific Reasons:

It would be better; I don't really know, I just think it would be better; etc.

2 3 1 -

Other Opinions:

As long as there isn't a United Europe, a European army is impossible; because in reality it won't have the same uniforms anyway; only this way the German soldier could rely on the person next to him; because we are used to each country's - France, England, or Germany having its own uniform and a flag; then every nation has something to say and no single nation will be able to command the others; etc.

3 5 2 -

No opinion / No answer:

1 1 * 3
35%** 38%** 35%** 30%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Reasons For Advocating Thoroughgoing International Army

WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

It Furthers the Unification of Europe and Better Expresses
Its Aims and Ideas:

Because this way the European idea is much better represented; the differences between the individual nations are formally relinquished; because it necessarily furthers the idea of unification; so as to emphasize overtly the unity of Europe; the flag is a symbol and it ought to be the common symbol which is worth while fighting for, without making a distinction of nationality or language; only this way the soldiers will know what it is about and what they are fighting for; if we want to become a united Europe, we should not have different uniforms and flags; to emphasize the international character of it; all national interests have to be relinquished - I'm for the Union of Europe with a European army which must have the same uniforms for all members; because they all fight together for the same thing - for Europe; if they fight together they should also wear the same uniform; if we want to join and if we ought to be together in bad days, then we should wear the same uniforms; etc.

9%	9%	10%	7%
----	----	-----	----

It would Further Equal Rights and Obligations Among Nations:

All should have equal rights and duties, so that peace and cooperation is secured by absolute equality of all nations; there should be no difference in their appearance and in their branches of service; that no distinctions are made in the treatment, etc.; to eliminate class differences; because otherwise the Germans would always be put in as cannon fodder; so that all were equal and nobody would be neglected; etc.

6	6	5	9
---	---	---	---

It would Avoid Quarrels Between the Countries and Between the Soldiers:

I think there will be less quarrelling, if all look alike and one can't recognize right away where every soldier is from; so that no hatred arises when we join - one must not be able to distinguish them at all; so that there is no grudge among the soldiers, for men too are vain where uniforms are concerned; with different uniforms and colors, quarrels will easily result; etc.

5	5	6	4
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It would Mean More Efficiency, Unity and Security: Because the efficiency of such an army is much greater; such an army will be much more powerful than one pieced together; because it would represent a united front against Russia; unity makes for strength; there will be more unity and more security if all are unified; then everything will really be done jointly and no state will pursue its own interests; otherwise it will only be a clique system and in case of war every nation would like to be looked upon as being better and having achieved more than the others; etc.

5	4	6	4
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

It would Improve Leadership, Training, Equipment:

Because thereby leadership and techniques would be simplified; because in case of war it would be more useful, and equipment more uniform and easier to supply; because the matter would be easier to manage, especially in the higher echelons; it must be uniform, because more would be achieved - if trained following one standard, one could be sure of success too; with equal uniforms one can easily recognize the enemy, as soon as a different uniform suddenly appears; etc.

2%	2%	2%	3%
----	----	----	----

Other Opinions:

We are no more in the Thirty Years' War, when every group's pants had a different color - usefulness is essential; then nobody can be made responsible for anything, they couldn't say: look, those Germans, those criminals; if we would be national again I would fear that German militarism would come back; etc.

$\frac{2}{29\%*}$	$\frac{2}{28\%*}$	$\frac{3}{32\%*}$	$\frac{4}{31\%*}$
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WEST GERMANS DISSATISFIED WITH PROGRESS TOWARD UNITING EUROPE ...

That any campaign for expediting European integration would have considerable popular support in West Germany is attested by the fact that of the 72% who advocate a united Europe or give qualified approval, only 7% would recommend curbing any acceleration of present efforts. Almost two thirds (46%) not only think that Europe's statesmen are doing too little toward realizing a United States of Europe, but they would probably back any prompt acceleration of action.

"In your opinion, are Europe's statesmen moving ahead fast enough in their efforts toward uniting Europe, or not?" (Asked of all who expressed themselves for a United Europe, or gave qualified answers.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Fast enough	7%	7%	7%	3%
Not fast enough	45	48	40	46
No opinion	<u>17</u> 69%	<u>15</u> 70%	<u>21</u> 68%	<u>16</u> 65%

... Nationalistic selfishness, pettiness, and the intransigence of the statesmen are largely cited as reasons for the lack of cooperation and the slow pace with which negotiations are allegedly carried out. A few are more specific in their charges - some blaming the Russians, the French, and so on - and a small group (4%) believe that Germany, being the object of prejudice and hatred of the other nations, is the chief bone of contention among Europe's statesmen. This tendency to interpret other national attitudes on the basis of Germany is found in other sections of this survey, and indicates a national self-preoccupation reminiscent of early post-war years.

"In your opinion, are Europe's statesmen moving ahead fast enough in their efforts toward uniting Europe, or not?"

IF: "Not fast enough:" "Why are the statesmen not moving ahead faster?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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They Are Primarily Concerned With Their Own National Interests:

Each statesman tries to gain the greatest possible advantage for his own country; each has his eye on his own profit and wants to play a big part in a United Europe to which the others don't agree, and so they keep just talking; because they are merely concerned with personal privileges and special rights for their own countries; first of all the statesmen think of their own nations; everyone seeks his own advantage, none of them bothers about the higher goal; petty national desires are still predominant, the statesmen do not yet have the courage to make any greater concessions; they lack the courage to make a firm decision, they put their national interests into the foreground; their thought continues to run along the tracks of narrow-minded national ideas and the defense of their national interests; because national arrogance and conceptions of power are in the foreground; the egotism is too strong; nationalism is a hindrance; etc.

13% 15% 11% 13%

(cont'd on next page)

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

They Cannot Agree or Compromise:

There are always new disagreements; unsatisfactory agreement between the individual statesmen; there is not unity, everybody wants something else; they take too much time, the constant divergence of views; they merely talk about unity but quarrel instead, their differences are too great; because of intrigues, everybody has ideas of his own; old antagonisms and rivalries overrule, a strong will for union is lacking; the parties in the various countries don't agree and partly work against it; because each is obstinate and doesn't like to give in; nobody wants to make concessions, everyone is afraid of losing a bit of his power; etc.

9%	10%	8%	13%
----	-----	----	-----

They Don't Make any Real Efforts:

They don't try hard enough; they mean to dupe us and that is why they don't get on; because they have not yet realized the necessity of creating a United Europe; because many statesmen lack the determination to create a United Europe quickly; because they don't want it - maybe the statesmen do, but not the governments; etc.

3	2	3	6
---	---	---	---

They Talk too Much and Don't Act:

They negotiate too much instead of really doing something; they do too much travelling - to Switzerland, to America, and still don't achieve anything; because they do too much talking at the conferences which doesn't get them anywhere; too much red tape and too many sessions; they never stop holding conferences and never reach an agreement; etc.

3	5	3	1
---	---	---	---

They Want to Suppress Germany and to Take Advantage of Her:

First they want to strip Germany more; the hatred against the Germans is still too strong; because they all want to exploit us first, they even take the coal away and we have to re-purchase it from foreign countries; because they still make a difference between the victorious and the defeated nation; prejudice against West Germany; one moment they want to accept Germany, the next moment they don't; because the Western powers still treat us like a defeated nation and not as a people with equal rights; etc.

4	4	3	5
---	---	---	---

The Russians (Communists) Are to Blame:

Because of the "Ivan"; because Russia doesn't cooperate; Communism is a hinderance; because the statesmen of the East Bloc States make too many difficulties; the Russians sabotage everything; etc.

2	2	2	1
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(cont'd on next page)

EST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Other Problems of Domestic and Foreign Policy
Are More Important or Have Priority:

They are too much concerned with their own domestic affairs; because they don't agree on economy; because of the general crisis - Korea, the oil trouble - which are more important; etc.

2%	2%	2%	4%
----	----	----	----

They Don't Trust Each Other:

Nobody trusts anybody; the mutual distrust is still too strong; I believe it is because of the distrust among the nations; etc.

2	2	2	-
---	---	---	---

The Politicians Are Incapable:

Because at present they are merely puppets; the actual politicians don't agree on the stage; they all are much too old and side with the Pope; there are no capable men on top, also not in other countries, otherwise a different kind of wind would blow; etc.

1	1	1	3
---	---	---	---

The French Are to Blame:

The French make difficulties, they are afraid we might gain too much power; I suppose Franco meets us with distrust; because of the French intrigues, maybe they are scared of us; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

Others:

Propaganda for a United Europe is poor; I suppose England has an egotistic point of view; it is America's fault, they waste time, they look into other matters first, which prevents the other European statesmen from getting anywhere, they depend on America; etc.

3	3	2	1
---	---	---	---

No Opinion / No Answer:

<u>4</u> 47%*	<u>4</u> 51%*	<u>4</u> 42%*	<u>4</u> 48%*
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GERMAN UNIFICATION SEEN BY SOME AS PREREQUISITE TO WEST GERMANY'S MEMBERSHIP
IN UNITED STATES OF EUROPE ...

One of the problems confronting West Germany with respect to membership in a United States of Europe is whether she should join as soon as such an organization is established, or whether she should center her immediate attention on a unification of Germany and abstain from membership in any projected European union until she can join as an entire nation of East and West Germans.

That neither alternative course of action would have unanimous popular support in West Germany is attested by the almost even split between the two views. While a full 30% express no opinion on the question, only a slight majority of opinion holders (37%) feel that West Germany's membership should be dependent on the prior unification of East and West Germany.

These results should be interpreted with care. The question was posed in strong terms - a United States of Europe is a very advanced stage of integration and might be considered the ultimate of European unity. Therefore, although an appreciable proportion of the respondents favor West Germany's abstention pending Germany's unification, those results do not necessarily imply that this group would be unwilling to go far along the path of European integration even without German unity.

"Supposing a United States of Europe were realized in the near future: Do you think West Germany should join without East Germany, or should it withhold its decision until Germany is re-united?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Join at once, without East Germany	33%	33%	31%	36%
Wait until Germany is re-united	37	40	36	30
DK	30	27	33	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Of those who favor making the unification of Germany a condition for West Germany's membership in a united Europe, almost one half are of the opinion that a split Germany is no Germany at all and that West Germans have no right to act without their Eastern countrymen. Another group fears that membership of West Germany would only widen the East-West German gap and preclude any possible future unification. Throughout their comments there is a strong overtone of national sentiment - "because a unified fatherland is a main condition for us Germans," "a split up Germany is unthinkable for a united Europe," etc.

On the other hand, many of those who would join immediately, without waiting for East German participation, take the view that the prospects for a united Germany are so dim that to make West Germany's entrance into a United States of Europe dependent on a prior unification of Germany would be ill-advised and futile. Others express the even more pessimistic opinion that East Germany, at least for the present, is lost to the Russians and will be regained to Germany only through war--therefore, West Germany should join the West to form a strong, united front against Russia. Somewhat more optimistic are those who hope that union with the West would enhance the possibility of German unity and that if West Germany joins, East Germany can more easily become a member later.

Detailed comments are listed in their order of frequency on the following pages.

Reasons for Holding German Unification as Prerequisite to Joining
United States of Europe

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Germany and the Germans Must be United; With-
out East Germany Nothing Can be Done:

Even if it takes quite a time - but Western and Eastern Germany belong together; because a unified fatherland is a basic condition for us Germans; we all are Germans - East Germany as well as we should participate in this unification; because it is as important as West Germany, it can't remain by itself; the Germans in Eastern Germany have the same right to a unification of Europe as we have - that must be cleared first; we belong together, and the Germans in the East Zone could not understand us if we did things without them; we are all Germans - whether East or West - and the East ought to have a say about it too; West Germany alone is not Germany; etc. 17% 19% 15% 13%

If West Germany Were Not First Unified It Would Never
Become United:

Otherwise there wouldn't be any unification, then one half of Germany would belong entirely to the West, and one entirely to the East; there must not be anything else than a whole Germany, otherwise unification will never be; otherwise East and West Germany will live asunder; unification will never be achieved if we don't insist on it beforehand; etc. 7 8 5 5

We Cannot Leave the East Germans in the Lurch:

Otherwise East Germany is alone and the Russians will annex it; because it would be inhuman to leave our brothers and sisters in the East to the Russians - we can't betray ourselves; East Germany belongs to us, we can't leave our brothers in the East to themselves, or they would lose their faith in our help; because we must not forsake our brothers and sell them to the Russians; etc. 3 2 5 2

A United Germany Would Carry More Weight in a
United Europe:

Because then we would be stronger and could better carry through our opinion in the main European government; because then we would be stronger and have more say; because then they could better dispose of matters, and their influence at conferences would be greater; half a Germany could never gain full rights in a united Europe; etc. 3 2 3 4

A Unified Europe is Impossible Without a Unified Germany:

Without East Germany it won't be a united Europe; a split-up Germany is unthinkable for a united Europe; there won't be normal conditions and a just peace if the Germans aren't united; because that would really be a prerequisite for the United States of Europe, otherwise there is no prospect of success; then it would be too late for East Germany - the United States of Europe can be established only when the Iron Curtain falls and Communism begins to collapse; etc. 2 3 3 1

It Might Result in a Civil War:

It would become a plainly military union, and Germans would fight against Germans; because we cannot make enemies of our brothers in the East Zone; etc. 1 1 1 2

Others:

We should use the unification of Germany as a means of pressure; because East Germany is so highly disputed; the time has not come yet; because we to take advantage of it; so that we refugees can go back to our homelands; etc. 4 5 3 4
1 1 1 1
38% 44% 38% 31%

No Opinion / No Answer:

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Reasons for Thinking West Germany Should Join United States of Europe
as Soon as Possible, Regardless of Germany's Unification

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Western Union Is So Urgent, It Cannot Wait on German Unification:</u>				
We have to act; no other choice is left to West Germany; because the prospects of a re-unification so far are bad - we must look after our interests in good time, otherwise we shall miss many chances; because it is unlikely that the re-unification of Germany will be brought about in the foreseeable future - you cannot delay the formation of a United States of Europe as long as that; because you don't know to what dangers we will be exposed if we are united with the other nations; you may have to wait for a long time before East and West Germany are re-united; any union with East Germany may still loom in the distant future - if it happens at all; I think it might be too long before East and West Germany are ever re-united; East Germany is not able to do so at present and we cannot wait, it would be a waste of time; because the union with East Germany is not possible yet; etc.	13%	14%	11%	13%
<u>East Germany, for the Time Being, Has to Be Written Off; That Depends on the Russians:</u>				
East Germany will never come back; Russia will never leave East Germany, anyhow - you might just as well wait for ever - at present West Germany is not able to reach East Germany with any of her ideas or suggestions; Russia will never give up East Germany; because I've written off East Germany; the Russians never return what they once got - except through war; we won't get back East Germany except through war; it won't be possible to bring about a union of Germany in the foreseeable future by any peaceful settlement; the East Bloc States don't participate and the East Zone is exposed to the same kind of in- fluence; etc.	9	6	12	12
<u>A Union With the West Can Speed up the Re-unification with the East Zone; Pressure on Russia:</u>				
It might speed up the re-unification of Germany; the East German part might join us more quickly, then Russia would find herself face to face with a power that would force her to give in; etc.	4	5	3	3
<u>East Germany Can Still Join Us Later on:</u>				
They can still be integrated when they eventually become free; at once - under the supposition that the East Zone will join us later on; etc.	3	4	1	6
<u>Protection Against Russia, Against the East:</u>				
We alone are too weak, we have to join with the West against Russia; the earlier you build a bul- work against the Russians the better; we cannot wait - otherwise West Germany would weaken herself - time works for the Russians; etc.	3	4	1	2
<u>Others:</u>				
Russia is unpredictable, you never know what they plan in order to anticipate the Western powers; otherwise we might neither be accepted into the European union nor would the zones ever be united; the matter will take a natural development, you cannot take the second step before you take the first; etc.	$\frac{2}{34\%}$	$\frac{2}{35\%}$	$\frac{3}{31\%}$	$\frac{1}{37\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.
- 25 -

MAJORITY, HOWEVER, THINK WEST GERMANY WOULD JOIN ...

Apart from personal opinion on the question of whether or not West Germany should join, three out of four West Germans think she would become a member of a United States of Europe. Only 2 per cent are of the opposite opinion, while 23 per cent are undecided.

"Aside from your personal attitude toward this question: Do you believe that West Germany would join the United States of Europe?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, would join	75%	76%	72%	71%
No, would not join	2	3	2	1
No opinion	<u>23</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>28</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

MAJORITY IS CONFIDENT OF WESTERN SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNITY ...

That the preponderance of West Germans appear to be confident that the Western world will support a united Europe is apparent in the results of a series of questions involving the anticipated reactions of England, France and America to the projected United States of Europe.

The prevailing view is that England, whatever her reasons, would join the proposed federation. Fewer than one in five hold the opposite opinion.

"How would the following nations react to a United States of Europe:

"Do you believe that England would join the United States of Europe, or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, would join	52%	53%	51%	49%
No, would not join	18	21	16	15
No opinion	<u>30</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>36</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The reasons most frequently mentioned for her probable non-membership are her alleged isolationism and desire for continued independence, her interest in the Commonwealth to the exclusion of interest in Europe, and her fear of losing her reputedly predominant position in the world. A reason given by a very few, but indicative of the self-consciousness of Germans apparent in other sections of this report, is that England is antagonistic toward Germany and would resent her position of equality in a united Europe. (See comments on following pages.)

- ... There is even more extensive assurance that France would join a United States of Europe than in the case of England. Only 8 per cent believe she would not join, while more than six in ten think she would.

"And in the case of France: Do you think France would join the United States of Europe, or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, would join	63%	64%	62%	63%
No, would not join	8	9	8	3
No opinion	<u>29</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>34</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The most cogent reason against the probability of her membership, according to those who anticipate her abstention, is vis-a-vis Germany's current membership - that French antagonism toward Germany is still too rife for cooperation in a system which demands equal rights for all nations. (See comments on following pages.)

Reasons for Anticipating England's Non-Membership

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Because England Prefers to Remain Independent and to Exploit Others:

England is too autocratic and domineering to stand in rank and file with any alliance; because she cannot subordinate herself and likes to remain in isolation; England always pursues her own policy and may want to remain isolated - other nations have to burn their fingers for her; they rather want to remain alone; we were always told that the English were a "Herrenvolk" (master race) according to their history, now they are expected to stand in rank and file - I think they hardly would; etc.

6% 8% 6% 3%

Because her Interests Are Engaged in the Commonwealth:

England's interests lie in her colonies; because the Commonwealth is closer to her than Europe; England won't as long as she has her great Empire - but afterwards she has to do so; they are tied by the colonies; because England has possessions all over the world and is paid custom fees which she would lose then; because the Commonwealth might crumble away; etc.

4 4 3 3

Because England Doesn't Want to Lose her Predominant Position:

England would lose the position of a world power; because she won't cede her position of world power; because she still hopes to play a major part in Europe; because their point of view is insular and they are scared of losing their power; because she likes to rule other nations; etc.

4 5 3 5

Because England Is Still Antagonistic Toward Germany and Fears her Competition:

They are slightly stubborn, they have always been against us; they have an antagonism toward our Federal Government; because the hatred against the Germans is still too strong; England bears us no friendly feelings; England dreads German competition on the world market; she doesn't want Germany to get equal rights; etc.

1 1 1 -

Because England Has No Interest in a United Europe:

Because they are not interested in it; England's interests are different; etc.

1 1 1 2

Other Reasons:

The British have no character and are nothing but businessmen; the British policy indicates as much; etc.

$\frac{2}{18\%}$ $\frac{2}{21\%}$ $\frac{2}{16\%}$ $\frac{3}{16\%}$ *

* One respondent gave more than one answer.

Reasons For Predicting France's Non-Membership

	WEST	Brit. US	French
	GERMANY Zone	Zone	Zone

Hatred, Dislike and Fear of Germany Are Too Great:

Because hatred towards Germany is too strong, so that France would not cooperate with Germany; France is still biased against us; France bears ill-will towards us; because they don't want to have anything to do with us, they would not come to terms with us; the French are too great German-haters; if Germany joins, France will not join, because she still hates us; in France there exist many war-mongers who are opposed to us; France is always opposed to Germany; their fear of a German army is too great; etc.

4%	5%	4%	1%
----	----	----	----

France Is Always Opposed and Pursues Only Her Interests:

France has always been unique; France is always opposed to anything being done, see the Schuman Plan; etc.

2	2	2	1
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The Influence of the Communists Is Too Great:

Probably the Communist party already exerts too great an influence on the executive power; every fourth Frenchman is a Communist - there is no relying on that; because Communism predominates; etc.

1	2	1	-
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Other Reasons:

Because France possesses everything herself and doesn't need anything; etc.

$\frac{1}{8}\%$	$\frac{*}{9}\%$	$\frac{1}{8}\%$	$\frac{1}{3}\%$
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* Less than one half of one per cent.

AMERICA FAVORS UNION ACCORDING TO PREPONDERANCE ...

Although more than half of the West German respondents think that America would favor a united Europe, 35 per cent believe that she would do so for reasons of her own advantage - because a United States of Europe would constitute a strong ally and protection against Communism; for economic and political advantages; so that she could reduce her aid to Europe; and so forth. In contrast to these rather skeptical attitudes are those comments which clearly indicate pro-American sentiments - that America has herself succeeded in a system of federation and therefore advocates the establishment of the same sort of system in Europe; that she wants peace and international understanding and cooperation and thinks a united Europe would best achieve that end; and so on.

The reasons most frequently advanced by the small proportion who anticipate American opposition are economic competition, fear of losing her dominant position in the world, and fear of a strong potential military and political adversary in a United States of Europe.

"Do you think America would be for or against this union of European nations?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
For it	52%	58%	48%	39%
Against it	15	17	14	12
No opinion	33	25	38	49
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Reasons For Anticipating American Support Of European Union

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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For Security Reasons Against the East and Communism:

The unification of all democratic European countries represents an excellent bulwark against Communism; so that America, in case of war, will have a strong and united ally; she considers it a protection for herself; in a critical situation America would be more secure against Russia, and the unified nations would stick to America; America wants a united Europe to prevent Russia from pocketing Europe; America would like to have as many European countries as possible unite against the East, thereby Europe alone would banish the main Communist danger; a strong Europe is the best protection against the East; etc.

17%	18%	16%	17%
-----	-----	-----	-----

For Economic and Business Reasons:

Then America could do extensive business with the whole of Europe; America wants to do business with these countries since the Americans are businessmen; America would only make money and get rid of her goods; for reasons due to the commercial policy - they can better do business with a united Europe than with separate nations; economically they need a strong partner; because export trade would improve; she would profit by her trade connections with Europe; because of economic interests; etc.

12	13	10	10
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

America Wants Peace and Understanding Between Nations:

America wants world peace; because America always wants the good, and the good is a united Europe; America wants peace secured in Europe, she wants the unification of all freedom-loving nations of the world; then there would be more calm and order in Europe; I believe they don't hate us, they only want peace in Europe; etc.

9% 10% 11% 3%

Because the U.S. Is Itself Federated:

Because it's the same way in America and it worked out right; because they themselves are a federal state and propagate this political system; because they did very well with their 48 states; they proposed it; America initiated this idea; etc.

6 7 6 2

Then America Would No Longer Be Obligated to Give Extensive Aid:

Because it would be to her advantage, she needn't support us anymore; because then America needn't spend so much money for Europe anymore; Europe wouldn't be so needy anymore; they would certainly profit by it, perhaps they need no longer maintain such a big army in Europe; etc.

3 3 3 1

It would Be Simpler to Come to Terms with Only One Partner and One Government:

Because then they would have to take up relations with only one government; because the ponderous mechanism would no longer exist and the decisions, being also to America's advantage, could be made more quickly; America strives for negotiation with only one partner; because then it is easier for America to get along with the European nations; etc.

2 1 1 4

America Needs Europe:

Because they need us very urgently, otherwise they would lose the war and their political domination and that would be an end to it; because they need Europe; because they themselves are dependent on Europe, they can't live without Europe; etc.

1 1 1 2

Other Opinions:

It is meant as a protection against the colored race; America could then concentrate on Asia; they are more generous than all other countries; because America wants to dominate; etc.

4 5 4 4

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{3}{57\%}$ $\frac{4}{62\%}$ $\frac{2}{54\%}$ $\frac{1}{44\%}$ *

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Reasons Attributed to America's Expected Opposition

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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For Economic Reasons:

Once Europe has got as far as America it represents an immense competition to America; Europe - if it were united - might grow too strong economically; it means a threat to her exclusive monopoly of the world market; may be they expect a United Europe to upset the American markets; because their making-money out of Europe would end; etc.

6%	7%	5%	5%
----	----	----	----

America Might Lose Her Dominant Position:

Because America wants world power; she would lose her predominant position; up to now America had the lead while in a United Europe she would no longer have a say; because she wants to have power over the European nations; because her prestige might suffer; etc.

5	5	6	2
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A United Europe Could Be a Powerful Opponent:

Because they would have to be afraid of a powerful opponent; they might be afraid of finding a powerful enemy in case of war; for military reasons, a United Europe would grow too strong; they don't like to have too strong a Europe; etc.

4	4	3	4
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Other Reasons:

Because she doesn't want to accept any hegemony of England; because the Americans want to remain alone in their country and don't have a common cause with others; there is no order in America either; etc.

$\frac{1}{16\%*}$	$\frac{2}{18\%*}$	$\frac{1}{15\%*}$	$\frac{2}{13\%*}$
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

NO EVIDENCE FOR NATIONALISM UNDERLYING GERMANY'S INTEREST IN UNITED EUROPE ...

If the concern expressed by some that a covert nationalism may underlie German interest in membership in a European union - in that by joining, Germany would attain the dominant position in European affairs - has any basis in fact, it is not indicated in the present results. Although a third (33%) of the public state the belief that some one country will eventually play a dominant role in a united European organization, only a few (5%) claim to foresee Germany as playing the decisive part. Great Britain gets the predominant mention, by those who have opinions on the matter, as potentially dominant. But as will be noted in the table below, a third (35%) do not expect any one country to exert authority over other participants in a United States of Europe, and another third (32%) are without opinions on the matter.

German "know-how" as well as her geographical situation, are adduced as reasons for potential German supremacy in a united Europe by the small fraction that foresees this development. British domination of a union will arise, according to the sixteen per cent who expect it, largely from the British will to rule.

"And do you think it likely that a single nation will attain a predominant position in this United States of Europe in the course of time, or do you think this unlikely?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Likely	33%	34%	33%	30%
Unlikely	35	38	33	25
No opinion	32	28	34	45
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

If "Likely":

"In your opinion, which nation would that most likely be?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
England	16%	17%	14%	14%
(West) Germany	5	6	4	5
Russia	3	2	3	3
France	2	2	3	1
The mightiest one	1	*	*	2
That depends	4	4	5	3
Others	*	1	1	-
No opinion / No answer	2	2	3	2
	<u>33%</u>	<u>34%</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>30%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Why do you think England would attain the predominant position?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>England Wants to Gain Power, England is Fond of Power and Knows How to Suppress Other Nations:</u>				
Because they don't want to let us get to our feet again, and want to rule others; it is a country that always before in its history wanted to predominate; the English just bear themselves this way, they are imperialists and want to have superiority; because she always wanted to bring her influence to bear; because she has been fond of power at all times; she liked to set the fashion; because the English always have been a nation of rulers (Herrscher Volk) - and they would try it again; they always predominated over others, only think of the colonies and the rigorous measures they took there; it is still the largest country, which means that it would try to suppress others; etc.	10%	11%	9%	8%
<u>England Has Always Been, and Will Remain, One of the Most Powerful Nations:</u>				
She possesses everything needed for a war and also great power; she still exerts the most influence; beside America, she still exerts the most power in the West; England has always been a world power; etc.	4	5	3	3
<u>Other Opinions:</u>				
Because America is at the bottom of it; the Englishman thinks first of all of his homeland; because at present they suffer losses everywhere, so that they want to make up for it; etc.	$\frac{2}{16\%}$	$\frac{2}{18\%*}$	$\frac{2}{14\%}$	$\frac{3}{14\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Why do you think West Germany would attain the predominant position?"

Because of Its Characteristic Qualities (e.g. Diligence, Efficiency, etc.):

Because the Germans are hard-working, progressive, diligent and thrifty; we are working ourselves to the top again; by virtue of its extraordinary efficiency - provided that Germany has the same rights as the other nations; by its diligence and inventiveness; because it is most efficient; as in Hitler's times - they move ahead; etc.	3%	5%	2%	2%
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Because of Its Situation in Europe, and Because It Is the Sole Power That Is Able to Banish the Danger from the East:

Because it is situated in the middle of Europe, realizes best of all the menace from the East, and is solely in a position to propose appropriate counter-measures to the other West European nations; it is not possible without Germany, she is the only power which can oppose the East; its situation is most central; etc.	1	1	-	-
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Other Opinions:

Perhaps we would come to the top again; because it has the largest population and, because of its history, would have a certain claim upon it; etc.	$\frac{1}{5\%}$	$\frac{-}{6\%}$	$\frac{2}{4\%}$	$\frac{2}{4\%}$
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... Further evidence that the West German people do not appear to regard participation in a European union as a stepping stone to domination is seen in replies to an inquiry on which countries have the most to gain and the most to lose by participating in a European union. A quarter (24%) say that West Germany has most to gain - whereas a third loss (16%) feel that she has most to lose. Whatever latent nationalism exists in this issue appears to be centered more in the smaller group which feels that Germany would be the prime loser in a European federation rather than in the quarter of the population holding that she stands to gain more than other participants.

"Which of these nations, in your opinion, would gain the most through a unification of Europe? And which nations would gain the least through a unification of Europe?"

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone

Gain the most:

England	14%	16%	12%	10%
France	10	8	12	17
West Germany	24	27	21	17
Italy	2	2	1	2
All the same	4	3	5	4
No opinion	46	44	49	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Gain the least:

England	15%	17%	15%	11%
France	3	3	3	2
West Germany	16	17	15	19
Italy	7	8	7	1
All the same	4	2	5	4
No opinion	55	53	55	63
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The foremost reason given for West Germany's greater gain is that, through the aid of member countries, Germany's economic situation would realize greater improvement than other nations because Germany has at present the worst situation economically and therefore could only gain.

In contrast, a good deal of the post-war bitterness and cynicism of a conquered nation is reflected in the comments of those who think that Germany would gain least in a unification of European nations. Skepticism with respect to the proposed equality of nations, fear that Germany would be exploited and lose the little independence she now has, and other such pessimistic views predominate in the reactions of this group of respondents.

"Why would West Germany, in your opinion, gain the most through a unification of Europe?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Through the Help of Others the Economic Situation of West Germany Would Improve:

At the present time West Germany is the most badly off nation in Europe - through a unification it would improve its living standard; we might be better off, because all would help each other; first of all our situation would grow better - we would benefit by the others' wealth; all misery in West Germany would end; Germany could recover more quickly if it were helped by other countries; we are the poorest off people; the economic situation would essentially improve; because of commerce and industry, business would improve, because West Germany has much industry and the sale of its goods would be ensured; because of its central situation and its own natural resources; the goods here would become cheaper; because our situation is the worst with respect to politics, economy and strategy, and we could only gain; we are the state with the most problems, which we are unable to solve alone; etc.

11% 13% 11% 6%

West Germany Would Get Equal Rights, Have Greater Freedom and Would Be a Member of the Community of Nations:

West Germany would at last be acknowledged as a state with equal rights; because we are considered a defeated nation at present and could then enter the community of nations; because we would have to be put on an equal level with the other nations; we would have greater freedom and more rights; the quarrel between Germany, France and the neighbouring states might come to an end; etc.

5 4 6 3

West Germany Would Be Strengthened Against the East:

Because our greatest threat is the East; West Germany would be safer against the East; etc.

2 1 1 5

West Germany Would Not Have to Bear the War Damages Alone:

The war burden would be divided up justly and we would not have to carry the burden all alone; we are situated in the center and have been through a lost war; Germany has been beaten up for 50 years - it cannot help but profit; etc.

1 2 1 2

Eventually a Re-unification of Germany Might Be Reached:

Then the borders between East and West Germany might be abolished; etc.

1 1 1 -

Other Reasons:

Because Germany is leading the field in technical matters and would finally achieve peace politically; also in cultural respect; etc.

3 4 1 2

No Answer / No Opinion:

$\frac{1}{24\%}$ $\frac{2}{27\%}$ $\frac{1}{22\%}$ $\frac{-}{18\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Why would West Germany, in your opinion,
gain the least through a unification of
 Europe?"

WEST Brit. US French
 GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

West Germany Would Have Nothing to Say and Would
 Not Have Equal Rights:

Because we would not have equal rights; we would then have the least of all to say; we are so weak - they would do with us what they liked; because we would have to be satisfied with anything the other powers decided; they do not want Germany to get to her feet again; because Germany would still be treated as a defeated nation; they don't let us get to our feet again because they fear us; everyone wants to keep us down as much as possible - we are the most hated nation; we have lost the war and have nothing to say; etc.

8% 8% 5% 14%

West Germany Would Only Be Exploited:

They all want to get things from Germany, but not give anything; because West Germany would only have to deliver what the others demand; we would be stripped and exploited; in the whole free market economy we are getting along alone, we are independent, after that we would only be exploited; because we would be exploited by England; they take coal and industrial goods away from West Germany; we are only stripped by the other countries - there won't be any change; German rawmaterial and heavy industries would be exploited (Ruhr and Saar problem) in such a way that we would no longer have any advantages; heavy industry in West Germany would be suppressed; France would take advantage of the Ruhr and Saar problem; etc.

5 5 6 1

West Germany Wouldn't Have Anything to Gain - It Is Poor:

We are in too great a misery, so that we can't gain anything; we are completely poverty stricken; etc.

1 1 1 1

Economically West Germany Would Gain by Not Joining:

Because up to now Germany was best off in the economic field without uniting with other countries; because we have the best possibilities of supporting ourselves on account of our natural resources; we are well off - the other countries have many more cares which then could be solved more easily; at the present time we possess almost everything - while France, for instance, needs our coal; etc.

1 1 - 1

Other Opinions:

The countries abroad rely on Germany's helping herself; because the refugees are in her country; etc.

$\frac{1}{16\%}$ $\frac{2}{17\%}$ $\frac{3}{15\%}$ $\frac{2}{19\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON ISSUES RELATED TO INTERNATIONALISM ...

Group differences on the foregoing issues related to internationalism exhibit a fairly common pattern - for this reason they have not been individually discussed. Approval of the internationalist position on the various issues is rather uniformly highest among the opinion leadership elements of the West German population - the men, the better educated, and the better paid. The differences between these groups and their counterparts, however, are primarily differences in extent of no opinion - that is to say the distribution of attitudes of those people who have opinions is fairly comparable among the various population groups.

"In your opinion, are Europe's statesmen moving ahead fast enough in their efforts toward uniting Europe, or not?"

(Asked of those who favored unification of Europe or who had given qualified answers to original question.)

	Fast enough	Not fast enough	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	9%	66%	11%	14%..100%	361
Women	5	31	24	40	437
Education:					
Elementary school	7	41	20	32	650
Beyond elementary school	7	71	10	12	148
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	7	35	22	36	380
Middle and upper class	7	57	15	21	417
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	6	38	21	35	521
300 - 399 DM	10	57	13	20	157
400 DM and more	7	70	11	12	111
Age:					
Under 40 years	5	51	17	27	388
40 years and over	9	42	12	30	409
Party Preference:					
SPD	7	60	18	15	186
CDU/CSU	10	50	17	23	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	12	76	6	6	50
Other parties	8	55	16	21	62
No party	6	41	19	34	207
Don't know	4	23	24	49	163
Occupation:					
Professionals	2	74	16	8	38
Businessmen	5	64	16	15	83
White-collar workers	6	57	19	18	105
Skilled laborers	12	46	20	22	149
Semi-skilled laborers	6	48	17	29	117
Farmers	8	27	21	44	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	7	39	16	38	110
Trade Union Memberships:					
Yes, member	9	64	10	17	141
No	7	43	20	30	657
Religion:					
Catholics	7	44	21	28	368
Protestants	6	47	17	30	392
Origin:					
Natives	8	45	18	29	631
Expellees, Refugees	5	53	19	23	167
Voteran Status:					
Yes	9	71	8	12	220
No	10	54	17	19	141

"Aside from the question of whether West Germany should participate in it or not: what would be your personal conception of such an army?"

"Should it be an international army in which the troops of all countries wear the same kind of uniform and serve under one flag, or should it be a union of allied armies, each of which would wear national uniforms and serve under the flag of its own country?"

	Same uniform and flag	Different uni- forms and flags	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	39%	38%	23%...100%	361
Women	19	28	53	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	25	33	42	650
Beyond elementary school	41	31	28	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	21	32	47	380
Middle and upper class	35	33	32	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	22	33	45	521
300 - 399 DM	40	32	28	157
400 DM and more	41	32	27	111
<u>Age:</u>				
From 19-24 years	30	33	37	106
" 25-34 years	34	38	28	185
" 35-44 years	34	25	41	177
" 45-54 years	34	38	38	159
55 years and over	19	30	51	170
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	42	39	19	186
CDU/CSU	25	41	34	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	38	42	20	50
Other parties	35	44	21	62
No party	22	30	48	207
Don't know	18	16	66	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	40	34	26	38
Businessmen	38	31	31	83
White-collar workers	37	30	33	105
Skilled laborers	32	34	34	149
Semi-skilled laborers	26	34	40	117
Farmers	19	34	47	103
Not employed: pensioners students, retired, etc.	20	31	49	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	39	37	24	141
No	26	32	42	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	25	34	41	368
Protestants	29	32	39	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	28	33	39	631
Expellees, Refugees	29	33	38	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	44	36	20	220
No	31	42	27	141

"Supposing a United States of Europe were realized in the near future: Do you think West Germany should join without East Germany or should it withhold its decision until Germany is re-united?"

	Join at once without East Germany	Wait until Germany is re-united	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	42%	42%	16%...100%	361
Women	25	33	42	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	28	38	34	650
Beyond elementary school	54	33	13	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	23	38	39	380
Middle and upper class	42	36	22	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	25	38	37	521
300 - 399 DM	45	39	16	157
400 DM and more	53	32	15	111
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	33	40	27	388
40 years and over	32	35	33	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	43	44	13	186
CDU/CSU	37	40	23	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	56	40	4	50
Other parties	42	43	15	62
No party	25	36	39	207
Don't know	16	26	58	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	53	29	18	38
Businessmen	48	36	16	83
White-collar workers	44	40	16	105
Skilled laborers	35	37	26	149
Semi-skilled laborers	29	40	31	117
Farmers	23	33	44	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	24	34	42	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	39	50	11	141
No	31	35	34	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	31	35	34	368
Protestants	33	39	28	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	34	35	31	631
Expellees, Refugees	28	44	28	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	47	41	12	220
No	34	45	21	141

"Aside from your personal attitude toward this question,
do you believe that West Germany would join the United
States of Europe?"

	Yes, would join	No, would not join	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	90%	1%	9%...100%	361
Women	61	4	35	437
Education:				
Elementary school	71	3	26	650
Beyond elementary school	90	1	9	148
Socio-Economic Status:				
Lower class	67	3	30	380
Middle and upper class	81	2	17	417
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	69	3	28	521
300 - 399 DM	85	3	12	157
400 DM and more	89	-	11	111
Age:				
Under 40 years	79	3	18	388
40 years and over	70	2	28	409
Party Preference:				
SPD	87	3	10	186
CDU/CSU	83	3	14	130
FDP/BDP/DVP/BDV	98	-	2	50
Other parties	85	3	12	62
No party	66	3	31	207
Don't know	51	1	48	163
Occupation:				
Professionals	84	-	16	38
Businessmen	86	1	13	83
White-collar workers	85	3	12	105
Skilled laborers	79	2	19	149
Semi-skilled laborers	74	3	23	117
Farmers	62	5	33	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	70	1	29	110
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	93	-	7	141
No	70	3	27	657
Religion:				
Catholics	74	2	24	368
Protestants	72	3	25	392
Origin:				
Natives	74	3	23	631
Expellees, Refugees	76	2	22	167
Veteran Status:				
Yes	92	2	6	220
No	87	-	13	141

"Do you believe that England would join the United States
of Europe or not?"

	Yes, would join	No, would not join	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	61%	25%	14%...100%	361
Women	45	12	43	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	51	16	33	650
Beyond elementary school	57	29	14	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	47	15	38	380
Middle and upper class	57	21	22	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	49	15	36	521
300 - 399 DM	65	19	16	157
400 DM and more	51	34	15	111
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	58	16	26	388
40 years and over	46	21	33	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	67	22	11	186
CDU/CSU	59	19	22	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	26	4	50
Other parties	55	27	18	62
No party	45	17	38	207
Don't know	31	9	60	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	39	37	24	38
Businessmen	58	26	16	83
White-collar workers	62	19	19	105
Skilled laborers	59	17	24	149
Semi-skilled laborers	55	15	30	117
Farmers	40	14	46	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	49	15	36	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	66	21	13	141
No	49	18	33	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	53	14	33	368
Protestants	50	22	28	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	52	18	30	631
Expellees, Refugees	51	20	29	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	61	28	11	220
No	58	21	21	141

"And in the case of France: Do you think that France would join the United States of Europe or not?"

	Yes, would join	No, would not join	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	82%	8%	10%...100%	361
Women	48	8	44	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	60	8	32	650
Beyond elementary school	79	7	14	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	53	8	39	380
Middle and upper class	73	8	19	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	58	7	35	521
300 - 399 DM	73	8	19	157
400 DM and more	78	9	13	111
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	67	8	25	388
40 years and over	59	8	33	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	79	8	13	186
CDU/CSU	67	10	23	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	92	6	2	50
Other parties	73	11	16	62
No party	59	6	35	207
Don't know	35	7	58	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	71	8	21	38
Businessmen	76	10	14	83
White-collar workers	81	7	12	105
Skilled laborers	65	7	28	149
Semi-skilled laborers	62	6	32	117
Farmers	51	6	43	103
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired; etc.	54	13	33	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	86	4	10	141
No	59	9	32	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	60	9	31	368
Protestants	64	6	30	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	64	8	28	631
Expellees, Refugees	60	9	31	167
<u>Voteran Status:</u>				
Yes	85	8	7	220
No	76	8	16	141

"Do you think America would be for or against this union of European nations?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	68%	19%	13%...100%	361
Women	39	13	48	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	15	37	650
Beyond elementary school	69	16	15	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	42	16	42	380
Middle and upper class	61	15	24	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	46	14	40	521
300 - 399 DM	63	20	17	157
400 DM and more	66	16	18	111
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	54	17	29	388
40 years and over	50	14	36	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	60	18	22	186
CDU/CSU	63	15	22	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	80	16	4	50
Other parties	63	23	14	62
No party	42	16	42	207
Don't know	34	9	57	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	66	13	21	38
Businessmen	63	20	17	83
White-collar workers	60	16	24	105
Skilled laborers	56	17	27	149
Semi-skilled laborers	53	15	32	117
Farmers	42	15	43	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	42	13	45	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	63	20	17	141
No	50	15	35	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	51	14	35	368
Protestants	52	17	31	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	51	16	33	631
Expellees, Refugees	54	14	32	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	69	21	10	220
No	65	14	21	141

"And do you think it likely that a single nation will attain a predominant position in this United States of Europe in the course of time, or do you think this unlikely?"

	Likely	Unlikely	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	37%	49%	14%...100%	361
Women	31	22	47	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	31	33	36	650
Beyond elementary school	45	41	14	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	29	28	43	380
Middle and upper class	38	40	22	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	30	31	39	521
300 - 399 DM	40	41	19	157
400 DM and more	40	43	17	111
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	41	33	26	388
40 years and over	27	35	38	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	44	41	15	186
CDU/CSU	35	42	23	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	36	64	-	50
Other parties	45	35	20	62
No party	29	32	29	207
Don't know	21	15	64	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	64	18	18	38
Businessmen	35	49	16	83
White-collar workers	33	46	21	105
Skilled laborers	35	36	29	149
Semi-skilled laborers	34	37	29	117
Farmers	30	24	46	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	26	33	41	110
<u>Trade union membership:</u>				
Yes, member	39	47	14	141
No	32	31	37	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	31	34	35	368
Protestants	35	34	31	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	32	35	33	631
Expellees, Refugees	39	30	31	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	40	50	10	220
No	31	48	21	141

"Which of these nations, in your opinion, would gain the most through a unification of Europe?"

Gain the most:

	Eng- land	France	West Germany	Italy	All the same	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	17%	15%	31%	4%	6%	27%..100%	361
Women	11	7	18	-	2	62	437
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	13	10	22	2	3	50	650
Beyond elementary school	14	11	34	5	6	30	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>							
Lower class	14	8	20	1	1	56	380
Middle and upper class	13	13	27	3	6	38	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	13	11	20	2	2	52	521
300 - 399 DM	15	10	29	2	6	38	157
400 DM and more	13	12	35	3	6	31	111
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	16	11	24	3	4	42	388
40 years and over	12	9	24	2	3	50	403
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	18	13	30	2	5	32	186
CDU/CSU	12	10	35	5	2	36	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	14	6	48	-	6	26	50
Other parties	21	12	26	3	6	32	62
No party	13	14	16	2	3	52	207
Don't know	8	5	11	1	2	73	163
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	3	13	34	-	8	42	38
Businessmen	15	11	26	4	9	35	83
White-collar workers	13	11	34	6	5	31	105
Skilled laborers	17	9	28	3	3	40	149
Semi-skilled labor- ers	13	14	20	2	4	47	117
Farmers	15	7	14	-	2	62	103
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	12	10	21	2	1	54	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, member	16	10	36	3	4	31	141
No	13	11	21	2	4	49	657
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	13	9	25	2	3	48	368
Protestants	13	11	23	3	5	45	392
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	13	12	23	2	4	46	631
Expellees, Refugees	15	6	27	4	3	45	167
<u>Voteran Status:</u>							
Yes	18	16	32	4	7	23	221
No	14	14	30	3	4	35	143

"Which of these nations, in your opinion, would gain the least through a unification of Europe?"

Gain the least:

	Eng- land	Franco	West Germany	Italy	All the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	24%	5%	21%	5%	6%	35%..100%	361
Women	8	2	13	5	-	72	437
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	11	3	17	7	3	59	650
Beyond elementary school	33	3	15	4	6	39	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>							
Lower class	9	4	18	7	1	61	380
Middle and upper class	21	3	15	7	6	48	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	10	3	17	8	3	59	521
300 - 399 DM	17	3	18	6	4	52	157
400 DM and more	36	3	14	4	5	38	111
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	17	3	18	6	4	52	388
40 years and over	14	3	15	7	3	58	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	20	3	22	7	4	44	186
CDU/CSU	19	8	18	7	2	46	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	22	4	14	12	6	42	50
Other parties	20	6	20	13	6	35	62
No party	15	1	17	6	3	58	207
Don't know	4	1	8	4	2	81	163
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	24	-	8	-	8	60	38
Businessmen	22	6	13	7	9	43	83
White-collar workers	30	3	10	7	3	47	105
Skilled laborers	16	1	24	8	3	48	149
Semi-skilled laborers	13	5	19	9	4	50	117
Farmers	8	5	18	7	2	60	103
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired; etc.							
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, member	23	4	21	8	3	41	141
No	13	3	16	6	4	58	657
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	13	4	17	7	2	57	368
Protestants	17	2	16	6	5	54	392
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	15	3	16	7	4	55	631
Expellees, Refugees	13	4	17	6	3	52	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>							
Yes	28	-	28	9	7	28	220
No	18	11	12	7	6	46	141

III. SOME FACTORS RELATED TO NATIONALISM/INTERNATIONALISM

INTERNATIONALISM AND ATTITUDE TOWARD NATIONAL SOCIALISM ...

There has been considerable concern expressed recently over the extent to which neo-Nazi sentiments, i.e., nostalgia for the National Socialist ideology - has grown in the German population. The relevant question arises in this connection as to whether people who are discovered to be more partial to National Socialism represent a greater opposition toward the idea of European union than those who are against the Nazi ideology. In the present report a question was included to demarcate the groups who feel that there was more good than evil in National Socialism from those holding the opposite view. These two groups were then compared with respect to their attitudes on the basic questions of European integration.

The idea of European union, when presented on a simple slogan level - without discussion or explanation - elicits substantially the same degree of approval from those respondents who see more good than evil in National Socialism as from those who see more evil than good. The very slight difference between the two groups cannot safely be attributed to anything beyond chance.

When one gets down to concrete details, however, some difference does arise between the two groups in their degrees of support for a projected United States of Europe. The difference appears to be greatest on the question of the future of a united, unoccupied Germany - a query which perhaps better than the others spells out the implications of European union versus independent sovereignty. Fourteen per cent more of the more-good-than-evil-in-National-Socialism group vote for independent sovereignty under such conditions. What is perhaps most interesting in this comparison, however, is that the difference is no greater, since the question would be expected to elicit whatever nationalistic tendencies exist among the so-called neo-Nazis. And despite the difference, support for a common internationalist government among this group vies on even terms with support for a sovereign independent Germany - thus showing that at least a large fraction of the people who today are inclined to say that there was more good than evil in National Socialism are not reacting like ardent nationalists.

A somewhat greater adherence to nationalist values in the "more good than evil" group comes to light also in the question on unitary uniforms and flags versus different uniforms and flags in a European army. But again the difference is relatively small (13%).

"When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

More good More evil No opinion

"Are you, generally for or against a union of Europe?"

For it	72%	76%	54%
Against it	10	5	3
Qualified replies	3	4	3
No opinion	15	15	40
	100%	100%	100%

(No. of cases:)	(299)	(287)	(212)
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"Supposing each nation would have to give up its independence entirely and would have to transfer its right to a jointly formed government of the United States of Europe, should West Germany, under these circumstances, join the United States of Europe, or not?"

Should join	51%	56%	34%
Should not join	30	27	16
No opinion	19	17	50
	100%	100%	100%

(No. of cases:)	(299)	(287)	(212)
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"Mr. Braun and Mr. Schulze are discussing what Germany's policy should be when East and West Germany are re-united and the four occupation powers have left Germany.

Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

Mr. Schulze - common government with other European nations	44%	57%	32%
Mr. Braun - remain by herself	43	29	26
Qualified replies	1	1	2
No opinion	12	13	40
	100%	100%	100%

(No. of cases:)	(299)	(287)	(212)
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"Mr. Mueller and Mr. Smith are having a conversation about what kind of a united Europe they want and express the following opinions:

Which one of these opinions comes closest to your own?"

Mr. Mueller - joint government	39%	42%	23%
Mr. Smith - loose political alliance	41	40	24
No opinion	20	18	53
	100%	100%	100%

(No. of cases:)	(299)	(287)	(212)
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"Should it be an international army in which the troops of all countries wear the same kind of uniform and serve under one flag, or should it be a union of allied armies, each of which would wear national uniforms and serve under the flag of its own country?"

Same uniform and flag	31%	34%	17%
Different uniforms and flags	43	30	21
No opinion	26	36	62
	100%	100%	100%

(No. of cases:)	(299)	(287)	(212)
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INTERNATIONALISM AND DEGREE OF POLITICAL INITIATIVE ...

A comparison of the nationalist-internationalist questions with an index of political interest and activity - as measured by a question concerning extent of attendance at political meetings, discussion of politics, etc. - adds up to the indication that those people who show most interest in politics in general are most inclined to favor internationalism. Although no significant differences are found between the group who "attends political meetings and public discussions," and those who "discuss politics with acquaintances," both these groups show a substantially greater degree of internationalist orientation than their less politically active counterparts.

"Would you, please, read this card and tell me which of the following apply to you?"

1. I attend political meetings
2. I attend public discussions
3. I often discuss politics with acquaintances
4. I listen to political news or commentaries on the radio
5. I read the political section of newspapers or magazines
6. None

	Attend political meetings & public dis- cussions	Discuss politics with ac- quaintances	Listen to political news and read poli- tical section in news- paper	None No answer
"Are you, generally, for or against a union of Europe?"				
For	92%	87%	79%	45%
Against	4	6	7	6
Qualified replies	2	4	5	2
No opinion	2	3	2	47
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(100)	(165)	(205)	(328)

"Supposing each nation would have to
give up its independence entirely and
would have to transfer its rights to a
jointly formed government of the United
States of Europe: Should West Germany,
under these circumstances, join the
United States of Europe or not?"

Should join	71%	72%	55%	25%
Should not join	25	26	35	18
No opinion	4	2	10	57
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(100)	(165)	(205)	(328)

"Mr. Braun and Mr. Schulze are discussing
what Germany's policy should be when East
and West Germany are reunited and the
four occupation powers have left Germany?"
Which of these opinions come closest to
your own?"

Mr. Schulze - common government together with other nations	67%	68%	52%	25%
Mr. Braun - Germany should re- main by herself	30	29	39	33
Qualified replies	1	2	1	*
No opinion	2	1	8	42
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(100)	(165)	(205)	(328)

"Would you, please, read this card and tell me which of the following apply to you?"

1. I attend political meetings
2. I attend public discussions
3. I often discuss politics with acquaintances
4. I listen to political news or commentaries on the radio
5. I read the political section of newspapers or magazines
6. None

Attend political meetings & public dis- cussions	Discuss politics with ac- quaintances	Listen to political news and read poli- tical section in news- paper	None No answer
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"Mr. Mueller and Mr. Smith are having a conversation about what kind of a united Europe they want and express the following opinions."

"Which one of these opinions comes closest to your own?"

Mr. Mueller - joint govern- ment	58%	54%	37%	20%
Mr. Smith - loose political alliance	40	41	47	25
(No. of cases:)	(100)	(165)	(205)	(328)

"Should it be an international army in which the troops of all countries wear the same kind of uniform and serve under one flag, or should it be a union of allied armies, each of which would wear national uniforms and serve under the flag of its own country?"

Same uniforms and flag	45%	48%	31%	20%
Different uniforms and flags	42	36	41	25
No opinion	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>55</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(100)	(165)	(205)	(328)

**WEST GERMAN VIEWS ON VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS
AND THEIR ROLE IN POLITICAL LIFE**

Report No. 112

Series No. 2

November 30, 1951
Classification cancelled
RESTRICTED
by a memo of S. Leeb P. Crespi
EIV/RAS

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

This report on general reactions to veterans' activities and organizations is based on queries included in two surveys made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The first survey was made in late August, with a sample of the 800 cases, and the second was done in mid-October with a 1200 case sample. Both samples were representative of the West German population and were of the stratified, probability design used by RAS. Interviewing in both surveys was carried out by DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main), the German interviewing firm under contract to RAS. The analysis of the findings was done in the Frankfurt/Main headquarters of the Reactions Analysis Staff.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

On the general question of the desirability of veterans' organizations and reunions, West German opinions were split. But on the crucial issue of whether or not veterans' groups should play an active role in politics, opposition strongly outweighed agreement. The findings in brief follow.

- ... In late August, following a number of more or less informal meetings of various veteran groups, such meetings were judged desirable by four in ten West Germans, but almost as many (36%) were without opinions on the matter. A quarter (25%) were opposed to them. The most frequent argument of those who approved of the meetings was that they afforded old comrades in arms a chance to get together and reminisce in a friendly, social way. Fear of a resurgence of militarism and a threat to peace largely formed the basis of the opposition to veterans gatherings.
- ... In mid-October, after the formal organization of veterans' groups, only half (48%) of the West German public were aware that this had occurred. One in ten (11%) claimed there were no veterans' organizations, and four in ten (41%) had no opinion.
- ... When those who knew that West German veterans had organized were asked whether or not they approved, opinions split between approval (20%) and disapproval (22%). Arguments of the pro and con groups followed much the same line of reasoning given by the August respondents regarding the desirability of informal meetings of the veterans, as reported above.
- ... More crucial than the mere fact of veterans' groups is the question of the possible political role these groups should play in West German affairs.

To measure reactions to this issue all respondents regardless of whether or not they were informed of the establishment of veterans' groups were queried on the point. The results reveal majority (56%) opposition to political action on the part of these organizations, with less than one in ten (8%), approving. Sixteen per cent said they did not care, and 20 per cent were without opinions.

Among all population groups, only small fractions favored a political role for the veterans, and the preponderant sentiment was uniformly negative. Opinion leading groups, as well as the veterans themselves, were particularly inclined to disapprove of political activity on the part of these organizations.

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

LESS THAN A MAJORITY APPROVES VETERANS' MEETINGS ...

In late August, following close upon a number of meetings of various veteran groups, the West German public was queried on reactions to such gatherings. At that time the view that more good than harm would result from such meetings of veterans was held by 39 per cent of the population. Almost as many (36%) were unable to venture an opinion, while one in four opposed the meetings as undesirable.

"As you may have heard, major meetings of German war veterans have recently been held in West Germany.

In your opinion, are these meetings desirable or not?"

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone

Desirable	39%	43%	36%	30%
Not desirable	25	24	26	30
No opinion	36	33	38	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The reason most frequently cited for approval - by one half of those who thought such meetings desirable - was that they would stimulate and revive old comradeships of the war and would give the veterans a chance to talk to others who had had the same experiences. Another less frequently given basis for approval was that the veterans, constituting an important faction of the German population, should have the opportunity of exchanging opinions among themselves and of presenting their views as a group.

Of those whose reactions to the veterans' meetings were unfavorable, one half expressed the fear that they would increase the danger of remilitarization and the glorification of the military, and would work against the efforts toward peace.

Reasons for Approval of Veterans' Meetings

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone

For Comradeship, Recollections of the Old Times and of the War:

Because it's good if comrades meet again who went through joys and hardships together - I don't think it could do any harm either; these are meetings of comrades who went through hard times together and who are glad to see each other again; because friendships should be renewed; it is good comradeship and shows that the German spirit is still alive; so they can talk about their experiences as prisoners of war - if one has gone through so much one is interested in it, after all; why not? - reunion and friendship meetings without political background; there is no cause for alarm if war veterans refresh old memories; as long as these meetings do not endanger the peace, they can be taken for a symbol of comradeship and willingness to help each other; these people have been together in the same trenches at the front and therefore it is understandable that they want to get together and exchange reminiscences; I myself participated in one of these meetings - they are designed for a few hours of fun - it was harmless, non-political and non-military fun; they have to go to war again later, they should stick together; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

21% 23% 20% 13%

In Order to Talk Freely and Exchange and Express Their Opinions:

They want to exchange opinions - they went through a lot together; because everybody can express his opinion about re-armament; it is necessary that the old soldiers talk about the present situation of Germany and how one could help; war veterans are an important factor and their opinions must be considered - they will draw conclusions and make proposals based on their experiences; if we are to participate in the defense, it is good that the active elements act together again - we do not have a new military generation; etc.

7% 7% 7% 11%

They Can Find Out About the Fate of Their Comrades - Missing Soldiers, War Dead, etc.:

Because many a fate can be clarified; so that one knows who still is alive among the old generals, etc.; they clarify the fates of many men missing and dead; etc.

3 3 2 3

Because These Meetings Do Not Have a Political Character:

Because they are mostly non-political; as long as they don't show a subversive tendency one can't have anything against them - the old soldiers should be given a chance to talk too - not always the people of the 20th of July; etc.

3 2 4 3

In Order to Represent Their Interests:

They represent the interests of the veterans - nobody else does it - not even the government; so the others will see that we are on the ball and that we won't tolerate anything - these meetings show that we stick together; the Western powers have branded our soldiers criminals and therefore it is especially desirable that we get together in such meetings and defend ourselves against these accusations; etc.

2 2 2 -

General Agreement:

Why shouldn't they meet?; they are liked; I don't think it is anything bad; because I think it's good; etc.

2 3 1 2

It Is an Old Custom and Tradition:

That is a very usual and old custom and has its traditions - not only in Germany - I can't see anything bad in it; the tradition of the soldier is preserved by that - sooner or later the soldier has to decide anyway - perhaps we will reach a definite policy by it; etc.

1 1 1 1

Other Opinions:

Because they do it in the East Zone too, and what is fair for one is fair for the other; because these men have a lot of experience; because this concerns members of military organizations which are above reproach - they have never committed any crimes and they don't present a menace to anybody or anything; Ramcke, etc. should go ahead with it - they really did something for us; one can't have anything against it; they want to speed up the unification of Germany; by it the idea of defending Germany is strengthened; etc.

2 4 1 1

No Opinion / No Answer:

1 2 1 -

** Some people gave more than one answer.

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Danger of Revival of the Military and Militarism,
One Shouldn't Dig Up the Past:

Because I have dread enough of the last war; it's to revive militarism in West Germany and to make the soldier's life attractive to them; such meetings have too much of a military tinge; the old traditions must be uprooted in Germany - it brings us nothing good; to my mind it's ridiculous - one shouldn't dig up the past, you can't build on it, anyhow; we've had enough of soldiers and war and been through too many things; I am not for a military and an army; it merely serves militarism - generals and officers are being glorified; fanatics meet who seek a hiding place in a new army; etc.

14%

15%

14%

14%

Creates Unrest, Suspicion, Difference of Opinion
Within Germany and Abroad:

In the interest of the unification of Europe these unions might cause damage; it puts us in a disadvantageous light- Germany wants peace and needs peace; it will create new enemies abroad; they agitate too much, they merely cheat the youths - I don't think much of it, it will arouse differences of opinion - people have different ideas; etc.

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Disapproval of Their Political Activity:

These meetings are very easily used as a cloak for deceiving the government; too much politics; some parties use this to win new followers; etc.

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Disapproval Because of the Danger of Radicalism:

Because the rightist party is hiding behind it; I'm afraid these people want a Germany very similar to that of 1933; I see in it another chance for new mischief-making, hatred-songs and new glorifications of the Fuehrer; it leads us to reactionary and fascist paths; etc.

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The Same People Have Harned Us Once and Proved Their
Incapability:

I disapprove of it, such meetings were held prior to 1930 and these people have been our grave-diggers; only former officers meet who don't produce anything reasonable; that is another critical development - the high officers hatch out this and that and the little man must pay for it; etc.

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General Disapproval of Such Meetings:

I don't see the purpose of such meetings; I've always been opposed to any kind of veterans' union; etc.

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Others:

Because this has nothing at all to do with politics - it's more passion for club life and pompousness; it contradicts everything that has happened since the last war - many high officers and soldiers are still in jail and one shouldn't bring up such things again; time is not yet ripe for such things; etc.

1

26%**

2

24%

1

26%

1

30%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON VETERANS' MEETINGS ...

The general tendency among all population groups was to consider veterans' meetings desirable rather than undesirable. Although a far greater number of men than women held opinions on the veterans' meetings, both groups were more inclined to favor than to oppose them. Among educational levels, approximately the same percentage of the better educated respondents opposed the meetings as did their counterparts, but a much larger number of the former group approved of them. Opposition to such meetings was particularly frequent among trade union members and SPD followers. Although half of the veterans' themselves were agreed that the meetings were desirable, more than a third took the contrary view.

"As you may have heard, major meetings of German war veterans have recently been held in West Germany.

In your opinion, are these meetings desirable or not?"

	Desirable	Not desirable	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	47%	34%	19%...100%	361
Women	32	18	50	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	36	26	38	650
Beyond elementary school	52	24	24	148
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	36	22	42	380
Middle and upper class	42	29	29	417
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	36	23	41	521
300 - 399 DM	48	29	23	157
400 DM and more	42	32	26	111
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	41	26	33	388
40 years and over	37	26	37	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	41	39	20	186
CDU/CSU	49	22	29	130
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	52	30	18	50
Other parties	55	31	14	62
No party	36	25	39	207
Don't know	22	10	68	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	48	26	26	38
Businessmen	46	34	20	83
White-collar workers	47	26	27	105
Skilled laborers	36	28	36	149
Semi-skilled laborers	36	26	38	117
Farmers	36	22	42	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	37	25	38	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	41	41	18	141
No	48	23	29	657
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	36	25	39	368
Protestants	42	24	34	392
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	38	27	35	631
Expellees, Refugees	45	19	36	167
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	49	36	15	220
No	45	30	25	141

HALF AWARE OF VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS ...

In mid-October, after the formal organization of veterans' groups had been greatly publicized in the press and radio, the West German public was queried again on the issues, this time in reference to such groups.

That the establishment of veterans' organizations has not commanded unusually widespread notice or discussion among the West German public is apparent in the fact that somewhat less than half of the population at the time of the present survey were aware of the fact that such organizations had been founded. Almost as many were unable to say whether or not they had been, and 11% thought they had not.

"As far as you know, have veterans' organizations been founded in West Germany or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, founded	48%	50%	47%	49%
No, not founded	11	13	9	5
No opinion	41	37	44	46
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

As a first measure of public reaction to these veterans' organizations, only the people who were aware that they had been founded were asked whether they approved or disapproved of them. The result was almost an even split between approval (20%) and disapproval (22%).

"In general, do you approve of the founding of such veterans' organizations or do you oppose such organizations?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Yes, founded" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Approve of them	20%	23%	17%	13%
Oppose them	22	20	23	25
No opinion	6	7	7	11
	<u>48%</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>47%</u>	<u>49%</u>

The reasons given for approval of the organizations are diverse, ranging from broad principles of democracy and world peace to those of comradeship and restoration of the German soldiers' honor - but the largest single group (9%) sanction the organizations on the basis of nostalgia for the "old life" - the friendships and comradeships of war-time service. Their arguments are listed on the following pages.

Reasons for Approving Veterans' Organizations

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

For Comradeship - to Renew Memories, and to Keep the Memory of Wartime Friendships Alive:

The former soldiers seek each other in order to continue their comradeship; they can renew old memories; only on the basis of comradeship; so old comrades can get together; so their comradeship of the war can be renewed; so that former war buddies can get together and talk about old times. - one likes to meet old buddies on a social basis after one has shared bad days with them at the front; etc.

9%	11%	8%	5%
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In Order to Represent Their Interests and Rights, in Order to Support Each Other (Social Relief, etc.):

Because they are concerned with their rights and provide for the war orphans and widows - as an organization for relief purposes it can be recommended; it is right that one helps those men who were professional soldiers and these organizations are interested in it; they want to insist on their rights jointly - and these rights are their due; in order to insist on their demands and rights before the government; for social reasons, my husband is a member too and hopes to be able to get a small dole or something to that effect; they get to know each other again and can support their comrades in need; to many of them it is the only means of living; because I was a soldier myself and lost my means of existence due to it; etc.

5	6	5	5
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In Order to Exchange Opinions and to Present Their Political Viewpoints:

Because at the moment they want to promote the exchange of opinions among former soldiers; the old comrades just want to exchange their opinions; information on a future army; because the former soldiers can represent their ideas in regard to a new Wehrmacht much better; etc.

2	2	2	4
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

General Approval:

Why shouldn't the former soldiers get together, it's always been like that; there are so many organisations, why shouldn't the former soldiers get together; etc.

2% 2% 1% 1%

For Reasons of Security - for the Protection of Germany:

Because it's a preparation which guarantees the protection of Germany; because it is good for our security if we unite our soldiers in organisations; they might provide a reasonable military protection for Germany; etc.

1 * 1 2

In Order to Restore the Honor of the German Soldier:

The defamation of the soldiers has to cease - I consider these organizations as a means of restoring the honor of the German soldiers; those are soldiers who have nothing to do with the crimes of Germany - it's for their feeling of honor that they get together again; etc.

1 1 1 -

Only if these Organizations Are Not Political in Character:

As long as they don't pursue any political activity; without political background; etc.

1 1 1 -

In Order to Educate Our Youth:

In case it came to war the old soldiers could help the young ones and give them advice; they could do something for the education and training of the youth; etc.

1 2 * -

Only if these Organizations Help to Avoid a War:

I approve of these organizations as long as they contribute to the efforts to work together in peace and unity with the other nations; because these veterans organizations are more important than those clubs which pursue the goal: "Fight War;" only if the generals can't prepare another war; only if it doesn't lead to war; etc.

1 * 1 -

Because of the Democratic Principles:

It is the democratic right of everybody; today everybody can do as he pleases in a democracy; etc.

* 1 1 -

Other Opinions:

Only the soldiers know how to appreciate the sacrifices of the war - we need the idealism of the soldiers more than ever before at the present; because I was a soldier too; etc.

1/24% 1/27% 1/22% 1/17%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

OPPONENTS FEAR REBIRTH OF MILITARISM ...

Those who oppose the organisation of veterans do so primarily for the same reason that had earlier been given by those opposing veterans' meetings - that such organisations would lead to militarism and a revival of the past. Others point to the danger of too great political influence inherent in any large organization, and still others fear that the organisations will serve not the interests of the common soldier but only of the leaders.

Reasons for Opposing Veterans' Organisations

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>They Will Result in Remilitarism and War - the Past Should Be Forgotten:</u>				
It leads to war; it results only in militarism and war again - that is the beginning of the evil - veterans' organizations, military service, war, ruins; so that militarism doesn't come of it again; because we have reason enough to condemn everything connected with militarism; I don't see any sense in reviving war memories; that is of the past, why should past things be revived?; I'm not interested in such things, I don't want to have anything to do with it, having been a soldier for nine years has been enough for me; it is better when all that ado about soldiers is over, we lost the war and needn't talk about it; etc.	14%	12%	16%	16%
<u>Those Organisations Will Try to Gain Too Much Influence:</u>				
Such meetings are never simply social, politics are always involved in them; because these organisations, even if called non-political will in the end meddle with politics - we have enough political parties; I fear that those organizations could be used for political machinations; these veterans' organizations are the first step towards new misery - they help the former officers win great influence; it could again result in some big party that would drive us to a revolution; etc.	3	4	2	6
<u>The Leaders Will Be Self-Seeking:</u>				
I have been a soldier myself and those job hunters want only to gain positions; they only demand contributions of the members and don't help the poor people at all, much is promised and nothing kept; etc.	2	1	3	2
<u>They Treated Us Too Badly After the War and Deprived the Soldiers of Their Honor:</u>				
Because in 1945 we soldiers had to sneak home and were looked down upon - the soldiers should keep clear of such things and should not forget how they were treated after the war; first they were convicted, and now they are to be soldiers again; the Allies ran the German soldiers down after 1945 - and then Nuremberg; after the end of the war they democratized us so much that the old soldiers lost all desire for it; because in 1945 being a soldier was condemned by the victors, the honor of the soldiers was too deeply hurt - today they ought to be too proud to let the military spirit revive; etc.	1	1	1	-
<u>General Rejection of Such Organisations:</u>				
I don't see and advantage of such veterans' organizations; because I don't know what it is good for; etc.	1	1	1	2
<u>Other Opinions:</u>				
Since they reproach us for too strong militarism, the union of former militarists sheds no good light on us; etc.	2	1	2	2
<u>No Opinion / No Answer:</u>	23%	20%	25%	23%

* Some people gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS ...

As is customarily the case, the higher status, generally better informed segments of the population - the men, the better educated, higher socio-economic levels - are more likely than their counterparts to know that veterans groups had been founded. Eight out of ten veterans themselves, it will be noted, are aware of the establishment of the new organizations.

Since more of the opinion leading higher status groups knew of the organizations, proportionately more of them were in a position of being able to express their opinions on their worth. In general, opinions among most groups - including the veterans themselves - split between approval and disapproval. SPD followers and trade union members depart from this pattern in preponderately disapproving of the founding of veterans' groups, while affiliates of the conservative FDP, and of fringe parties, e.g., SRP, the Bavarian party, etc., tend to give preponderant approval.

"As far as you know, have veterans organizations been founded in West Germany or not?"

	Yes, founded	No, not founded	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	70%	8%	22%...100%	552
Women	30	13	57	648
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	42	12	46	976
Beyond elementary school	77	6	17	225
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	37	11	52	573
Middle and upper class	59	10	31	627
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	39	12	49	786
300 - 399 DM	64	7	29	216
400 DM and more	68	9	23	197
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	54	12	34	510
40 years and over	44	10	46	687
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	54	10	36	274
CDU/CSU	51	8	41	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	7	19	68
Other parties	48	18	34	107
No party	54	7	39	294
Don't know	27	16	57	255
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	78	3	19	58
Businessmen	56	13	31	138
White-collar workers	67	7	26	150
Skilled laborers	52	12	36	233
Semi-skilled laborers	43	13	44	142
Farmers	35	11	54	152
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	36	13	51	193
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	69	6	25	197
No	44	12	44	999
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	45	10	45	539
Protestants	49	12	39	611
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	49	11	40	925
Expellees, Refugees	46	10	44	276
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	81	6	13	302
No	57	10	33	258

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"In general, do you approve of the founding of such veterans' organizations or do you oppose such organizations?"

	Approve them	Oppose them	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	32%	31%	7%	30%..100%	552
Women	9	14	7	70	648
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	16	20	6	58	976
Beyond elementary school	27	31	9	23	225
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	15	15	7	63	573
Middle and upper class	24	28	7	41	627
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	15	18	6	61	786
300 - 399 DM	26	30	8	36	216
400 DM and more	32	29	8	31	197
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	22	25	7	46	510
40 years and over	18	20	6	56	687
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	18	31	6	45	274
CDU/CSU	25	24	3	48	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	38	30	6	26	68
Other parties	26	16	6	52	107
No party	20	25	9	46	294
Don't know	10	8	9	73	255
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	41	24	12	23	58
Businessmen	26	22	7	45	138
White-collar workers	25	33	9	33	150
Skilled laborers	16	28	8	48	233
Semi-skilled laborers	20	18	6	56	142
Farmers	17	13	5	65	152
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired; etc.	12	19	6	63	193
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	23	41	6	30	197
No	19	18	7	56	999
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	18	21	6	55	539
Protestants	21	22	7	50	611
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	19	24	6	51	925
Expellees, Refugees	22	15	9	54	275
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	36	36	8	20	302
No	26	24	6	44	258

MAJORITY OPPOSE IDEA OF ORGANIZATIONS BEING POLITICALLY ACTIVE ...

In light of current developments on Germany's political scene, the crucial issue is not simply public reactions to veterans organizations as such, but to the role these organizations will play in German political life. Their attempted political activity as organized pressure groups is of far more concern to political observers than is the fact that the organizations exist (see current German press and official comments). Everyone in the sample, therefore - whether he knew of the existence of the veterans' organizations or not - was asked what he thought of the idea of such groups' being politically active. Only one in twelve (8%) West Germans proved to favor political activity by veterans' organizations. Seven times as many (over one half of the population interviewed) opposed the participation of such groups in political affairs. The remainder were either indifferent (16%) or did not express any opinion (20%).

"Are you for or against these veterans' organizations being politically active?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
For it	8%	8%	8%	8%
Against it	56	57	54	57
Don't care	16	16	17	17
No opinion	20	19	21	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GERMAN OPINIONS ON JEWISH RESTITUTION
AND SOME ASSOCIATED ISSUES.

Report No. 113

Series No.

Classification changed to
Restricted

by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. ARMY COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

The present study of West German attitudes in regard to Jewish restitution and some associated issues is based upon a survey conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, from October 11th to 27th, 1951. The survey was made throughout West Germany and utilized in the present instance a 1,200 case probability sample. Interviewing was conducted under the auspices of the Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO) which on a contract basis obtains interviews for RLS under German sponsorship, thus removing any possibility of American sponsorship bias.

It should be understood that the present paper is not an attempt to directly measure Anti-Semitism - though much of the information has of course considerable bearing in such a connection. The current status of Anti-Semitism as such in Germany is the subject of a projected study and will require more elaborate modes of inquiry than those involved in the present report.

SUMMARY

- A. When questioned as to whether or not the Federal Government should provide aid to Jews for damages suffered during the war and the Third Reich, two out of three in West Germany professed to be in favor of such restitution. Amply indicated in follow-up analysis, however, is that the extent of claimed approval of Jewish aid can in no wise be taken at face value.

In a more generalized inquiry a majority of the West German people disclaimed not only any general guilt for the misdeeds of the Third Reich, but also any general responsibility of the German citizenry for rectifying the wrongs that were committed in their name.

Seventeen per cent among 68 per cent professing approval of Jewish restitution placed Jewish claims in last place among various groups included for comparison. Their accompanying commentaries indicated approval was very grudging indeed, and in general disclosed adverse attitudes only a little less patently anti-Semitic than the orientations of those who expressed outright opposition to Jewish restitution.

A large proportion of those who voiced support for Jewish aid - not excluding those who accorded such aid something higher than last priority - were revealed on attitude-test queries to possess distinctly unfavorable orientations toward the Jews.

Taking the findings all together, the indication is inescapable that despite the two out of three who professed approval of Jewish restitution, the majority of West Germans appear to have the kind of adverse attitudes toward the Jews which either make them outright opponents of restitution, or if verbally approving, highly doubtful supporters of any measures that might be taken to actually implement such aid.

- B. Questioned as to the desirability of a law against anti-Semitism - a suggestion recently raised in the Bundestag - opinions divided with fairly even proportions approving, disapproving, and reserving opinion.

- 2 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

The argument most frequently cited in opposition to such a law was the contention that it would violate democratic freedom of expression. The most frequent argument adduced in support of such a law was that since Jews are human beings too, legislation is proper to insure their protection against discriminatory treatment.

As might be surmised, the comments on the present issue are difficult to assay as to whether or not they are indicative of anti-Semitic feeling. The mere fact of questioning the merits of a legalistic approach to the eradication of Anti-Semitism obviously does not prove one an Anti-Semite. How large a measure of rationalization is involved in the arguments presented, however, is another question - but one that cannot be answered on the basis of the arguments themselves.

0. Finally indicated in the present study is that adverse attitudes toward the Jews are somewhat, but not considerably, more widespread among Germans who at the present time see more good than evil in National Socialist ideas, than among Germans who see the contrary. If such a demarcation can be taken as a very approximate index of so-called "Neo-Nazism" then the conclusion emerges that the presence of such sentiments is not necessarily indicative of attitudes toward the Jews being greatly out of line with those characterizing the general West German population. The question remains open, however, as to whether or not more precise measurement of Neo-Nazism would reveal closer association of such sentiments with negative attitudes toward the Jews.

- b -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

I. RESPONSIBILITY AND RESTITUTION

MAJORITY DISCLAIM GUILT OR RESPONSIBILITY FOR GERMANY'S ACTIONS DURING THIRD REICH ...

Supplemental to inquiry about Jewish restitution, respondents in the present study were questioned in a more general framework to ascertain the extent to which the West German people either feel some sense of guilt for what was done in general during the Third Reich, or if not guilt, some sense of responsibility for rectifying the wrongs that were committed in their name.

The returns indicate quite clearly that a majority disclaim not only any general guilt for the misdeeds of the Third Reich, but also any general responsibility of the German citizenry for sharing in the righting of these wrongs.

"Three persons talking about the war and everything Germany did during the Third Reich." (CARD)

"Mr. Mueller says: 'Every individual German bears a certain guilt for Germany's actions during the Third Reich and everybody should acknowledge this guilt.'

"Mr. Schmidt says: 'Not every German needs to feel guilty, but ought to feel responsible to right the wrongs, in so far as possible, Germany committed during the Third Reich.'

"Mr. Schulze says: 'The Germans in general need feel neither guilty nor responsible for righting any wrongs. Only those who really committed something are guilty as well as responsible.'

"Whith whom do you agree?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Mr. Mueller	4%	4%	4%	3%
Mr. Schmidt	21	21	20	25
Mr. Schulze	63	62	63	64
No opinion/No answer	12	13	13	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(1201)	(622)	(456)	(123)

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GROUP VARIATIONS ON RESPONSIBILITY ...

In no group of the population does an appreciable proportion agree that West Germans bear any generalized guilt for the wrongs that were committed during the Third Reich. Affirmation of some measure of group responsibility for rectifying these wrongs is most widespread among the opinion leading strata of the population - the men, the better paid, and most particularly the better educated. But among all population elements examined, the strongly preponderant view - usually by a clear majority - is that the German people need acknowledge neither guilt nor responsibility.

	Agree with Mr. Mueller (Guilt)	Agree with Mr. Schmidt (Responsi- bility)	Agree with Mr. Schulze (Neither)	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	5%	24%	64%	7% ... 100%	552
Women	3	19	61	17	648
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	4	18	63	15	976
Beyond elementary school	5	33	60	2	225
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	4	18	58	20	573
Middle and upper class	4	25	66	5	627
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	4	19	61	16	786
300 - 399 DM	3	24	69	4	216
400 DM and more	4	26	63	7	199
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	4	23	65	8	510
40 years and over	4	20	61	15	687
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	6	26	64	4	274
CDU/CSU	5	28	58	9	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BEV	4	25	63	3	63
Other parties	6	19	65	10	107
No party	3	15	70	12	294
Don't know	2	16	53	29	235
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	7	31	58	4	58
Businessmen	4	21	73	2	130
White-collar workers	3	31	61	5	150
Skilled laborers	4	20	65	11	235
Semi-skilled laborers	2	21	66	11	142
Dom. & prot. service	2	28	65	5	40
Farmers	5	17	62	16	152
Housewives	-	16	51	33	39
Unemployed	7	21	61	11	56
Not employed: Pensioners, students, retired, apprentices, etc.	6	15	54	25	193
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	6	29	60	5	197
No	4	19	63	14	999
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	4	20	63	13	539
Protestants	4	21	62	13	612
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	5	20	63	12	925
Expellees, Refugees	2	23	60	15	275

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MIXED PICTURE ON JEWISH RESTITUTION ...

When specifically questioned as to whether the Jews should receive help for their suffering during the Third Reich, two-thirds of the West Germans sampled answered in the affirmative. This extent of approval of Jewish restitution might appear to be rather favorable in view of the general disclaiming of responsibility for the actions of the Third Reich that was indicated in the preceding question. However, negative elements in the picture become more evident with further consideration.

"As you know, the Federal Government is trying to provide for those who suffered damage by the war or the Third Reich. Which of these groups should, in your opinion, receive such help, and which should not?"
(CARD presented including Jews and four other groups.)

If Jews and some other group(s) should get help: "And which of these group(s) would have the greatest right, in your opinion, to get such help? and which group would come in last place?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Jews should receive help	68%	71%	65%	63%
Jews have greatest right	2%	4%	2%	1%
Neither greatest nor least	49	51	48	45
Jews have least right	17	16	15	18
Jews should receive no help	21	17	25	28
Don't know whether Jews should receive help	$\frac{11}{100\%}$	$\frac{12}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{9}{100\%}$
(No. of cases:)	(1201)	(622)	(456)	(123)

It will be noted in the table below that the extent of approval for Jewish aid is less than for the other groups that were inquired about for purposes of comparison. It is even slightly less than the proportion who are willing to provide aid for the kin of the July 20th, 1944 plotters on Hitler's life - this despite the fact that in the opinion of many Germans the July 20th plotters were traitors. *

"As you know, the Federal Government is trying to provide for those who suffered damage through the war or the Third Reich. Which of these groups should, in your opinion, receive such help and which should not?"

	Should receive help	Should not receive help	No opinion
WEST GERMANY			
War-widows and orphans	96%	1%	3%...100%
People who suffered damage through bombing	93	3	4
Refugees and Expellees	90	6	4
Relatives of people executed because of participation in attempt on Hitler's life on July 20th, 1944	73	13	14
Jews who suffered through Third Reich and war	68	21	11

Secondly, if one harks back to the initial table, it can be noted that in addition to the 21 per cent who oppose Jewish aid and the 11 per cent who don't know that they should be helped, 17 per cent would only help them as the lowest priority - how very grudgingly will be seen when their comments are presented. If these three groups are totalled together one obtains 49 per cent or already half the West German population who cannot be counted upon to support restitution measures. And this is not the whole story. Analysis of the associated attitudes of professed supporters of Jewish aid (see part II) will make it evident that, all together, the extent of opposition and dubious support cannot be safely inferred to embrace less than a majority of the West German population.

* Attitudes toward the July 20th, 1944 plotters are discussed in detail in a separate report.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

COMMENTARIES OF RESPONDENTS OPPOSING RESTITUTION ...

West Germans who registered opposition to aiding the Jews were asked in a follow-up inquiry to explain their reasons for taking this stand. Aside from the value of general explication in the present connection it was thought that this type of open inquiry could yield unfettered responses which might possibly be very revealing as to general attitude toward the Jews.

One need only peruse the commentaries below to observe that most are definitely suggestive of Anti-Semitism - some in very strong terms.

"As you know, the Federal Government is trying to provide for those who suffered damage by the war or the Third Reich. Which of these groups should, in your opinion, receive such help, and which should not?" (CARD)

If Jews should receive no help: "Why shouldn't the Jews receive any help?"

WEST	Brit. US	French
GERMANY Zone	Zone	Zone

They Have Enough - They Look After Themselves:

Because to a great degree they already have made a new fortune; the Jews have put aside enough money and have still saved enough - they don't need our help; because the Jews are businessmen, they can solve the problem more easily than other people; they help themselves - you can see that everywhere - they are still so wealthy; they have more than we have; in the greatest part they have enough if I only think of the few who have lived around here; because the Jews get to their feet again quickly and are able to look after themselves; the few who are still over here have already gotten so much ahead that they don't need any help; etc.

4%	3%	5%	6%
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They Have Been Adequately Helped By Various Authorities:

The Jews have been supported by various organizations since 1945; they got international support; because this group has been sufficiently helped by the victorious powers; because they receive help from somewhere else and don't need it so very much; they no longer need it - they have been sufficiently helped by foreign countries; etc.; the Jews have received enough help from us and the Americans - they don't need any more help; because they have been helped so much by other authorities that they need no help by the Bundesregierung - they received help mainly from the Allied powers; they should be helped by the Americans and the British, we pay enough to them; because this group had already been compensated in 1938 before they emigrated abroad; these actions ought finally to come to an end because they all received their share; they received the KZ support, and now there should be an end to it; etc.

3	2	6	2
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(cont'd on next page)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

They Have Exploited Us (In Past Or Present):

They impoverished Germany enough, they all repayed themselves; the Jews made us lose enough, they pushed the Germans out of the influential positions - besides, the Jews still possess more than all the others; because they made us lose enough, before the war they exploited us completely; actually they lost much, but previously they had all this chiseled for themselves; the Jews should leave Germany, they have no business here; they only exploit us - why should we help them?; they don't deserve help because they have always cheated the non-Jews whenever they could; the Jews just exploited us; I don't see why the Jews are helped, they exploited Germany enough in the time from 1918 to 1933; they stripped us enough; they swindle whenever they can; those cattle-dealers from past times who were Jews always cheated us - we don't like them; nobody was so shameless and radical in business matters as the Jews, for that reason I'm through with them; etc.

3/ 2/ 4/ 2/

They Are Foreigners And Not Our Responsibility:

Because the Jews don't belong here; they didn't care for us either and have never done us any good - they are always against us; because the Jews always support each other, but not the Christians - let them help each other; one should first satisfy one's own fellowmen, before one supports foreigners; they aren't very fond of us and have their own people who can help them; what do we care about the Jews, they are not our concern at all; because the Jews don't belong to our race, and therefore they don't have the right to receive money from the governmental budget; etc.

2 2 1 2

They Avoid Labor:

Well, don't the Jews have their own country where they could emigrate? - I haven't seen any Jew yet who worked, so one needn't help them, we aren't helped either; because I don't like the Jew, they always let other people work for them; because the Jews have never created anything, they have always plotted and cheated; these people made it their principle not to work and to live at other people's expense; because they never want to work, they want only to peddle and to cheat - they are arrogant and presumptuous, especially the women; the Eastern Jews don't want to work, they trade only, and chisel and cheat the people, we see that daily in our settlement; etc.

1 1 1 3

They Have Enough, They Know Well How To Help Themselves:

They helped themselves enough - considering what they took out of Germany into foreign countries; because there are too many Jews who possess more than we do; etc.

1 1 2 2

I'm Against The Jews:

My attitude is anti-Semitic and I don't want to have to answer; because I learned to hate the Jews; I haven't had anything good from the Jews; because I don't think much of the Jews; I'm an old Nazi and I'm against the Jews - they have the metal trade already under their control again; personal antipathy; because they aren't good for anything; because I still have the old antipathy against them - I was brought up when the Jews were persecuted and I haven't gotten rid of this old attitude yet; because I don't like the Jews, they lie most of all; I can't see the Jews; because I don't like the Jews; etc.

1 1 1 1

(Cont'd on next page)

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WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

They Have Received Too Much Help Already;

They received so much already, all the time they were supported while at the same time committing many frauds, many of them had not been in concentration camps, but cheated a lot of money out for it - and that is not right; I'm of the opinion that the Jews piled up enough money during the post-war years so that it would be imprudent to let them have more; they have such a knack for making money, they needn't be supported by the poorest of the poor, only because they have been one single month in the KZ, they received DM 30,000.-; etc.

14	26	16	-4
----	----	----	----

The State Is Broke;

Not enough money available; because the government has no money; we have nothing ourselves - what could we give them?; because we have enough to do with providing for our own people; etc.

1	*	1	2
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There Are Only A Few Jews Here;

They have mostly emigrated to America, anyway - most of them don't live in Germany anymore; there are no Jews in Germany anymore; etc.

1	*	1	2
---	---	---	---

Distrust In Their Claims;

It is hard to find out now whether or not they have really suffered damage - many Jews sold their real estate and today they claim restitution; because many of them pretend to have suffered heavy damage, their claims should be checked closely; why? - mostly they, as well as the persons wronged by the Nazis, boast of all their sufferings, but actually they weren't badly off, and today they are high and mighty again; etc.

1	*	1	1
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Other Groups Are Worse Off - Others Have Lost More;

Compared to other groups they have lost least of all; because first they should look after our people (widows like myself and orphans), women with no means of support have nothing to eat - the Jews are now better off - I have nothing against them, but other groups are much worse off; they are all not so badly off as the war-widows and orphans; they haven't lost as much as others - the money should be given to someone who needs it more urgently; etc.

1	1	*	1
---	---	---	---

Other Replies;

Because they have been opposed to our former government, they supported our enemies with espionage; for the most part they are responsible for the war, they supported the Nazi regime when it came into power; we did not get anything ourselves although we had to risk our lives; the Jews haven't suffered more than we have in the POW camps - we also would then have to be provided for; they should now be able to look after themselves; they should be able to earn just as much money as we do; the Germans still detained in Siberia don't get anything either; the Jews who suffered damage during the war should get just as much as we do, but the others not - because many of them make claims about the KZ's and so on - you don't know what of it is true;

2	2	2	2
---	---	---	---

Answer Refused;

I don't want to hear about that; I don't want to say anything; I don't want to take a stand on that; etc.

*	1		
226**	187**	264**	277**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The comments of those respondents who assigned Jewish aid the lowest order of priority do not greatly differ in type from the comments of those expressing outright opposition to Jewish aid. The comments reveal unmistakable indications of adverse attitudinal orientations toward the Jews, though generally in less extreme terms than those vouchsafed by the opponents of restitution.

If Jews are placed last in getting help: "And for what reasons would you put the Jews in last place?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

They Have Been Adequately Helped By Various Authorities:

Because the Jews have received enough help and also receive sufficient help from abroad; they receive great help from abroad and therefore have no urgent need of help; because these groups have already been helped and need no more help - the Jews suffer no need; the Jews are additionally helped by other countries - they don't need it so badly; they are supported by foreign countries; the Jews receive enough help from abroad; to a great part they have already been compensated; because they have been compensated by the racial law ("Rassengesetz"); because they have already received much; they certainly receive too much help; etc.

7% 6% 8% 5%

They Have Enough - They Look After Themselves:

Because the Jews always know how to come into their own - there is rarely one who starves - maybe my words are inspired by great dislike; they need no help - they are able to look after themselves as you can see today; because the Jews get to the top by themselves - they will always get to their feet; this group have mostly founded a new existence as they are efficient business people; the Jews need least help - they have always been able to look after themselves; these people are very tough and most easily take the help into their own hands - they can work and earn money; the Jews make good business today - Jews look after themselves and have more than enough; etc.

5 5 5 5

Other Groups Are Worse Off:

Because others are more badly in need of help; because compared to the people damaged by bombardments and expelled they are less needy; because this group is relatively still best off - after locals ("Einheimische") have lost everything and don't possess anything; for once they can wait until the others have received relief of their need; etc.

2 1 2 3

They Avoid Labor:

In spite of the fact that the Jews do the least work they are now already better off than anybody else among us; because they shun work; they should earn their living by manual labor like any German worker does; they all live on trading; etc.

1 1 * 1

They Have Exploited Us (In Past Or Present):

Formerly they have made a good living by pressing much out of the country; they have always feathered their nests by exploiting us; they have squeezed out quite a bit; etc.

1 1 * 1

They Are Foreigners And Not Our Responsibility:

Because the Jews are a foreign people to us and because all other groups are nearer to us; because their ways of life and thinking are foreign to us; etc.

1 1 1 -

There Are Only A Few Jews Here:

* 1 * -

Other Replies:

Because the Jews can build up an existence for themselves somewhere else - they have the possibility; because it is partly their own fault; because of the restitution to the Jews we have to pay even more taxes - and they also count as victors; etc.

1/10% 2/10% 1/17% 2/17%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP VARIATIONS ON RESTITUTION ...

Similarities are much more marked than differences in the comparison of various West German population elements in their judgments about aid for the Jews. That Jews should receive help is the preponderant position - generally by a large majority - among all groups examined. Considering particular groups, disapproval of aid appears to stand out most markedly among farmers and among adherents of what are termed "other parties" in the table, i.e. Bavarian Party, Social Reichs Party, Zentrum, Communist Party of Germany, Refugees-Expellees-Party.

There is an indication too, though a small one, that younger people (below 40 years of age) more widely disapprove of providing aid for the Jews, than do their elders (over 40).

"As you know, the Federal Government is trying to provide for those who have suffered damage by the war and the Third Reich. Which of these groups should, in your opinion, receive such help and which should not?" (CARD)

	Jews Should receive help	Jews Shouldn't receive help	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	69%	23%	8%..100%	552
Women	67	20	13	648
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	67	21	12	976
Beyond elementary school	72	22	6	225
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	70	17	13	573
Middle and upper class	66	25	9	627
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	68	20	12	786
300 - 399 DM	67	24	9	216
400 DM and more	70	23	7	197
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	66	26	8	512
40 years and over	69	18	13	685
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	73	22	5	273
CDU/CSU	72	17	11	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	72	22	6	68
Other parties	63	32	5	107
No party	64	25	11	296
Don't know	65	15	20	250
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	83	17	-	58
Businessmen	67	23	10	138
White-collar workers	73	20	7	150
Skilled laborers	64	21	15	233
Semi-skilled laborers	68	24	8	142
Domestic & protective service	78	15	7	40
Farmers	53	32	15	152
Housewives	72	15	13	39
Unemployed	75	14	11	56
Not employed; Pensioners, students, retired, etc., apprentices	72	15	13	193
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	70	21	9	197
No	68	21	11	999
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	69	20	11	539
Protestants	67	23	10	611
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	66	22	12	925
Refugees, Expellees	73	18	9	276

APPROVAL OF RESTITUTION NO GUARANTEE OF ABSENCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM ...

It has already been revealed in respondents' commentaries that opposition to Jewish aid is tied up closely with general anti-Semitism. The converse question now arises - is approval of Jewish restitution any guarantee of the absence of adverse general orientations toward the Jews? The answer is "no" on the basis of the present study. Two test questions were included to check on this point and their results when stocked up against the restitution returns reveal clearly that approval on this issue in no wise precludes even highly unfavorable general attitude toward the Jews.

The first intimation of the above state of affairs emanated from the following question: "Do you believe that the Jews themselves are partly responsible for what happened to them during the Third Reich, or don't you believe that they are?" Twenty-one per cent in West Germany answered in the affirmative and almost without exception their accompanying comment (see Appendix) revealed highly adverse orientations toward the Jews. But when these results were broken against returns on the restitution issue the following pattern emerged.

	Jews should receive help	(Have greatest right)	(Have neither greatest nor least right)	(Have least right)	Jews should not receive help	No opinion	No. of cases
What happened during the Third Reich is partly fault of the Jews	59%	(1)	57%	21%	36%	5%..100%	254
Is not their fault	75	(3	55	17)	19	6	634
No opinion/No answer	6	(1	47	12)	15	25	313

Clearly a large proportion of Germans who reveal adverse attitudes toward the Jews on the present test question are being motivated by other considerations - one may perhaps infer concern for foreign reactions as not the least among these - to approve of aid for the Jews.

A second test question inserted to shed light on the relationship between Jewish attitudes and restitution judgments went as follows: "Would you personally prefer the Jews who are still living in Germany to stay here and found a home again, or would you prefer them to emigrate?" Twenty-seven per cent express a preference for the Jews to leave Germany. The accompanying comments were largely negative in tone (see Appendix). But again, when these attitude indications were broken against returns on the restitution issue, a large proportion of the West Germans who would like to see the Jews quit their shores indicated approval of Jewish restitution.

	Jews should receive help	(Have greatest right)	(Have neither greatest nor least right)	(Have least right)	Jews should not receive help	No opinion	No. of cases
Prefer Jews to stay here	83%	(3%	63%	17%	14%	6%...100%	313
Prefer Jews to emi- grate	59	(*	30	20)	43	7	322
Indifferent and quali- fied answers	72	(3	53	16)	15	13	503
No opinion / No answer	49	(3	41	5)	11	40	63

IMPLICATIONS ...

The two questions employed to test general attitudes toward the Jews are far from completely unambiguous indices of Anti-Semitism. But notwithstanding, the returns on these queries when compared to those on the restitution issue reveal that approval of Jewish aid - even when given more than the lowest priority - is no guarantee of absence of Anti-Semitism. Such a state of affairs tends to raise the important question, of course, as to how whole-heartedly those Germans who indicate approval of Jewish restitution can be expected to follow through on implementation of such a course.

III. OPINIONS ON A LAW AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

OPINIONS DIVIDE ON DESIRABILITY OF LAW AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM ...

Along with the restitution issue, the opportunity was taken in the present study to examine West German reactions to a recent proposal that the Federal Government pass legislation making the expression of anti-Semitic sentiments illegal. The returns revealed a fairly even split of opinion on this issue, with 38 per cent approving such a law, 33 per cent disapproving, and the remainder expressing no opinion.

"Supposing the Federal Government would pass a law according to which everybody would be punished who acts or expresses himself in an anti-Semitic manner. Would you in general approve of such a law or would you disapprove of it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Approve	38%	40%	38%	29%
Disapprove	33	30	34	42
No opinion / No answer	29	30	26	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP VARIATIONS

Opposition to a law against anti-Semitism is greatest, group comparisons reveal, among the more educated and informed segments of the West German population -- the men, the better schooled, and the better paid.

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion & No answer	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	44%	40%	14% ... 100%	552
Women	35	23	37	648
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	38	30	32	976
Beyond elementary school	36	46	16	225
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	38	24	38	573
Middle and upper class	38	42	20	627
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	38	28	34	786
300 - 399 DM	42	40	18	216
400 DM and more	37	45	17	199
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	38	38	24	510
40 years and over	36	30	32	687
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	46	36	16	274
CDU/CSU	43	37	20	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	34	49	17	68
Other parties	39	37	24	107
No party	35	36	29	294
Don't know	27	19	54	255
<u>Occupations:</u>				
Professionals	42	48	10	58
Businessmen	36	40	24	138
White-collar workers	38	43	19	150
Skilled laborers	41	35	24	233
Semi-skilled laborers	40	31	29	142
Domestic & protective service	48	27	25	40
Farmers	30	28	42	152
Housewives	31	23	46	39
Unemployed	30	30	31	56
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, apprentices, etc.	38	34	38	193
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	43	41	16	197
No	37	32	31	999
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	37	35	28	539
Protestants	38	31	31	612
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	37	33	30	925
Refugees, Expellees	42	31	27	276

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REASONS ADVANCED FOR OPPOSING SUCH A LAW ...

The single most frequent objection advanced in response to the question as posed is that a law against anti-Semitic action and utterances would allegedly violate the democratic principle of freedom of opinion and expression. Another often recurring theme is that the principle of equality precludes any such special legislation. Cited with some frequency, too, was the contention that fellow feeling with the Jews cannot be coerced into existence, and the effort to do so, some add, would only arouse hatred.

As might be surmised, the comments on the present question are harder to assay as to whether or not they are indicative of anti-Semitic feeling. The mere fact of questioning the merits of a legalistic approach to the eradication of anti-Semitism obviously does not prove one an anti-Semite. How large a measure of rationalization is involved in the arguments presented, however, is another question - but one that cannot be answered on the basis of the arguments themselves.

"Supposing the Federal Government would pass a law according to which everybody would be punished who acts or expresses himself in an anti-Semitic manner. Would you, in general, approve of such a law or would you disapprove of it?"
If "Disapprove": "For what reasons?"

WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Would Violate Democratic Freedom Of Expression:

Everyone can think what he likes - that would really go too far, to punish someone for not liking someone else, then we wouldn't have a democracy any more; because it is not so bad, you inveigh against other people just as much - any criticism whatsoever would then have to be forbidden; everybody should have the right to voice his opinion freely; you cannot forbid people to have a personal attitude toward any race, everyone can take or leave what he likes; because with such a law you would invade every citizen's right to give his free opinion; it would frustrate the right of free speech, you are allowed to say what is right - where should censorship lead us to? - in a free democracy one should vent one's opinion freely; because I must have the right to say my opinion freely as I want it; we live in a democracy where everybody can say what he likes; but we have democracy where you can give your views freely, you cannot forbid that; because everybody can form his opinion as he likes to; you must be allowed to express your antagonism toward anyone who deserves it and behave accordingly; you cannot prescribe anybody to hate or not to hate somebody else, and that is why they should not bother the population with such laws, I detest most laws, anyhow; etc.

9%	7%	12%	12%
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WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Would Violate Principle Of Equality:

In future every person should be treated alike; because it is not necessary, because they are people like we are, they don't require any special rights; all should be alike, why should Jews have preference through a special law?; all persons are equal, therefore no one has the right to claim protection through special laws; why should suddenly the Jews have something quite special? - the present laws are completely adequate; they are human beings like us, and shall be treated as we are treated once they are here - they don't need something quite special; because it would make the Jews get into a special position; why should they be treated differently?; but such a thing could not be done in the present time - all races should be equally treated; etc.

6% 6% 6% 6%

Already Have Legal Protection Accorded To All:

They are protected through the laws the same way we are; it is not necessary, as everybody is protected by the law; I don't see the necessity of such a law, since the Jews have full equality of rights; etc.

4 3 2 5

Would Merely Provoke The Hatred Against The Jews:

You would provoke the hatred of the population, because people will say the Jews have privileges and need once again something special; it would cause hatred, because the Jews would then be privileged, whilst you can do with the Germans what you like - inveigh against them, defile them; it would not lead to anything good, it would arouse hatred - and just the hatred that ought to be extinguished; such a law could merely breed new hatred; with such a law you would attain the contrary; because it is not at all necessary, because things would never again take a development as during the Third Reich - the foreign countries would watch that - if you make a law it will rather incite some people and provoke hostile behavior against the Jews; I approve of every human being, one should not make any law, that may have a negative effect; other means should be found (youth education, religion, love for your fellow-men, respect for the other person); Jews and our people could live well together and be on friendly terms - that needs no law, and if any Jew should behave wrongly, everybody should be allowed to defend himself and not be punished by any law - that need not be hostility - a law will merely create enemies; etc.

3 3 2 2

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

There Is No, Or Only Little, Hatred Against The Jews:

There is no racial conflict anymore, the Jews are not endangered; it is not necessary, since persecution of Jews does not exist anymore; actually the group of anti-Semitic people is very small; that isn't necessary anymore, since the Jews don't harm us, we bear no hatred toward the Jews and therefore the latter don't need any protection; most people bear no ill feelings towards the Jews, so such a law isn't necessary; they aren't hurt anyhow without such a law; it's not necessary, we don't hurt them; etc.

2% 2% 2% 2%

Other Groups Would Also Have To Get Special Protection:

Otherwise every religious society, like the Protestants or the Catholics, would have to be protected the same way, who protects the Christians from attacks from the Jews?; if somebody insults a refugee he is not punished either; then we would have to pass laws for any tendency and any party - that would be rather too much; then they ought to protect every foreigner, not just one group; etc.

2 1 2 2

It Would Be Like Under A Dictatorship:

I don't consider it right - why should a person be punished for anything like that - that would be worse than under a dictatorship; that would be a Nazi method; it would be the same pressure as in Eastern Germany; because it would be a compulsory measure of the government in order to take care of a particular group of persons; etc.

1 1 2 2

The Jews Would Take Advantage Of Such A Law:

I don't like to be punished because of any Jew; maybe the Jews would turn the tables and use this law against us; this law will only help them into the saddle; if they were protected that way they would grow even more cheeky and even greater profiteers; thereupon the Jews would do whatever they like in Germany, such a protection could encourage them to take more liberties than anybody else; they would use that and take advantage of it, they could freely do or leave whatever they like and use this law and these privileges for their own interests; etc.

1 1 2 2

Such A Law Is Unnecessary:

They don't need a special law, when they behave (decently) the way we behave; I can't approve of the Jews being protected - if they behave the same way as the Germans, then they will not be hurt; etc.

1 1 1 2

Other Comments:

Because I don't like the Jews; because I'm a German and don't support these foreign people - you cannot, after all, be put in jail because of a Jew; we should be allowed to talk - they all should leave Germany if they don't like it here and if they are persecuted; because through such a law quarrels and hatred would arise, more than ever - anybody could misuse the law and in case of personal quarrel could allude to the opponent as being anti-Semitic; the state's duty is to care for order, but who behaves well is not molested - for me the Jews are guests; I don't have such a high interest in Jews, they need no law for such a purpose, although they (the Jews) have the right to be protected; why make a difference at all - it's my duty to behave decently towards any person, no matter what religion; they should finally stop bothering with that, the persons responsible are punished enough; each individual ought to know what he is doing - why make a law for that?; etc.

5 7 5 11

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{1}{35\%}$ $\frac{1}{33\%}$ $\frac{1}{57\%}$ $\frac{1}{47\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one comment.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR APPROVING OF SUCH A LAW

The principle of equality so frequently alluded to for not approving of a law against Anti-Semitism, is, interestingly enough, the point most frequently invoked to support such a law - the implied argument being that such a law is called for to prevent Jews from being treated in unequal fashion. The next most frequent theme is a more or less straight assertion that the Jews have a right to some form of protection against the persecution and molestation to which they have been subjected.

"Supposing the Federal Government would pass a law according to which everybody would be punished who acts or expresses himself in an anti-Semitic manner. Would you in general approve of such a law or would you disapprove of it?"

If "no, prove": "For what reasons?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The Jews Are People Like Us And Have The Same Rights:

Because all of us have equal rights to a free life; all people should receive protection from the government just as I demand it too; fundamentally they are people like we are and have to be protected against injustices; equality of people is a fundamental principle of human relationship; I am for equal rights for all people in Germany and the Jews should not be kept outside the law; because every human being, no matter what race, should be protected by the government; that is only right, because a Jew is a human being too and enough injustice has been done, a law for their protection would be right; they should have protection because they are of flesh and blood too - I wouldn't like it if I was mistreated or ridiculed and the Jews don't like it any better either; because the Jew is a human being just like everybody else and should be treated as such; the Jews that live here have the same rights as we do - we wouldn't like it either if we were persecuted all the time; because they have the same rights to live as other people too; they are human beings who want to exist and live - we have no right to condemn them; Jews aren't worse than Christians or Negroes; to me a human being is a human being; and one should oppose prejudice; because a Jew has a claim to justice just like everybody else - they are human beings too; in order to eliminate race hatred - they are human beings just like us; they are the same people as we are, why should we offend them?; everybody has his rights as a human being whether Jew or Christian; they can do as they please, they are human beings too; because I believe that everybody is equal and therefore this protection is necessary for everybody; etc.

18% 20% 18% 8%

The Jews Have To Be Protected:

They have to live one way or another and therefore they should not be persecuted anymore; because the Jews have greater protection through this; because the Jews are in need of love and protection; so the Jews can live in peace as we do, we wouldn't like it either if we were molested; those poor people, the Jews, have to be protected from the mob; they should be left in peace too; because it brings peace to these people and protects the Jews; so everybody leaves the Jews alone and order is everywhere; because the individual Jew has not committed any crime - those who express anti-Jewish sentiments in words or actions offend human beings and should be punished for it; if they don't do anything, bad they have to be protected; if the Jews live and behave like we do,

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

they should be protected too; any Jew that has German citizenship must have the same protection that any other German citizen has; the Jews need protection too since they have always lived in Germany; every human being should have protection through the law - but it would be best if people could get along with each other without laws; because one must take care that the Jews, if they stay here, can live peacefully; if the Jews are here, one should not be able to do them any harm; these Jews might stay here and one should not put anything in their way; etc.

8% 9% 6% 8%

It Is The Best Way To Counteract Hatred And Prejudice:

Some people can't be brought to respect another human being in any other way; because people should learn to tolerate and quit inciting others - all of us are human beings and all of us are equal; live and let live - hatred should be suppressed by laws; if it is laid down by law, a certain group of people can't start a new wave of prejudice - everybody would be careful not to violate this law; etc.

3 1 4 2

What Happened During The Third Reich Should Not Be Repeated:

If the Jews are without protection we would have the same conditions as during the Third Reich; then it couldn't get to the point of the Third Reich; so it can't come to the same thing as in 1938; etc.

3 3 3 3

Race Is Not The Fault Of The Individual:

The Jew can't help being a Jew - the main thing is that he is a decent person; because a person can't help the race he's born of; etc.

2 2 3 1

I Have Nothing Against Jews:

Because the Jews never did me any harm; because I have nothing against the Jews; etc.

2 2 2 3

It Is In Our Own Interest Too:

Because otherwise the Jews would emigrate to Israel and that would look like war; if they are harmed we would have to pay for it and there would be a new tax; it could easily mean trouble, especially since the Jews are still under the protection of the Allies; I am personally opposed to this race hatred because it resulted in our misfortune here in Germany; so that no serious persecution can take place which would result in the same disaster for both parts as in 1938; etc.

1 1 - 1

Other Comments:

If something is done against the Jews it has to be done by the government but not by the population - therefore the government should pass a law for the protection of the Jews; because it would endanger our country if certain groups can be persecuted and have no legal protection; etc.

2 2 2 2

No Opinion / No Answer:

I would agree to it, what else should I say?; I just think it's right this way, I don't know a reason for it, I just feel this way; etc.

$\frac{1}{40\%}$ $\frac{1}{41\%}$ $\frac{1}{39\%}$ $\frac{1}{29\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IV. SOME SIDELIGHTS ON "NEO-NAZISM"

"NEO-NAZIS" SOMEWHAT MORE ADVERSE TOWARD JEWS ...

Recent months have seen an apparent growth in "Neo-Nazism" in Germany - a trend toward rehabilitation of the principles of National Socialism. An important question that arises in this connection is to what extent favorable orientations toward National Socialism are correlated with adverse orientations toward the Jews. To help shed light on this point, respondents were asked in the present study - "When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"* Those who judged more good than evil were separated from those who judged the contrary and then compared in their responses on the various questions relating to the Jews.

As may be seen in the tabulated comparisons below, answers adverse to the Jews are somewhat more widespread among West Germans who currently hold that there was more good than evil in National Socialist ideas, than among respondents holding the contrary. A larger proportion of the former say (1) what happened during the Third Reich is partly the fault of the Jews, (2) Jews should leave Germany rather than remain, (3) Jews should receive no restitution, (4) there should not be a law against Anti-Semitism, and (5) the German people as a group need feel neither guilty nor responsible for the wrongs Germany committed during the Third Reich.

"When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

	More good than evil	More evil than good	Don't know
What happened during Third Reich is partly fault of the Jews	28%	19%	10%
Is not their fault	52	65	37
No opinion / No answer	20	16	53
	100%	100%	100%
Prefer Jews to stay here	27%	33%	14%
Prefer Jews to emigrate	37	21	17
Indifferent and qualified answers	34	44	54
No opinion / No answer	2	2	15
	100%	100%	100%
Jews should receive help	63%	76%	67%
Jews have greatest right	1%	4%	2%
Neither greatest nor least	43	56	52
They have least right	19	16	13
Jews should receive no help	30	17	11
No opinion	7	7	22
	100%	100%	100%
Approve of law to punish anti- Semitic statements or actions	36%	48%	28%
Disapprove of such a law	43	32	16
Indifferent	4	3	10
No opinion / No answer	17	17	46
	100%	100%	100%

(cont'd on next page)

* Results on this question will be discussed in a forthcoming report on neo-Nazi and extremist sentiments in West Germany.

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	More good than evil	More evil than good	Don't know
--	------------------------	------------------------	---------------

"Every individual bears a certain guilt for Germany's actions during the Third Reich and everybody should be aware of this guilt."

3%	7%	2%
----	----	----

"Not every German needs to feel that he should share in the responsibility to right the wrongs Germany committed during the Third Reich."

21	27	13
----	----	----

"The Germans in general need neither feel guilty nor responsible for righting any wrongs. Only those who committed something are guilty as well as responsible."

70	57	55
----	----	----

No opinion

$\frac{6}{100\%}$	$\frac{9}{100\%}$	$\frac{30}{100\%}$
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(No. of cases:)

(537)	(386)	(276)
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IMPLICATIONS ...

Clearly, then, there is a higher incidence of adverse orientations toward the Jews among "Neo-Nazis" (as measured by the question employed), than among West Germans who still see more evil than good in National Socialism. But without in any way losing sight of this fact it should be appreciated, too, that the differences are not very great - of the order of 9 to 16 per cent. This fact tends to suggest that the apparently growing tendency to retrospectively see more good than evil in National Socialism does not for many Germans carry along with it any greater antagonism toward the Jews than that which characterizes the segment of the population who appraise National Socialism as more evil than good. The question remains open, of course, as to whether or not more precise measurement of neo-Nazi sentiments would reveal a closer association with negative attitudes toward the Jews.

APPENDIX: COMPLETE RETURNS ON ATTITUDE TEST QUESTIONS

Since it will be the task of a projected forthcoming study to analyze the current status of Anti-Semitism in Germany, the returns on the two attitude-test questions which were employed as diagnostic indices in the present study are presented without analysis. For the interest they may have in supplying concrete details about German attitudes toward the Jews, respondents' follow-up commentaries in connection with adverse answers on the two queries have been presented in some detail along with brief indications of the type of person making each comment.

"Do you believe that the Jews themselves are partly responsible for what happened to them during the Third Reich, or don't you believe that they are?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	
Partly their fault	21%	21%	22%	23%	
Not their fault	53	51	55	50	
No opinion / No answer	26	28	23	27	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	
(No. of cases:)	(1201)	(622)	(456)	(9123)	
	Yes, partly their fault	No, not their fault	No opinion/ No answer	No. of cases:	
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	27%	55%	18%	100%	552
Women	17	51	32		648
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	18	54	28		976
Beyond elementary school	35	49	16		225
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	15	52	33		573
Middle and upper class	27	54	19		627
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	20	50	30		776
300 - 399 DM	20	64	16		216
400 DM and more	28	54	18		219
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	20	52	28		510
40 years and over	23	53	24		687
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	22	62	16		274
CDU/CSU	24	58	18		203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	34	53	13		68
Other parties	26	50	24		107
No party	23	52	25		294
Don't know	11	40	49		255
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	35	52	13		58
Businessmen	27	51	22		138
White-collar workers	25	57	18		150
Skilled laborers	15	63	22		233
Semi-skilled laborers	16	53	31		142
Domestic & protective service	22	53	25		40
Farmers	20	50	30		152
Housewives	20	39	41		39
Unemployed	23	52	25		56
Not employed; Pensioners, students, retired, etc., apprentices	21	45	34		193
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	24	60	16		197
No	21	52	27		999
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	20	54	26		539
Protestants	21	52	27		612
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	21	55	24		925
Expellees, Refugees	24	45	31		275

"Do you believe that the Jews themselves are partly responsible for what happened to them during the Third Reich, or don't you believe that they are?"

If "Partly responsible": "In what respect is it partly the fault of the Jews?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
They pursued Unfair Business Practices:	10%	9%	10%	13%
They Pushed Themselves Into Positions Of Power And Influence:	4	5	3	3
They Agitated Against The Third Reich:	4	4	3	3
Their Manners Were Unpleasant:	2	1	2	2
They Avoided Labor:	1	1	2	2
Other Answers:	3	3	3	2
No Opinion / No Answer	<u>*</u> 24%**	<u>*</u> 23%**	<u>1</u> 24%**	<u>-</u> 25%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

They Pursued Unfair Business Practices

"Because they had ruthless trade methods and walked over dead bodies."
(Mason, 57, male, Lower Saxony)

"They have always been usurers and made themselves unpopular through that." (Independent craftsman, 38, Bavaria)

"Only little - sometimes they brought the prices down, they dumped the market with ridiculously cheap goods and harmed the competition thereby." (Plumber, 51, Schleswig-Holstein)

"Because so many businessmen were rogues - very often they asked twice as high prices and took advantage of the Germans this way."
(Housewife, 56, Bavaria)

"By frauds, unreliable business." (Electrician, 35, Hesse)

"I can tell from my experience that as a farmer I have been cheated very often by the Jews." (Farmer, 47, male, Lower Saxony)

"In the struggle of competition they often have been dirty and did not always apply fair methods." (Unemployed, 64, male, Bavaria)

"Some Jews, for instance, cheated the farmers with cattle dealing and embittered the people thereby." (Teacher, 58, male, Rhineland-Pfalz)

"They aroused angry feelings through their trade and business methods."
(Pensioner, 63, male, Hesse)

"Because they did not make themselves generally liked through their frauds." (Farmer, 48, male, Bavaria)

"There may have been part of them which aroused hatred in the people, I mean in view to business, because they took advantage of the Germans."
(Housewife, 59, Hesse)

(cont'd on next page)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"The hatred against the Jews has always been great, insofar as they put their fingers into everything connected with money." (Teacher for hygienic gymnastics, 34, female, Lower Saxony)

"Because they ruined many a farmer." (Farmer, 31, male, Rhineland-Pfalz)

"Because they aroused the hatred of the population - they stripped their fellow-men badly sometimes." (Housewife, widow, 52, Wttbg.-Baden)

"Because they tried to cheat the people of their money by swindlings." (Baker, unemployed, 60, Lower Saxony)

They Pushed Themselves Into Positions Of Power And Influence

"Because they wanted to get on top, they wanted also to suppress us." (Maid, 52, Bavaria)

"Because they seized upon all good positions yielding much money for themselves, and in their way - they have been represented in those positions so numerously that all other people naturally got into a rage." (Senior judge, 66, Hesse)

"Because they pushed themselves into everything." (Housewife, 52, Bremen)

"They strived for power only." (Housewife, 36, Rhineland)

"The Jews interfered in all influential positions in the fields of economy, politics, science - this influence in no way corresponded to the number of their people within Germany." (M.D., 44, male, North Rhine-Westfalia)

"They want to seize upon anything connected with the cultural life - no people can stand that." (Worker, 52, male, Bavaria)

"Because the Jews seized upon everything." (Housewife, 39, Rhineland)

They Agitated Against The Third Reich

"In the synagogues they agitated against the Third Reich - everybody knew that those things were heavily punished." (Housewife, 43, North Rhine-Westfalia)

"Because they always incited." (Housewife, 40, Lower Saxony)

"Because during the war they always agitated from abroad." (Housewife, 43, North Rhine-Westfalia)

"Especially the Jews abroad caused very ill feelings by falsely influencing the opinion about Germany abroad. Pressure engenders pressure - many Jews in Germany did not conduct themselves right and disregarded the German national feeling, they mocked, when a certain esteem would have been suitable." (President of a syndicate, 35, male, Hamburg)

"By treason to Germany." (Salesman, 18, Lower Saxony)

"By planning to overthrow the government after 1919." (Farmer and innkeeper, 50, male, Schleswig-Holstein)

"Because they acted as spies." (Tailor, employee, 25, Wttbg.-Baden)

Their Manners Were Unpleasant

"Partly because they bore themselves in an obtrusive and arrogant manner which naturally embittered people." (Employee, 48, male, Wttbg.-Ba.)

"By their obtrusive character." (Upholsterer, 43, male, Wttbg.-Baden)

- "Because they are so obtrusive." (Housewife, 80, Wttbg.-Baden)
- "The whole manner of these people." (Official, 25, male, Bavaria)
- "Through their behavior - they have always been the same." (Housewife, 39, Lower Saxony)

They Avoided Labor

- "Because they avoided labor." (Admin. clerk, unemployed, 30, male, Rhineland-Pfalz)
- "They evaded work." (Pensioner, 50 male, Bavaria)
- "No one ever did manual work - they made themselves unpopular thereby." (Without Profession, 67, female, Bavaria)

Other Answers

- "The poor Jews are certainly not to blame, but the wealthy Jews are much to blame for the war." (Without profession, 43, male, Schleswig-Holstein)
- "Well, to tell the truth, they have gone through a good deal, but they are certainly to blame too." (Housewife, 46, Hesse)
- "These cool calculating businessmen didn't have any sense for common interest - they acted in an un-Christian manner, they didn't think of the common welfare." (Nun, 46, Rhineland)
- "In respect to morals - by racial incest." (Dancing teacher, 29, male, Lower Saxony)
- "I have little experience myself - I'm merely repeating propaganda - attempt on the life of vom Rath - I can't say anything else because the Sudetenland has been free of Jews and I have been a soldier all that time." (Student, 30, male, Wttbg.-Baden)
- "Because they all together opposed very strongly the ideas of Hitler to defend themselves, and then together with the Jews abroad fought against National Socialism." (Tailor, 41, female, Schleswig-Holstein)
- "A very small percentage of the Jews practiced unfair business methods, their attitude has been unsocial - the others had to suffer for it." (Merchant, 39, male, North Rhine Westfalia)
- "They pushed themselves into all important economic and political positions, and didn't agree with Hitler's tyrannic policy and attitude. Naturally I'm opposed to Hitler's measures entirely." (Secretary, 42, female, Bavaria)

"Would you personally prefer the Jews who are still living in West Germany today to stay here and found a home again, or would you prefer them to emigrate?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	
Prefer Jews to stay	26%	30%	21%	21%	
Prefer Jews to emigrate	27	24	30	27	
Indifferent	37	37	37	40	
Qualified replies	5	3	7	5	
No opinion / No answer	5	6	5	7	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	
	Prefer Jews to stay	Prefer Jews to emigrate	In-differ-ent	Quali-fied answer	No op/ No answer cases
Sex:					
Men	28%	28%	34%	7%	3%...100% 552
Women	25	26	40	3	6 648
Education:					
Elementary school	26	25	39	4	6 976
Beyond elementary school	25	33	30	9	3 225
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	28	22	41	3	6 573
Middle and upper class	25	31	34	6	4 627
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	25	26	40	4	5 786
300 - 399 DM	29	26	32	8	5 216
400 DM and more	26	30	33	6	5 199
Age:					
Under 40 years	22	33	35	5	5 510
40 years and over	29	22	38	5	6 687
Party Preference:					
SPD	32	32	27	7	2 274
CDU/CSU	35	26	34	3	2 203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	19	38	35	6	2 68
Other parties	30	26	33	6	3 107
No party	23	26	40	6	5 294
Don't know	16	20	48	2	14 255
Occupation:					
Professionals	20	33	38	5	4 58
Businessmen	25	32	35	4	4 138
White-collar workers	28	26	32	9	5 150
Skilled laborers	28	28	33	5	6 233
Semi-skilled laborers	28	28	38	2	4 142
Dom. & prot. Service	30	37	20	5	8 40
Farmers	20	24	44	5	7 152
Housewives	23	21	51	3	2 39
Unemployed	21	29	41	4	5 56
Not employed; Pensioners, students, retired, etc., apprentices	29	21	40	4	6 193
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	29	29	31	6	5 197
No	26	26	38	4	6 999
Religion:					
Catholics	27	27	35	5	6 539
Protestants	24	27	40	4	5 612
Origin:					
Natives	27	26	37	5	5 925
Refugees, Expellees	22	30	38	5	5 275

"Would you personally prefer the Jews who are still living in West Germany today to stay here and found a new home for themselves, or would you prefer them to emigrate?"

If "Emigrate": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
They Seek Only Their Selfish Advantage:	7%	5%	10%	11%
They Should Go To Their Own Homeland:	7	7	7	7
Quarrels And Unrest Would Be Eliminated:	4	4	4	2
Germany Is Over-Populated:	3	2	4	2
They Are Crooks And Parasites:	2	2	2	3
I Don't Think Much Of The Jews:	2	2	2	-
Other Comments:	$\frac{4}{29\%}$ *	$\frac{5}{21\%}$ *	$\frac{4}{33\%}$ *	$\frac{2}{28\%}$ *

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

They Seek Only Their Selfish Advantage

"As a tradespeople the Jews are superior to us, they enrich themselves by usury and by chiseling, they understand how always to come into the highest financial positions, thereby they gain too much power and influence." (Housewife, 21, North Rhine-Westphalia)

"So that they don't try to seize the whole economy in Germany too, like in England and America." (Dairy worker, male, 26, Bavaria)

"Otherwise they will spread out again, grab everything and the Christians will see what becomes of them." (Without profession, female, 67, Bavaria)

"Otherwise the chiseling continues." (Worker, male, 24, Wttbg.-Hohenzollern)

"If they stay here, then they will again do extensive business and the Germans will have troubles as before." (Pensioner, male, 63, Hesse)

"They seize the trade in general and thereby put 100,000 Germans out of employment - they will have nothing to do with work." (Independent artisan, male, 39, Bavaria)

"Because the Jews would seize most of the trade establishments and then we would have the same situation as at Hitler's time." (Tailor apprentice, male, 21, Lower Saxony)

"They don't work anyhow, they do only their crooked business." (Wine-grower, and wine-tradesman, male, 26, Rheinland-Pfalz)

"The Jews in Germany aren't interested in manual work, we have enough Germans for trade - they may go where they are with their kind." (Upholsterer, male, 43, Wttbg.-Laden)

They Should Go To Their Own Homeland

"Everybody should go where he belongs - in past times no Jewish state was existent, but now they have a homeland." (Housewife, 44, North Rhine-Westphalia)

"I don't know - they ought to go to Jerusalem, that's where they belong." (Pensioner, female, 61, Wttbg.)

(cont'd on next page)

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- "Actually they don't belong here, but have their home in Palestine, for that reason they should rather emigrate." (Housewife, 23, Rhineland-Pfalz)
- "They should go where they came from - to a place where their race is, where they can speak their language and can live by their faith." (Pensioner, male, 50, Bavaria)
- "They should go to Palestine and work as we do." (Farmer, male, 31, Lower Saxony)
- "The Jews have a motherland, too, let them go there." (Son, helping, 16, Bavaria)
- "They should go to their country, what do they want here? - every person ought to remain in his own country - the Jews have a country." (Upholsterer, male, 19, Lower Saxony)
- "They should go where they belong - so far as I am concerned, to Jericho." (Housewife, farmer, 57, Hesse)
- "They have always been a stumbling-block in foreign countries - they should go to their own country and not be a burden to other countries." (Housewife, 39, Lower Saxony)
- "Each race should go where it came from." (Chemist, male, 20, North Rhine-Westphalia)
- "They may establish a Jewish state somewhere else." (Housewife, 40, Lower Saxony)
- "They ought to establish their own homeland, but not here, far away from Europe." (Worker, female, 27, Lower Saxony)
- "They should have a country where they are by themselves." (Official, male, 25, Bavaria)

Quarrels And Unrest Would Be Eliminated

- "Otherwise the same thing would happen as before 1939, when the Jews were expelled." (Salesman, male, 18, Lower Saxony)
- "It would be to their own advantage if they emigrated - for if a serious conflict arises they would suffer again, because many Germans are opposed to them - I myself regard all human beings as equal." (Housewife, 56, Bavaria)
- "So there wouldn't one day be quarrels with the Jews again." (Housewife, 47, North Rhine-Westphalia)
- "Because anti-Semitism in Germany probably will never become extinct, it would be better for the Jews to emigrate and through that prevent unrest in our country." (Stonemason, male, 56, Lower Saxony)
- "Then there would be calm again in Germany, the Third Reich intended to exterminate the Jews - if they emigrated, nobody would advocate this idea anymore." (Electrician, male, 35, Hesse)
- "It would be better for both parties - discord would be avoided by that and any hate would cease." (Technician, male, 38, Rhineland)

Germany Is Over-Populated

- "We are too many Germans already." (Pensioner, male, 75, Wttbg.)
- "Because Germany is so densely populated, and the Jews would have more possibilities abroad than the Germans." (Salesgirl, female, 20, Wttbg.-Baden)
- "Because too many people already live in the Federal Republic." (Pensioner, female, 56, North Rhine-Westphalia)
- "Our country is already populated enough with Eastern refugees - otherwise it would result in over-population." (Miner, male, 24, North Rhine-Westphalia)

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"Germany is already so much over-populated that every possibility for emigrating must be looked into." (President of a syndicate, male, 35, Hamburg)

"We have such a large population and don't get permission to emigrate, but the Jews do have permission." (Housewife, 69, Rhineland-Pfalz)

They Are Crooks and Parasites

"They swindle too much." (Housewife, 31, Wttbg.)

"So they can't cheat us anymore." (Farmer, male, 48, Bavaria)

"So that noone of us is wronged, because they know well how to cheat a person - I don't quite trust them." (Housewife, 80, Wttbg.-Hohenzollern)

"The Jew is the spirit of disunity and we need a united people." (Farmer and innkeeper, male, 50, Schleswig-Holstein)

"The Jews living among a nation become easily parasitic, they aren't esteemed in any country." (Official, male, 25, Bavaria)

I Don't Think Much Of The Jews

"I hate the Jews, because they are rascals." (Housewife, 31, Lower Saxony)

"I don't think anything of the Jews, they don't have the right to stay here." (Housewife, 46, Hesse)

"They aren't our friends, I don't like them, I can't tell, but in any case the Jews think the same way of us." (Housemaid, 27, Hesse)

"Because Germany always hated the Jews." (Farm worker, male, 21, Bavaria)

"I don't think much of the Jews, I come from the Warthegan where I have seen enough of them, they ran around in rags." (Housemaid, 30, Lower Saxony)

Other Comments

"Because by that other Germans who are unemployed would get jobs." (Worker, male, 27, Rhineland)

"So that the continuous 'to and fro' will be ended." (Administrative employee, female, 30, Rhineland-Pfalz)

"They aren't liked much here - their character is to blame for that - the Jews' character is strange to us - they are no Christian people." (Nun, 46, Rhineland)

"The German people and their race could be kept purer." (Technical draftsman, male, 45, Wttbg.)

"Actually I like to see them outside of our country, since they are of no use to us anyhow." (Student, male, 20, Hesse)

THE JULY 20th PLOT ON HITLER'S LIFE
DOES IT AFFORD A RALLYING POINT FOR RIGHTIST GROUPS?

Report No. 114

Series No. 2

December 5, 1951

R E S T R I C T E D

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

Reported in this study are the present views of the West German people on the July 20, 1944, attempt to assassinate Hitler. The findings on which the report is based were obtained in conjunction with a larger study made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, during the last two weeks of October 1951. A stratified, probability sample of 1200 cases, representative of the population of West Germany, was used. The interviews were made by DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main), the German interviewing organization under contract to the Reactions Analysis Staff, and the analysis was done in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The findings of this report suggest that at present General Remer and his SRP (Sozialistische Reichs Partei) colleagues could probably make little political capital out of the July 20th plot issue. At the same time, there is only slight evidence of any tendency to regard the men who engineered the unsuccessful attempt on Hitler's life as hero-patriots. Thus neither the extremist fringe nor the democratic parties appear to have much to gain by alluding to the July 20th incident as a political issue. Salient findings are summarized as follows:

- ... Appraising the event after seven years have elapsed, four in ten (36%) West Germans assert they approve of the plotters (attempt to kill Hitler, and a quarter (24%) say they disapprove. Indicative of the difficulty of weighing a problem which is a complex of legal, patriotic and moral values is the fact that another four in ten (36%) are unable to arrive at a decision.
- ... Not more than 13 per cent express views about the plot, however, that are clearly in accord with the Remer line. They call the attempt treason, or a violation of a soldier's oath, or laud Hitler's accomplishments, or describe the attempt as leading to Germany's destruction. Another 12 per cent disapprove of the attempt because they say assassination is immoral or unethical, it was too late, other non-violent means should have been used to remove Hitler, and so on.
- ... The men who took part in the plot are only infrequently lauded as heroes or patriots by those who approve of the attempt. They rather emphasize that Hitler's death would have meant the end of the war and forestalled further destruction, or that Hitler deserved death because he had brought about Germany's downfall. In any case it cannot be assumed that approval of the plot necessarily implies the rejection of National Socialist ideology. A cross-comparison of attitudes shows that among those applauding the attempt about as many feel that the good outweighed the evil in National Socialism as think the contrary.
- ... The complexity of the judgments involved in appraising the July 20th attempt is further underscored by the finding that disapproval of the attempt does not extend to ostracizing the kin of the plotters. On the contrary, two-thirds of those who disapprove of the July plot express a willingness to grant aid to the widows and orphans of the men executed for participating in it.

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LIMITED APPROVAL OF THE JULY 20th PLOT ...

In the political campaigns being waged by the SRP (Sozialistische Reichs Partei), General Remer and lesser party leaders have sought to rally support for their neo-Nazi movement by decrying the attempt to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944, which as is well known, Remer then a major in the Berlin garrison was instrumental in thwarting. In order to measure the extent to which the West German people might subscribe to the current Remer theme that the July 20th plotters aimed to betray Germany, and thereby to obtain a clue to the appeal of this particular aspect of the nationalistic line of Remer and his SRP colleagues, respondents were queried on their approval or disapproval of the plot.

Appraising the event after a lapse of seven years, four out of ten West Germans (38%) assert their approval of the attempt of the July plotters to kill Hitler. An equal proportion are not prepared to give an opinion; and a quarter (24%) express disapproval of the 1944 assassination attempt.

"If you stop to remember the 20th of July, 1944, when the attempt on Hitler's life failed, do you approve of what the men involved undertook to do at that time, or do you disapprove of it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Approve	38%	39%	35%	44%
Disapprove	24	24	24	22
Undecided	38	37	41	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%

These findings suggest that the July 20th incident probably does not provide a fishing-ground sufficiently troubled to afford much profit to the Remer group. Further support for such a judgment is found in examination of the comments of those respondents who disapprove of the plot. This reveals that not more than 13 per cent of the West German population can be considered as clearly in accordance with the SRP line. These people call the attempt either treason (7%), or a violation of a soldier's oath (2%), or, in more general terms, laud Hitler's accomplishments (3%) or describe the attempt as leading to Germany's destruction (1%). Twelve per cent of the West German people argue against the attempt in more neutral terms: it is immoral or unethical to try to kill anyone (6%), the attempt was too late (4%), other non-violent means were available (2%). An added 3 per cent give miscellaneous arguments against the plot.

It should be noted, however, that there is little disposition for those who approve the plot to designate as heroes the men who took part in it. Their comments largely stress two points: 1) Hitler's death would have meant the war's end and thus would have saved Germany from further destruction and anguish; and - closely related to the foregoing, - 2) Hitler deserved death because he had brought Germany to destruction.

In sum, then, though only about half of those who disapprove of the plot to kill Hitler can be said to subscribe to the Remer or SRP thesis, those who approve of the attempt also cannot at present be considered as taking a clearly affirmative position in the sense that they express positive anti-Hitler or anti-National Socialist sentiments. Examination of the comments of both those groups which approve and disapprove the July 20th plot will support this interpretation.

Reasons Given for Disapproval of Attempt

ARGUMENTS SIMILAR TO SRP VIEW

In a war such an action is treason; disadvantageous for front and homeland: Because at a time when the whole nation was involved in war, this action was a treason, because we had a war status, we had to stick together then; during a struggle for life is not the right moment to execute an attempt on his (Hitler's) life; etc.

Hitler brought Germany to the top, he cared for us, he had not deserved it: Hitler brought Germany to the top; Adolf was all right, we all were well off then; in view to the domestic policy Hitler cared in the best way for the people; because we had a good time then - the workers were taken care of and we had orderly conditions; he (Hitler) did a lot of good for us and did not deserve such a thing; he reigned well and one needn't murder him just because he led war poorly; etc.

Because one cannot break a military oath; an officer cannot do such a thing: When a person swore a military oath, he has to keep it too, either one keeps one's sworn oath, or one has to bear the consequences; because the men participating in the attempt on his life, broke their military oath and thereby undermined discipline; etc.

He was in power, he was the leader and they had to submit to their government: Hitler was in power - and those men conspired against the government - they had to submit to their government; he was our leader after all and reigned for the people; etc.

The attempt on his life contributed to the deterioration of our situation (the ruin of the Reich, the Russians invaded Germany): Thereby the ruin of the Reich has been brought about; because through that the Russians came into Germany; etc.

MORE NEUTRAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST PLOT

It was an attempt on a person's life (fraud, cowardly assault) and is not worth being advocated for reasons of morality and Christianity: Such a deed cannot be advocated morally; it is not my taste to seek a person's life in such a treacherous manner; because it was insidious and false - I know of it only from hearsay, I was a child then; far from the Christian point of view it was an attempt on a person's life - nobody is in the right to take another person's life - with that I don't naturally mean to say that I'm for Hitler, on the contrary; because it was intentional murder; etc.

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WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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5%	6%	4%	2%
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3	2	2	3
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2	2	3	1
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2	2	2	2
---	---	---	---

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

6%	6%	5%	4%
----	----	----	----

WEST British US
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The moment of the attempt on his life was too late, it wouldn't have brought about any success. For it was useless, ten new successors waited; I'm not sure whether it would have been an advantage; in spite of that it would have resulted in chaos - the organisation was too poor and was condemned to be frustrated beforehand; if the attempt on his life had succeeded, war would have continued despite of that and our fate was uncertain anyhow; they should have done it long before, then they could have prevented many a thing - at this moment it was too late and was of no use anymore; etc.

Hitler and his regime could have been removed in another way: Our generals were powerful enough to do away with the regime in another way; they could have done it in another way long before; in those days other possibilities existed to remove Hitler - Hitler could have been deposed by the generals; etc.2

Others: If it had worked out then, we would even be worse off; they were elements that weren't worth anything and they wouldn't have done better than Hitler; the foreign powers were as guilty as we of the war; if we had won the war, it were better for us; everything was humbug, I don't neither trust those men nor Hitler - I was only astonished how it could have been possible that a bomb exploded so close to Hitler and would not hurt just him; etc.

4% 4% 5% 5%

2 2 2

3 3 3 5
28% 28% 30% 25%

Reasons Given for Approval of Attempt

DESIRE FOR EARLIER ENDING OF HOSTILITIES

We would have been spared many destructions and other misery (results of the attempt), occupation - a better peace: If the attempt of these men had succeeded, we would have been spared the chaos of defeat; we wouldn't have been completely defeated; Germany wouldn't have fallen so deeply; Germany would not have had to go through that misery; if the attempt had succeeded we would have been spared many evils; Germany would have been spared much unhappiness, the bombing would have had an end; much could have been saved at that time that was afterwards destroyed; etc.

15% 16% 13% 21%

The war would have come to an end sooner - we would have got peace sooner: The war would have come to an end sooner, the German people proved that it did not approve of the total war; if the attempt had succeeded it would have opened the possibility of negotiations with the enemy to end the war sooner; they should rather have killed him - it would have ended the mess we were in; we would have had peace sooner - we could have made peace then; then our generals would have made peace with the enemy; etc.

11 12 10 11

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WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Many lives would have been spared (less invalids):
How many soldiers were killed during 1949 yet, if the attempt had succeeded all that wouldn't have been so bad; because not as many men would have had to give their lives; my husband and my son wouldn't have been killed; we wouldn't have to put up with the misery of so many cripples; etc.

6%	6%	5%	6%
----	----	----	----

ATTRIBUTION OF ALTRUISM TO PLOTTERS

These men were guided by noble motives: Because these men had the honest intention to save Germany; they forbode the disastrous end and wanted to prevent it; at that time I was opposed to it, but now I recognize that these people were more concerned with the welfare of Germany than the men in power ever were, who had set their minds on carrying on a senseless war at any sacrifice; these men had made the attempt out of sheer idealism - they intended to help the German people; to liberate it from a criminal; they wanted to save a part of Germany; etc.

5	5	4	6
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CRITICISM OF HITLER REGIME

Hitler hadn't deserved any better - he ruined Germany and was responsible for the disaster:
Because Hitler led us into a mess - he wouldn't have deserved any better; because I was not for Hitler myself; because he would have disappeared from the scene then - the devil of arrogance had got hold of him, that is how he dragged Germany into the abyss; today I can realize that Hitler wanted to lead us into a disaster and much of what happened after that might have been prevented; Hitler led us to the shambles - he should have kept his fingers off the war; Hitler is to blame for everything (the downfall); because he brought much unhappiness over all of us, many things might otherwise have taken a better development; etc.

6%	5%	7%	6%
----	----	----	----

It would have abolished the regime: Because of opposition to the regime; I have never approved of the whole system; etc.

2	3	2	-
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ADDITIONAL REASONS

It would have been better that way (in general):
At first I thought it was a pity for Hitler, but now I think it would have been right that way; it might have been better if they had ended the war at that time; etc.

2	2	2	3
---	---	---	---

Germany wouldn't have been cut to pieces; the East wouldn't have been surrendered to Russia: I presume that at that time it would have been possible to prevent the total surrender of the East to Russia; Germany would not be as torn as she is at present; because we-refugees-would certainly have been able to remain in our homeland as we would have ended the war out of our own initiative; etc.

2	3	2	-
---	---	---	---

Miscellaneous: If they had only got rid of him completely, because we wouldn't have needed a war; then it would have remained as it was, before - we were not badly off; etc.

1/30%	2/54%	-/45%	1/36%
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GROUP DIFFERENCES WITH REGARD TO THE JULY 20th PLOT ...

Men, the better-educated, those enjoying a higher socio-economic status than other are somewhat more likely than their opposites to have approved of the attempt on Hitler's life. Here are the figures:

	Approve	Disapprove	Undecided	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	44%	31%	25%	552
Women	33%	18%	49%	648
Education:				
Elementary school	36%	22%	42%	976
Beyond elementary school	45%	32%	23%	225
Socio-Economic Status:				
Lower class	31%	20%	49%	573
Middle and upper class	44%	28%	28%	627
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	34%	22%	44%	786
300 - 399 DM	44%	29%	27%	216
400 DM and more	46%	28%	26%	199
Age:				
Under 40 years	33%	27%	40%	510
40 years and over	41%	23%	36%	687
Party Preferences:				
SPD	53%	21%	26%	274
CDU/CSU	46%	25%	29%	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	39%	32%	39%	68
Other parties	42%	29%	29%	107
No party	31%	30%	39%	294
Don't know	20%	15%	65%	255
Occupation:				
Professionals	40%	34%	26%	58
Businessmen	41%	28%	31%	138
White-collar workers	48%	31%	21%	150
Skilled laborers	40%	24%	36%	233
Semi-skilled laborers	32%	24%	44%	142
Farmers	33%	22%	45%	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	33%	19%	48%	193
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	45%	27%	28%	197
No	36%	24%	40%	999
Religion:				
Catholics	39%	23%	38%	539
Protestants	36%	24%	40%	612
Origin:				
Natives	39%	24%	37%	925
Expellees, Refugees	33%	23%	44%	276
Veteran Status:				
Yes.	45%	36%	19%	302
No	41%	25%	34%	258

THREE QUARTERS FEEL RELATIVES OF PLOTTERS SHOULD BE HELPED ...

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Further information on the West German people's reaction to the July 20th plot is found in their attitudes toward helping the relatives of the men involved in the attempt. Queried regarding five different groups, all which can be considered as victims of the war and the Hitler regime, the plotters' kin were rated fourth among the five - preceding the Jewish victims, and following such groups as war widows and orphans, the bombed-out and the refugees. But notwithstanding the fact that their relative ranking as a group deserving aid was lower than most other groups, almost three quarters of the German public think they deserve aid from the Federal Government.* The question and comparative results are as follow:

"As you know, the West German government is trying to provide for those who suffered damage by the war or the Third Reich. Which of these groups should, in your opinion, receive such help, and which should not?"

	Should Be Helped	Should NOT Be Helped	No Opinion
War widows and orphans	96%	1%	3%...100%
Bomb damage victims	93	3	4
Refugees and expellees	90	1	3
PLOTTERS' KIN	73	13	14

The 13 per cent opposing aid to relatives of the July 20th plot tend generally to argue either that these people do not need aid (6%), or that they do not deserve aid because the plot was traitorous, or criminal (7%).

MORE OF THOSE WHO APPROVE OF PLOT ALSO BELIEVE PLOTTERS' KIN SHOULD RECEIVE AID FROM FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ...

People who are sympathetic toward the assassination attempt are more inclined than those who were unsympathetic to favor government aid to the plotters' kin. That this is not a result of a generally more liberal attitude on the part of the "approvers" towards all suffering groups within the population is indicated by comparing their attitudes toward aid for the several groups. With the exception of their more generous interest in helping the Jews who suffered under the Third Reich, they are no more likely than people who disapprove of the Hitler plot to want Federal aid for the other hardship groups:

Approved of Plot to Kill Hitler	Opposed Plot to Kill Hitler
---------------------------------	-----------------------------

"As you know, the West German government is trying to provide for those who suffered damage by the war or the Third Reich. Which of these groups should, in your opinion, receive such help, and which should not?"

SHOULD BE HELPED:

War widows and orphans	99%	98%
Bomb damage victims	95	94
Refugees and expellees	91	91
PLOTTERS' KIN	89	69
Jews wronged under Third Reich	75	64

It is to be noted in the foregoing table that two thirds of the opponents of the plot also favor aid to the relatives of the men executed for their part in the attempt, a finding which underscores the complexity of the judgments on this issue.

*Attitudes toward aid to the Jews and other groups will be treated in a forthcoming report.

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Not unexpectedly, those persons who approved the July 20th attempt, also more frequently than opponents hold the opinion that the National Socialist idea was primarily more evil than good. However, the fact that two-fifths of them continue to regard the good in National Socialism as outweighing the evil suggests again that the July 20th plot was not primarily regarded as an effort to root out National Socialism, but rather to get rid of an unsuccessful war leader.

More Good More Evil No opinion

"If you consider everything, was there more good or more evil in the idea of National Socialism?"

Approve plot to kill Hitler	40%	47%	13%...100%
Oppose plot to kill Hitler	69	20	11

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SOME FURTHER SOUNDINGS

~~RESTRICTED~~ EAST GERMAN OPINIONS ON UNITY ISSUES
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB HAS.

Report No. 115

Series No. 2

December 19, 1951

R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

This report on reactions to the German unity issue is based on three surveys made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The three studies were done in October, two in West Germany utilizing the stratified, probability sample of 800 cases each, representing the population of the U.S., British and French zones. The third was a sampling of East German visitors to the Industrial Fair in West Berlin carried out in mid-October, with a total sample of 215 cases. The East German sample should not be considered completely representative of the Soviet Zone population, so exact comparisons with West German opinions cannot be made. The results, however, offer valuable insights into the climate of East Zone opinions on unity issues.

Interviewing in the West German surveys was conducted by DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung, m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main). Interviewing of East Zone respondents was carried out in the same general way as was utilized during the recent Berlin Youth Festival. That is to say, the Berlin interviewers in the course of a brief explanation of what polling is about alluded to themselves as coming from an "Institut fuer Meinungsforschung". Analysis was made in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The United Nation's lack of progress in mediating the German unification issues, disappointing as it must be to the German people, probably does not come as in any way a surprise to most of them. This is suggested by the findings of the studies reported here, though they were completed prior to the UN mediation effort.

In October, the prevailing mood of the West German people was one of skepticism regarding the immediate prospects for German unity. East Germans shared this mood, judging from the sampling taken of their opinions. Though the West did not entirely escape censure, the tendency among West and East Germans alike was to place major responsibility on Russia for this state of affairs.

Since the development of events both before and after the UN hearing of the West and East German delegates cannot be considered as altering the basic problem of German unity, the detailed findings obtained in October may still be considered pertinent. The major finding of the October surveys was that the Soviet Zone unity bid - considered as a propaganda device designed to delude and confuse the public - largely misfired, not only among West Germans but among East Germans as well.

Despite the frequency with which the East Zone had invited the West Germans to unite with them, the preponderance both among West and East German respondents was not sanguine in October about achieving unity. Fifty-four per cent in West Germany (70% of the East Zone sample) estimated the chances of reunion from fair to very bad, with "bad" the most frequent judgment.

Soviet Russia or the Communists generally, rather than the West, tended to be blamed for the continued disunity. The first evidence of this obtained in the present surveys is found in the reasons given by those in the East Zone sample who expressed pessimism about the chances of unification. (The West German sample was not queried on this specific point.) In contrast, those who thought the chances for unity were good gave the West credit for the allegedly favorable prospects.

- 2 -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Further evidence that the Communist's emphasis on unity has not won them many friends among the German people is apparent in the fact that only a fraction (11%) considered Russia more in favor of unity than the Western powers. The weight of opinion (47%) was toward the West as the more interested in unification. However, as many as two in ten believed the two protagonists were equally interested or disinterested, and a fourth could not make up their minds. The direction of opinion was similar among the East Zone sample with the West being named over Russia by a ratio of seven to one. Again, however, a fairly large proportion (30%) saw no difference between the East and West on this score.*

But those who named Russia as more interested in unity were clearly not in the Russian camp. Arguments advanced to support the view that the Western powers were more favorable to German unity again showed a Western orientation, whereas the reasoning of those naming Russia as more interested in unity were largely negative, stressing the Soviet Union's selfish interests in the matter.

On the more basic issue of which of the two, the East or the West was more likely to foster a German unification of the kind most acceptable to the Germans themselves, the Western powers scored greatly over the Russians -- 60 per cent named the West's views on unification as more likely to correspond with the German view; only 3 per cent named the Russians.

On the vital problem of the relation of German unity to West German participation in the European defense system, the reactions of the German people were mixed. However, if the unremitting efforts of the Communists to present the unity and participation issues as an "either-or" proposition are taken into account, the Russian propaganda attempt cannot be considered as crowned with success. Only 6 per cent of the West German public expressed the belief that German unity would become impossible of attainment if West Germany should take part in a European military system; an added 21 per cent thought such participation would decrease the chances of unification. About a quarter (23%) held that participation would have no bearing on the unity issue, 16 per cent were sanguine enough to believe it would increase the chances for unity, and 34 per cent had not made up their minds.

* See, RAS Report No. 107, Series No. 2, "A Balance Sheet on Western Information Efforts," on how the West Germans weigh the issue when asked: 'Whose fault is it that East and West Germany are not united yet?' When Russia is not specifically mentioned in the question, the West does not do as well as when it has to be balanced against Russia.

- b -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

CHANCES FOR EARLY UNIFICATION OF GERMANY NOT CONSIDERED GOOD ...

If the East Zone Communists seek to raise false hopes about the imminence of German unification and thus to win favor among the West German people by their repeated unity bids, they have not had much success. A month after the Communists' September 15th invitation to the Federal government to discuss unity, the preponderance judged the chances of German unification as no better than fair, with three in ten saying they were bad and one in ten being so pessimistic as to call the chances "very bad."

"As matters stand today, do you think that the chances for a reunification of Germany are good or bad?" (If "Good": "Very good" or "good"; if "Bad": "bad" or "very bad")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very good	2%	2%	3%	2%
Good	24	27	22	15
Fair	13	11	10	15
Bad	31	29	32	42
Very bad	10	11	9	12
No opinion	20	20	24	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Nor have the Soviet Zone leaders apparently been any more successful in creating optimism among the people east of the Elbe, if the views of a sample of East Zoners visiting the October Industrial Fair in West Berlin may be considered as reflecting East German opinion at large. These people in fact were even more pessimistic than West Germans, a majority (58%) of them rating the chances of unification as from bad to very bad.

"As matters stand today, do you think that the chances for a reunification of Germany are good or bad?" (If "Good": "Very good" or "good"; if "Bad": "Bad" or "very bad")

Very good	3%
Good	25
Fair	12
Bad	44
Very bad	14
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

EAST ZONERS BLAME COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES ...

Further evidence that the Communist bids have misfired as propaganda is found in replies of the East Zone sample to a follow-up question asking their reasons for being optimistic or pessimistic. (The query was not put to the West German respondents.) The most frequent basis for pessimism was that the East Zone puppets do not want unification because Russia does not want it or would agree only to Communist terms, not to any terms proposed by the West. In contrast, the more optimistic of the East Germans largely reason that the chances are good because of what the West is doing, or that the East will yield either because Russia will retreat from an untenable position, or because the East German economy faces collapse.

Reasons Why Chances of Reunification Considered Bad

EAST ZONE

The East - the Russians - Do Not Want a Reunification and Boycott Proposals, Free Elections, etc.:

The East does not want reunification - Russia is behind the SED government and does not want to give up her sphere of influence; the East Zone government does not make any honest proposals and does not want a reunification; our government (East Zone) will never agree to a unification since it wants to be the sole ruler; the East does not honestly intend to promote this unification unless it is on a Communist basis - they (the West) cannot count on compromises by the East and I don't believe that unification will come peacefully; the East does not want free elections - they want a unification on Communist terms - negotiations now are nothing but propaganda; the Soviets always put their claims first; because the Communists will not make any concessions - they are too radical for that; the Russians will continue to be as stubborn as they are now - they won't let it happen - it's just one of their tactics to pretend as if they'd yield; the East will not accept the Western proposals; the East Zone government will reject everything the West government proposes; because the East Zone government does not accept the really workable proposals of the West German government; etc.

30%

The Contrast (Political and Ideological) between East and West Is Too Great:

Nothing will come of it - the political differences are too great - if they haven't been able to agree in six years then they won't now; two contrasting political conceptions are clashing here - if one of them (Grotewohl) doesn't want to, the other can't do anything; because of the fundamentally different conception of democracy it is hopeless - the East is not a real democracy; the differences between the two governments are too great - they haven't succeeded in six years and therefore it could only be accomplished by a miracle now; our government has not even been elected; because Eastern politics are too different from Western politics - State capitalism and private capitalism can never be combined; etc.

9

East and West Don't Want to Agree - Neither Will Yield:

Neither will be able to agree on the conditions and neither is liable to give in; because the two big powers, East and West, will not agree - neither of them wants to give up any of her conquered ground; both sides lack good will; they fight each other all the time and each of them wants to get the better of the other; etc.

8

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Economic Conditions Prevent It:

Both sides stepped up their rearmament program too much - the Russians started with that - there are too many people on both sides who earn a living by it and want to keep their positions; because economic differences are too great - the East must be able to offer more economically before one can think of a unification; the East Zone has not reached the end of its economic resources yet and therefore she won't accept the Western conditions - only if it is at the end of its rope economically and the Russians have no interests in it anymore, it might be ready for a unification - but this won't be the case before 1952; etc.

46

Reunification Is Not Possible in a Peaceful Way:

It will only come if the Americans beat the hell out of the Russians and the Americans don't seem to want to do it; it is not possible without war - we can see that - otherwise there wouldn't be so many troops stationed here; etc.

3

Eastern Proposals Cannot Be Accepted by the West:

Because the conditions made by the East Zone are not acceptable to the West Zone; we fear that the West cannot accept the conditions made by the East and that unification will therefore not be feasible; because the Western powers would not agree to a neutralization of Germany - Adenauer is tied to the Western powers and Germany is already included in the West European defense plans; etc.

3

The West Shows Lack of Initiative and Determination:

Because they do a lot of talking in the West but they don't act - it's useless for RIAS to tell us how badly off we are, we know that anyway - now is the time to act - if the West misses this chance then everybody here will give up hope; the West must be more and more determined and not leave the East alone - they must try to soften the East - Eastern pressure must meet resistance; etc.

1
58%

Reasons Why Chances of Reunification Considered Good

EAST ZONE

The Proposals from Both Sides are Good and Make Serious and Fruitful Negotiations Possible:

The talks at present are pursued with seriousness from both sides - apparently no one will abate his effort until an agreement has been reached; both sides make efforts now - they should come to terms; there should be a chance for an agreement as both sides are in favor of it; because in my opinion the proposals both of the Volkskammer and of the Bundesregierung coincide; at one time the prospects were dimmer, our government makes so many offers that you can hope for some agreement; etc.

6/

The Increasing Strength, Diplomatic Skill, and Activity of the West Will Make Reunification Possible:

The Western countries have political and economic strength - that will repel the Eastern influence; for economic reasons - at present the West is stronger economically; once we are reunited, things will be better - the West is strong and the Russians know that; the superiority of the West may bring about a unification; the Western statesmen are the better diplomats - they will persuade them; because the Western government will now approach the UN; because even the West SPD now slowly begins to move, Jakob Kaiser also supports it; etc.

6

The Reunification is Vital for Both Sides as East and West Germany Depend on Each Other:

Both partners need each other, they won't give up each other - now it's merely a question of bargaining for advantages; because the West depends on the agriculture of the East and the East needs the raw materials from the West; the West has got too little room for its population - the West does need the East Zone - there is no other solution with respect to living space, economics and politics; etc.

5

The Russians Will Agree to a Reunification for Tactical and Prestige Reasons:

The Russians' aggressive attitude is on the wane - Stalin himself wants unification; the Russians have been cornered and will give in for reasons of prestige; it is the Russian policy to withdraw if they won't get any further - and such a moment has come; it looks like unification, I suppose the Russians will now give in; etc.

3

The Conditions in the East Zone Will Force the East into a Reunification:

Because the East Zone is broke - they are forced to cooperate with the West; the East Zone is unable to support itself - reunification is bound to come - the East Zone is at the end of its rope and will have to agree; things in the East Zone cannot go on as they are; etc.

3

The East Zone Population Trusts the West and Feel They Belong to the West:

I suppose the Federal government will carry its viewpoint - it is bound to succeed as the West has 90 per cent support here; we do belong to the West - the West will help us; because all the East Germans believe in it - and then it will have to happen; we set our hopes in the promises the West has given to us; etc.

2

Other Reasons:

It would be fine if East and West were on good terms; because you have to recognize that Germany must again be made whole; it is not possible to have a split Germany; in the long run the West cannot swallow everything - that the borderline is fixed at the river Elbe; I cannot give a reason for it, but I've a feeling that now the situation looks better; etc.

5
30/

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

EAST ZONE UNITY BIDS HAVE FAILED TO CONVINCE EITHER WEST OR EAST GERMANS OF RUSSIA'S GOOD WILL ...

Despite the frequency with which the Soviet Zone government invites West Germany to unite with them, only a small fraction (11%) considers Russia more in favor of German unity than the Western powers. On the contrary the weight of opinion (47%) is toward the West as the more interested in unification. However, it is to be noted that as many as two in ten believe that both the Russians and the West are equally interested or disinterested in the issue, and about a fourth cannot make up their minds. On this issue also, the direction of opinion among the East German sample is similar to that in West Germany, with the West being named over Russia as in favor of reuniting Germany by a ratio of seven to one. Again, however, a fairly large proportion (30%) see no difference between the West and Russia on this score.

"What do you think: who is basically more in favor of a reunification of Germany, Russia, or the Western powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Russia	11%	8%	14%	14%
Western powers	47	50	45	42
No difference	19	19	18	19
No opinion	23	23	23	25
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	EAST GERMANY
Russia	8%
Western powers	58
No difference	30
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

Though many West Germans are doubtful as to whether or not the West is actually more favorable than Russia to German unity, when it comes to the issue of a reunification carried out in German interests, a clear majority (60%) indicates confidence in the West. In contrast, only 3 per cent assert that the Soviet's would favor the kind of united Germany that would correspond to German interests, and one in ten claims that the West and Russia are equally interested or disinterested in this point. Again, a large minority (27%) has no opinion.

"And if we consider this a little more carefully: who is more in favor of a reunification of Germany that would correspond to the wishes of the German people - Russia, or the Western powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Russia	3%	3%	3%	2%
Western powers	60	58	58	60
No difference	10	13	9	12
No opinion	27	26	30	26
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON THE UNITY ISSUE ...

Among the West German population the opinion leading elements - the better educated, the higher socio-economic and income levels, and the men - more frequently than their counterparts rate the chances for German unification as bad at present. It will be noted, however, that the preponderance of all groups considers them no better than fair with the weight of opinion leaning toward bad.

"As matters stand today, do you think that the chances for a reunification of Germany are good or bad?"

	Very good, Good	Fair	Bad, Very bad	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	32%	11%	49%	8%..10%	552
Women	22	10	36	32	648
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	27	10	39	24	976
Beyond elementary school	25	10	53	11	225
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	26	10	35	29	573
Middle and upper class	27	17	48	14	627
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	27	11	38	24	786
300 - 399 DM	25	10	48	17	216
400 DM and more	24	11	51	14	197
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	25	11	41	23	513
40 years and over	28	10	42	20	687
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	28	11	48	13	274
ODU/CSU	25	13	47	15	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	8	58	8	68
Other parties	29	16	37	18	107
No party	30	9	41	20	294
Don't know	21	8	29	42	255
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	29	10	47	14	58
Businessmen	32	7	44	17	138
White-collar workers	26	11	51	12	150
Skilled laborers	25	8	46	21	233
Semi-skilled laborers	26	8	45	21	142
Farmers	23	17	34	26	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	26	11	35	28	193
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	26	10	53	11	197
No	26	11	46	23	999
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	23	12	43	22	539
Protestants	30	10	38	22	611
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	26	10	42	22	925
Expellees, Refugees	25	12	43	20	275
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	30	11	53	6	302
No	33	12	43	12	258

In all population groups, the West is named more frequently than Russia as interested in German unification. Though the higher status, opinion leading groups join with the rest of the public in the frequency with which they express this view, it will be noted that they also exhibit a greater indication than their opposite numbers both to name Russia and to say there is little or no difference between the two adversaries in this regard.

"What do you think, who is more in favor of a reunification of Germany, Russia, or the Western powers?"

	Russia	Western powers	No difference	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	17%	46%	25%	12% ... 100%	552
Women	6	47	12	35	648
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	9	49	17	25	976
Beyond elementary school	20	42	25	13	225
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	6	45	16	33	573
Middle and upper class	16	49	21	14	627
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	9	46	17	28	786
300 - 399 DM	16	50	19	15	216
400 DM and more	14	48	23	15	197
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	13	44	21	22	510
40 years and over	10	50	17	23	688
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	14	49	22	15	274
CDU/CSU	12	56	17	15	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	20	43	25	12	68
Other parties	16	46	15	23	107
No party	10	44	21	25	294
Don't know	5	41	13	41	251
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	24	41	19	16	58
Businessmen	9	53	23	15	138
White-collar workers	19	45	23	13	150
Skilled laborers	14	44	21	21	233
Semi-skilled laborers	10	47	20	23	142
Farmers	8	45	16	31	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	7	49	14	30	192
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	17	46	26	11	197
No	10	48	17	25	999
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	12	46	19	23	541
Protestants	9	48	17	26	611
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	11	47	18	24	925
Expellees, Refugees	12	45	19	24	275
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	18	42	31	9	302
No	16	52	19	13	258

RESTRICTED

However, on the issue of which of the two - the West or the Russians - is the more likely to favor the kind of unification corresponding to German interests, the higher status elements vote even more strongly for the West than does the remainder of the population.

"And if we consider this a little more carefully; who is more in favor of a reunification of Germany as it would correspond with the wishes of the German people, Russia, or the Western powers?"

WEST GERMANY	Russia	Western powers	No difference	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	5%	65%	15%	15%...100%	552
Women	1	53	8	38	648
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	3	56	10	31	976
Beyond elementary school	3	68	14	15	225
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	2	52	10	36	573
Middle and upper class	3	65	12	20	627
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	3	55	11	31	786
300 - 399 DM	4	64	9	23	216
400 DM and more	2	66	14	18	197
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	3	58	11	28	510
40 years and over	3	59	11	27	687
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	4	65	12	19	274
CDU/CSU	2	71	9	18	203
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	1	78	9	12	68
Other parties	8	53	12	27	107
No party	2	54	15	29	294
Don't know	1	45	6	48	251
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	2	65	16	17	58
Businessmen	3	65	8	24	138
White-collar workers	2	65	14	19	150
Skilled laborers	5	56	13	26	233
Semi-skilled laborers	3	61	13	23	142
Farmers	-	55	9	36	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	3	57	6	34	193
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	6	67	11	16	197
No	2	57	11	30	999
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	2	60	10	28	538
Protestants	3	57	11	29	611
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	3	57	12	28	925
Expellees, Refugees	2	61	9	28	275
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	6	64	16	14	302
No	4	65	13	18	258

R E S T R I C T E D

POSITIVE REASONS ARE GIVEN BY WEST GERMANS FOR THINKING WEST FAVORS
UNITY MORE...

The West German people who believe the Western powers are more interested than Russia is in reuniting Germany give a variety of reasons to support their views. Three that lead in frequency are: the West wishes to strengthen the forces against Communism (14%), reunion would benefit the economy both of Germany and of the West (10%), the West had shown its interest and friendliness toward Germany (9%).

"What do you think who is more in favor of a reunification of Germany - Russia or the Western powers?"

If "Western powers": "For what reasons are the Western powers more in favor of a reunification?"

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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To Strengthen Forces against Communism:

Because a strong Germany is welcome to the Western powers in order to increase their strength against Russia; because they want a united Germany again since they need the Germans in case Russia should start a war; in order to drive Communism out of East Germany; for reasons of security - Germany could otherwise become a springboard for Communism; their political aim is to win Germany over to their side so that it can't come under Communist influence; they want us as a trump against the Russians - the West wants to rally our forces against Communism; Germany is their last outpost - they don't want us to fall into Russians hands; in order to use Germany as a buffer against the Russians; etc.

14%	15%	10%	14%
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Reunion Would Benefit Economy:

Because of the economy; for economic reasons - there will be fewer restraints on trade between East and West Germany; so trade can flourish in all of Germany; the Western powers want to help Germany to a smooth economic life by returning the Eastern territories (Silesia, Pomerania, East Prussia) - the East Zone is a prerequisite for it though; the Western powers desire a reunification because trade would be better; everything would be better - life would get back to normal, and economically we would all be better off; through trade with us, they want to do business with us; because then we will have access to our grain again (East Zone territories) and the Americans don't need to support us on mass anymore; because trade would increase which would be to our advantage - they don't need to help us so much anymore; etc.

10	12	8	6
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit., US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The West Is Interested in German Welfare, Is Friendly:

They are friendly toward us - one can see that by their actions in West Berlin; because they are intellectually on a higher level and more reasonable, in general, they are more apt to consider the wishes of the German people; the Western powers are more interested in us than Russia; they help us with food, etc.; the Americans want to cooperate with all German people - I had experience with the Russians - they only want territories over which they can rule, they don't care whether we are split up or not; they mean to be honest with us; because they are interested in the welfare of the German people and desire our equality with other nations; etc.

9% 7% 11% 12%

It Is in Western Interests to Favor Reunion:

Because they don't like the Russians either and therefore they want to help us; because it will be the ruin of the Western powers too if Germany is not united; because the Western powers need us Germans - they want to make the rest of the world realize that they are for international justice; etc.

4 5 3 2

The Russians Have Shown Their Attitude:

The Russians have never sided with us - that's clear, otherwise they wouldn't have driven us out; the East erected the zonal border in Berlin and therefore they were less interested in it; we have gotten to know the Russians - they have nothing good in mind; etc.

4 3 4 3

In Order to Solve Refugee and Over-Population Problems:

So that we refugees can return to our homelands, that's all I know; because they have taken the refugee problem to their hearts; because the West would like to see conditions improved here, i.e. they want to eliminate the unemployment and the refugee problem and see to it that we won't be so crowded; etc.

3 4 1 2

The Western Efforts Show They Favor It:

Because the Western powers are making great efforts to bring about the reunification of Germany; they talk about reunification in East Germany but the Russians do nothing about it while the Western powers make honest efforts; the Russians always refuse but the Americans want to reunite us with the East Zone; etc.

3 4 3 -

In the Interest of Preserving Peace:

Because they are for peace; they want to set everything in Germany - if the bone of contention is removed war can be avoided; the Western powers want to avoid war and a divided Germany always means that danger of war is close; etc.

2 2 2 1

Just Feel That Way:

I don't know, I just got the feeling that the Western powers are more for it; I just figure it that way; for me it's just a matter of feeling and I can't give any real reasons for it; etc.

3 2 3 4

No Opinion / No Answer:

2 3 3 1
54% 57% 48% 46%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WEST GERMANS STRESS NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS AS REASONS WHY RUSSIA IS MORE FAVORABLE TO UNITY ...

The minority asserting that Russia has greater interest than the West in uniting Germany give reasons that clearly indicate that this group does not regard Russia as the friendly advocate of German interests. Stressed are such arguments as: Russia hopes to use a united Germany as a means of controlling all of Europe, or at least all of Germany; she wishes to spread Communism, to frustrate Western plans; and so on."

"What do you think: who is more in favor of a reunification - Russia or the Western powers?"

If "Russia": "For what reasons is Russia more in favor of a reunification?"

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Through Germany, to Gain Control of All of Europe:

Russia wants to bait us - to win West Germany in order to add to her own strength and to divert us from the West - Russia is well aware that a unified Germany in union with Russia constitutes an invincible Europe; as Russia, compared with America, is the immediate neighbor of Germany, she expects - through a unification - to book on her account all military, economic and political advantages in Europe in the future; Russia wants to dominate the whole of Germany and will, then, be in a position to play the leading role in Europe; etc.

5%	4%	5%	4%
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To Rule the Whole of Germany:

They believe and hope to get Germany under their regime that way - the very moment the Western powers withdraw their troops; she wants to win all of Germany for herself - she is not satisfied with only one half; because the Russians like to get the upper hand over all of Germany; etc.

3	2	4	6
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To Spread Communism Still Further:

To drive Communism further to the West; because Russia - by means of the reunification - wants to spread Communism over all of Germany; to achieve the Bolshevisation of West Germany and Europe; etc.

2	2	2	1
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To Prevent Union with the West and to Frustrate the Western Plans:

They are afraid that we might tie ourselves too closely to the West - whoever aims at a reunification will first want to dominate the whole of Germany; etc.

1	1	2	-
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Other Reasons:

The French are afraid that our 70 million people might be reunited - and the Russians constantly demand that all occupations should leave Germany; because Russia hopes that her agents could agitate enough to make the German population fall under Russian influence - I think so because Russia pleads the withdrawal of the occupation powers; etc.

$\frac{2}{14}\%$ **	$\frac{*}{9}\%$ **	$\frac{2}{16}\%$ **	$\frac{4}{15}\%$
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* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

EAST ZONERS GIVE PRO AND CON ARGUMENTS SIMILAR TO WEST GERMANS ...

It is interesting to note that the East German sample gives much the same reasons as do West Germans for saying either that the West or the Russians are more favorable to the reunification of Germany. Thus the East German majority, asserting the West is more interested than Russia in Germany's unity, are in agreement with the West Germans in mentioning the West's desire to strengthen anti-Communist forces, to foster trade, and their apparent interest in Germany's welfare as important grounds for this viewpoint. It will be noted in the listed comments which follow that East Germans bring up the West's desire to maintain peace more frequently than West Germans do,

Also, the East Germans join with their Western compatriots in generally ascribing negative motives as reasons for Russia's apparent greater interest in reunification.

Reasons East Zoners Give for Believing the West is
More Favorable to Reunification

EAST ZONE

To Strengthen Forces against Communism:

The Western powers take an interest in it - winning a bulwark against Communism; they're opposed to Bolshevism and they'd like to drive Bolshevism out of here; the Western powers don't want Communism - if the whole of Germany is under the Western democracy, Communism cannot spread out; to snatch away East Germany from the Russians and thereby weaken them; to annihilate the Bolshevik system of slavery; to protect the Occident from the Eastern flood; that is because of the importance of Germany, her geographic situation, as a defense base against the East; they don't like leaving East Germany to Bolshevism, because the political extremes are too strong (State versus private capitalism), therefore one of them has to yield - they have to defend themselves by all means; well, you hear that in the radio all the time; the West wants to release the population of the East Zone; etc.

19%

Reunion Would Benefit Economy:

Mainly in view of the economic salvation - to boost foreign trade; trade would be boosted, the German skilled workers are also esteemed from purely humane motives; the Western powers' thinking is guided by economic facts while the East puts the emphasis on political ends; because the West does more economically for us than the East - because of economic reasons; the West wants to have Germany as a trade partner because they lack market outlets; the Western powers are interested in imports and exports - they need the whole of Germany as a trade partner; that is why they'd like cooperation between East and West Germany in order to make them more productive; they'd like to trade - trade is vital to us; etc.

14

In Interests of Preserving Peace and Freedom:

They are interested in peace in Europe - it would ensure world peace; it would avoid a third world war - Germany cannot exist like that - it's a cause of war and the Americans try to avoid it; because Germany would be a free country; to avoid Germany's becoming the trouble spot of Europe; the Western powers want freedom everywhere; because the West grants real freedom in all fields; because democracy and the freedom of mankind have to be maintained; firstly for purely humane reasons - to reestablish law in the East Zone also; the West wants to give a certain amount of independence - it's the nature of their kind of democracy to refuse any dictatorship; etc.

13

(cont'd on next page)

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EAST ZONE

The West Is Interested in Germany's Welfare - Is Friendly:

They give more support to the people - don't steal as much as the Russians; they do more for Germany because they really want to get Germany on her feet - the whole of Germany; the Americans support the Germans more than the Russians do - the living standard in the West is better than it is in the East; the Western powers represent the German interests - the Russians only their own; because the West has honest intentions; we are Europeans but not Asiatics - the Western powers want to help us; they want Germany to be preserved - the Russians want to make Germany a "Collective"; etc.

126

The Russians Have Shown Their Attitude:

The Russians have selfish interests - the Bolshevisation of all Europe; the East keeps thwarting all designs - has no serious intentions; if Communism should ever rule over the whole of Germany we have nothing good to expect; the Russians don't favor it because they would lose a great sphere of interest, namely the East Zone; expansion of the Russian power is a threat to civilization; every child in the Zone knows what the Russians are after; etc.

5

The West Wants a United Europe:

The Western powers aim at a united Europe; the Western powers want to integrate a united Germany into a united Europe; they want the unification of all of Western Europe; Russia is not interested in a unification while the Western powers consider Germany the heart of Europe; etc.

5

Because of the pro-Western Attitude of the Population:

The outcome of a unification after free elections would be that all of Germany would go to the West - that's what the Americans want; because all German people have a pro-Western attitude; because the greater part of the population would decide for the West - because the West expects much of it; the Western powers can hope that with a unification the population would decide for the West - it's not much of a risk for the West; etc.

3

Other Reasons:

To gain world power; the West just like the East wants power; etc.

1

No Opinion / No Answer:

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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Reasons East Zoners Give For Believing Russia is
More Favorable to Reunification

EAST ZONE

To Spread Communism - Its Influence, Its Power - to Bolshevize Germany:

She wants to expand her power to the West; so as to be better able to Bolshevize Germany; to be able to spread Communism; it is inherent in the ideology of the Russians to spread Communism all over the world - for that purpose they need Germany first of all; she wants to Sovietize the whole of Germany, she hopes to get ahead thereof on the way to reunification; she wants to create a socialistic order in the world; Russia wants world-Bolshevism, she considers reunification as a step forward to that idea; so as to enlarge her influence on the West; they want everything for themselves; etc.

5%

To Strengthen Her Economic Position:

Russia is more for it - but she has something up her sleeve - she wants to exploit all of Europe; the Russians seek advantages from it and want to keep their power; her trade connections have failed entirely, the Russians cannot go ahead - alone they cannot retain the East Zone; etc., 3

To Divert and Deceive the Western Powers:

She hopes to surprise the Western powers and then to create a fait accompli; so as to make propaganda about her will for peace, and then secretly to cover up her obscure rearmament plans - thus, it's only a matter of diversion; etc.

1

Other Reasons:

Perhaps it was a cause of the war, the German economic capacity was too great for the West, so that they might be afraid again; etc.

1
10%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

MIXED REACTIONS TO EFFECT OF WEST GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ON CHANCES OF GERMAN UNITY ...

Whenever the issue of German unification has come into particular prominence, the related problem of its pro or con bearing on West German participation in the European defense system has also usually been raised. In early October, a West German sample was queried on this point, as were East Germans in the mid-October study, other findings of which have already been dealt with in this report. Though subsequent political developments probably have affected the details of the unity and defense relationship, the results of the October studies are reported here. Despite the changed situation the findings yield a clue on how the German people may be expected to relate the two aspects of an important problem.

About a quarter (27%) of the West German public believed that West German participation in the Western defense system would impede German unification, when they were queried on the matter in early October. As many (23%) claimed military integration with the West would have no effect on unification, and a minority of 16 per cent believed it would speed the chances of German reunion. A third (34%) had not made up their minds.

"Supposing West Germany would participate in a West European defense army, do you think that that would increase or decrease the chances of a reunification of Germany or would it have no influence on it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Increase	16%	19%	13%	8%
Decrease	27	24	31	32
No influence	23	24	23	18
No opinion	34	33	33	42
	100%	100%	100%	100%

That it would not, however, constitute an irrevocable forfeiture of West Germany for the West, according to most respondents, is attested by the fact that only 6 per cent of the total (about one fifth of those who believed participation would hinder the efforts toward reunification) thought it would render reintegration impossible, while almost three times as many (17%) thought it would only make it more difficult.

"Do you think that this would make the reunification of Germany impossible or will it only become more difficult?"
If "Decrease" to previous question.

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Impossible	6%	6%	8%	5%
More difficult	17	15	21	23
No opinion	4	3	2	4
	27%	24%	31%	32%

RESTRICTED

The East German respondents are more inclined than their fellow Germans in the West to consider West German participation in European defense as improving unity chances. As many say that it would increase the prospects of reunification (36%) as feel that it would decrease the chances (38%) and, again, a very small group of 5 per cent fears that it would make reunification impossible.

"Supposing West Germany would participate in a West European defense army, do you think that that would increase or decrease the chances of a reunification of Germany, or would it have no influence on it?"

	EAST ZONE
Increase	36%
Decrease	38
No influence	20
No opinion	6
	<u>100%</u>

"Do you think that this would make the reunification of Germany impossible or will it become more difficult?"
If "Decrease" to previous question.

	EAST ZONE
Impossible	5%
More difficult	33
No opinion	<u>38%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

The higher status groups, more frequently than their counterparts, view the proposed West German participation in Western Europe's defense army as a hindrance to the reunification of Germany. But these same groups - the men, the better educated and the more affluent - are also, in general, somewhat more inclined than their opposites to take the other view - that is, that participation would advance reunification. In other words, the usual pattern appears of the upper status groups more frequently taking some stand, while their counterparts seem less often to have formed any opinions. It should be noted, however, that in all groups the more optimistic view that West Germany's entrance into the projected plan will promote efforts to reunite Germany, is the minority opinion. The table is presented on the following page.

"Supposing West Germany would participate in a West European defense army, do you think that that would increase or decrease the chances of a reunification of Germany or would it have no influence on it?"

	In-crease	De-crease	No in-fluence	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	19%	37%	29%	15%...100%	366
Women	13	19	18	50	433
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	14	23	23	40	645
Beyond elementary school	22	46	20	12	153
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	12	21	21	46	391
Middle and upper class	20	33	24	23	408
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	14	23	22	41	521
300 - 399 DM	16	38	25	21	160
400 DM and more	25	33	21	21	116
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	14	31	26	29	338
40 years and over	17	25	21	37	460
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	20	34	27	19	199
CDU/CSU	19	25	22	34	170
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	31	33	27	9	58
Other parties	19	25	29	27	63
No party	10	27	26	37	187
Don't know	4	18	8	70	122
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	22	30	28	20	36
Businessmen	24	31	20	25	80
White-collar workers	23	33	21	23	106
Skilled laborers	18	29	29	24	132
Semi-skilled laborers	7	27	29	37	101
Farmers	12	18	19	51	105
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired; etc.	17	25	17	41	151
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	15	39	27	19	109
No	16	26	22	36	690
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	17	26	21	36	381
Protestants	14	29	23	34	385
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	15	28	23	34	624
Expellees, Refugees	18	25	22	35	175
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	20	38	29	13	208
No	19	35	28	18	156

RESTRICTED

RUSSIA SEEN AS CHIEF HINDRANCE TO UNIFICATION IF WEST GERMANY JOINS WESTERN DEFENSE ...

The logic underlying the pessimism expressed by those who fear that West German participation in the defense army would hinder reunification is, first, that the Russians would not allow it - that, in view of Russia's determination to maintain a neutral Germany as well as to maintain the East German territory, participation would inevitably lead to war. A second less frequently given basis for thinking that joining the Western forces would hamper reunion is that such an action would only further underscore the differences between East and West and widen the already-great gap between the two territories.

"In your opinion, will reunification of Germany be made impossible thereby, or only more difficult?"
If "Impossible" or "more difficult:" "Why are you of this opinion?" *

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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The Russians Won't Allow It - They Will Take Counter-Measures - It Could Come to a War:

Unification will not be brought about in practice - even less so if we have an army, because the Russians don't like that; the Russians would not like our participation; the Russians never will give away any pawns in the game to make a bargain - German participation in a West European army will only make them more stubborn; in this event the Russians would prevent it; the Russians will not allow our participation in a West European army; then the Russians will take counter-measures, they want a neutral Germany; the main difficulty is Russia, because she is afraid, she still fears the Germans; the distrust of the Russians would grow; etc.

16%	13%	18%	21%
-----	-----	-----	-----

The Contrast Between East and West Would Increase:

Because the outward contrast (between Western Allies and Russians) would then be more pointed; that is logical, because two quite different parties are facing each other - behind West Germany are the Western countries and behind East Germany stands Russia; the more we unite with the West, the more our people in East Germany will become subjects of the East; in case of a West German rearmament it could easily come to a war because of the "Oder-Neisse" line; the problem will become more difficult if West Germany has a closer alliance with the West - but in my opinion nothing is impossible; etc.

5	5	6	6
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Others:

I think so, because we are a suppressed country and we can't do what we want to do; the Russians want to trade rearmament for reunification - but the Americans won't discuss such question; etc.

1	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

No Opinion/ No Answer:

$\frac{1}{23\%}$	$\frac{1}{21\%}$	$\frac{2}{29\%}$	$\frac{-}{26\%}$
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* This question was not asked of East Zone respondents.

BUT SOME THINK RUSSIA WOULD BE FORCED TO RELINQUISH EAST GERMANY ...

Those who maintain that Western defense participation would enhance the prospects of German reunification do so chiefly on the grounds that a stronger West - that is, stronger by virtue of gaining West Germany's support - would be more able to force the hand of the Russians and to dictate the terms of a reintegration of the two territories.

"Supposing West Germany would participate in a West European defense army, do you think that that would increase or decrease the chances of a reunification of Germany or would it have no influence on it?"
If "Increase": "How so?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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We (the West) Would Become Stronger and Russia Would Have to Yield:

Russia would then give back East Germany of her own free will, when she sees herself face to face with a stronger power; we would be stronger then; then the entire West will be against the Russians, we will be stronger then, can accomplish more; in case of a war or also without one - through her (Germany's) increasing power she will some day find the East ready; then we will raise pressure to get the Eastern territories back (because the West will be stronger then; by pressure on the East the Russians must, perhaps, permit reunification); etc.

9%	10%	8%	5%
----	-----	----	----

It Could Come to a War, by Which the Reunification Would be Accomplished:

Because the Russians would be forced to give in, or it would come to a conflict as a result of re-militarization, then there would be a reunification anyway, either under Western rule or under Soviet rule; as a result of the strong means of defense the outcome of a war could be disadvantageous for the Russians, then Germany will be reunited, the Russians won't give anything of their own free will; it is expected that the West European army will liberate the East Germans; etc.

3	3	2	1
---	---	---	---

Other Reasons:

To look at it from the German side, it never will be decreased, because the Germans always strive to be united, and besides it is an internal matter; that really is the main condition for our participation, but militarily and politically we can only be reunited with the help of the Americans; then the Eastern states will envy us for our freedom and will try harder to gain their own freedom again; etc.

3	4	2	2
---	---	---	---

No Answer:

$\frac{1}{16\%}$	$\frac{2}{19\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{1}{8\%}$
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ARE EAST ZONE YOUTH RESISTING
TOTALITARIAN EDUCATION ?

A Study of Pupils' Evaluation
~~Classification cancelled~~
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

Report No. 116

Series No. 2

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R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This report on East German pupils' reactions to their schools is the fifth in a series of studies made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, among East Zone youth who visited West Berlin during the course of the Communist youth festival in East Berlin. The findings are based on a sample of one hundred young people who attend the elementary or secondary schools in the Soviet Zone of Germany. Though the sample should not be considered as completely representative of East Zone pupils generally, it does represent a fairly comprehensive coverage of those visitors to the rally who are still in East Zone schools. Respondents were selected as follows: In the course of other surveys of East Zone youth, interviewers asked respondents if they were still in school. If the reply was affirmative, they were requested to reply to the school questionnaire. None of the pupils thus approached refused to be interviewed about their schools. However, relatively few children under 14 years of age crossed the sector borders into West Berlin, as was also the case with the girls. Accordingly, male youths and secondary school pupils are over-represented in the sample, in proportion to their numbers in the East Zone school system and elementary school pupils and girl pupils are under-represented in the sample.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The salient finding of this study is that the East German pupils interviewed demonstrate both their awareness and, in general, their rejection of the biased, propaganda-ridden instruction they receive in the Communist-directed East Zone schools.

These young people's account of the curriculum, the quality of the teaching staff, and the all-pervasive political pressure common to East German schools makes sharply evident the untiring efforts of the Soviet Union and its East Zone representatives to force a blind acceptance of Communism among the youth.

The generally bleak picture the pupils present of their schools is the more striking because it is a cumulative one, obtained in a study employing an indirect approach to the problem, in which the evidence is largely derived from the pupils' matter-of-fact statements of their daily classroom experiences.

Moreover, these young people's rejection of the constant political pressure and propaganda that they are daily subject to in the schools, appears not to be based on a verbal parroting of Western counter-propaganda, though they generally seem receptive to the Western point of view. Rather, it is largely derived from a skepticism of the Communist line based on personal experience or local evidence, combined with an apparent trust in Western progress and freedom and a hope for deliverance from oppression.

Detailed findings are summarized as follows:

- ... The first indication of the pupils' dislike of the political atmosphere pervading their schools is that when asked a general question on what causes them the greatest difficulty in school, four out of ten specifically mention the political pressure applied in their classes. Most of the other difficulties mentioned also derive from the East Zone political situation; three in ten dislike the compulsory Russian courses, and two in ten find the propaganda-weighted "current events" class a problem to them. Only a quarter of the mentions are of the traditional pupil complaints, without political implications.

- 2 -

RESTRICTED

- ... The FDJ (Free German Youth) organization is one of the instruments by which political pressure is applied. The respondents estimate that about 14 per cent of the FDJ membership are "convinced" of the cause, though they say eight in ten pupils on the average belong to the youth group. The "convinced" members occupy a favored position in the classroom. According to the descriptions given by the pupils interviewed in the study this group of neophyte Communists uses exhortation, force, fear, and example to pressure the unconvinced, the wavering and the laggard into acceptance of the Communist teaching.
- ... Indicative of the resistance to these efforts is the fact that only three in ten admit that the elite, leadership group is influential in the classroom. Two in ten are undecided, and five in ten deny they have any influence at all.
- ... Rejection of the political atmosphere of the East Zone schools is further revealed by reactions to the emphasis the "new" curriculum places on certain subjects, to the neglect of others. The large preponderance claims that too much time is given to certain subjects - and the subjects they specify are almost without exception those with mainly a political purpose. In contrast, the neglected subjects mentioned are of the traditional type - languages (except Russian) the natural sciences, German, mathematics, art, etc. Results of another query also indicate that the courses which the pupils feel are most neglected are also those which they enjoy most.
- ... The teachers are another source of political pressure, which the pupils attempt to resist. Seven in ten say they frequently disagree with their teachers, as almost all of them claim to do on occasion. That this disagreement is of a more basic nature than the traditional pupil-teacher rivalry is evident from the examples the pupils specify as to the source of disagreement. Again, it is the pupils' awareness of and resistance to political propaganda that leads them to differ with their teachers. The role of the Soviet Zone teacher as a parroting mouth-piece of the Communist regime is clearly inferred from the pupils' comments.
- ... The power of the police state is evident, however, in the fact that only one out of every ten of the school children says he openly indicates his disagreement with all comers. Three in ten say they never voice their disagreement to anyone, and the remainder discuss their differences on occasion and always with discretion.
- ... Further evidence of the low esteem in which the East Zone pupils interviewed in this study hold their teachers is that their teachers' intellectual integrity and mastery of the subject they teach are generally suspected. Six in ten assert that their teachers give a false picture of East Zone conditions.
- ... Children in the East Zone receive at least tacit support from their parents regarding their schoolroom difficulties. Nine out of ten pupils say they talk to their parents about the political disagreements they have with their teachers, thus indicating that the Communist authorities have not yet succeeded in driving a wedge between the younger and older generations. Though the young respondents appear to have their parents' sympathy and support, few parents are described as advocating active resistance; most of their counsel seems to be one of passivity in a dangerous or hopeless situation.

R E S T R I C T E D

... The kind of instruction given in East Zone schools is sharply revealed in replies to queries on what is taught about America and Russia. Seven in ten assert they hear only "bad" things about the U.S., and 94 per cent state they are told only the good about Russia.

Though large proportions claim to reject what they are taught about each of the two countries, there are indications that the constant reiteration of the evils of the U.S., and the perfection of the Soviet Union is not entirely without effect. Some East Zone youths, despite their assertions to the contrary, succumb to a greater or lesser degree to the propaganda barrage about America and Russia that is their daily classroom fare.

... In order further to test the extent to which East German youth absorb Communist propaganda, the sample was specifically queried on two issues which are key themes in Russia's anti-American propaganda - responsibility for the present East-West tensions, and the purpose of the Marshall plan.

On the first issue - Russia is named over the U.S. as bearing major responsibility by an eight to one preponderance. However, a quarter say both are equally responsible and one in ten are undecided. On the whole, it appears that the Soviet Union has not been too successful in convincing East German youth of its innocence in the Cold War.

As to the Marshall plan, the Russian line appears to have failed miserably. Almost all of those pupils who are able to comment on the issue, describe the plan's purpose in a way favorable to the United States.

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R E S T R I C T E D

EAST ZONE PUPILS DISLIKE THE POLITICAL PRESSURE APPLIED IN THEIR CLASSROOMS ...

That political propaganda and pressure is all-pervasive in the Communist directed classrooms in the East Zone has often been observed and reported. The salient finding of this study is that the East Zone pupils interviewed are not only aware of this pressure but almost to a man claim to reject it.

The first indication of their dislike of the political atmosphere is that when asked a general question on what causes them the greatest difficulty in school, four out of ten specifically mention the political pressure constantly applied in the schoolroom. The following is a typical observation:

"... all the class papers we ever write are about political topics in which we must lie. Only those who are members of the FDJ and work for it are promoted."

Most of the other difficulties mentioned also arise from the East Zone political situation: for example, three in ten dislike the compulsory Russian language courses, and two in ten find the current events courses (apparently devoted almost entirely to propaganda) as presenting difficulties.

Only a quarter confine their complaints to traditional pupil gripes without reference to political implications: two in ten find science and mathematics courses difficult, and 3 per cent mention language courses other than Russian.

"What causes you the greatest difficulties in school?"

The political pressure applied to the individual - the political tendency in classroom instruction: The basis of all instruction is political now, the teachers are not satisfactory inasmuch as they have to work under political pressure; we have a SED-director, all of us pupils have to join the FDJ and must voluntarily enter polit-schools; I am not a member of the FDJ, but must participate in all events; I cannot state my opinion freely, all the class papers that we ever write concern political topics in which we must lie, only those are promoted who are members of the FDJ and work for it; nothing, except for political tendencies in all classes; political instruction in the different subjects; no one can say what he thinks and one is ridiculed even by the teachers if one goes to church; etc.

39%

Instruction in the Russian language: I don't really understand Russian, one has to work an awful lot to get along; I have a great aversion to Russian; mostly I don't even understand what they say in the Russian class; etc.

32

Instruction in natural sciences: Chemistry, mathematics; biology; etc.

21

Instruction in current events ("Gegenwartskunde"):

19

I have no difficulties whatsoever:

9

Studies hindered by FDJ-activities: On the one hand we are supposed to learn a lot, on the other hand we are supposed to do political work for the FDJ, therefore we frequently don't know what to do; we have too little time for our home work, must attend to many FDJ meetings; etc.

3

Instruction in languages (except Russian):

3

Others: Some of the students don't belong in a high school; one has no trouble if one always participates and doesn't exactly do anything against it; etc.

6

132%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THE ROLE OF FDJ IN THE CLASSROOM ...

Political pressure is of course applied through the curriculum and by the teachers as the pupils' comments will subsequently reveal. Another source of political pressure in the schools comes from the FDJ (Free German Youth) organization. According to the estimate of the respondents queried, an average of 82 per cent of their fellow classmates are enrolled members of FDJ. (Eighty per cent of the respondents themselves belong.) But according to the East Zone sample, only a small proportion of members are actually convinced adherents of the organization's program - individual estimates when averaged amount to 14 per cent. The strength of FDJ in the schoolroom breaks down as follows, according to the averaged opinions of all respondents regarding the situation in their own classroom:

"Convinced" FDJ members	14%
Not "Convinced" FDJ members	56
Non members	15
No estimate on membership	3
No estimate on convictions	12
	100%

The role of the convinced FDJ pupils in the class is considered as an influential one by three out of ten of the respondents having opinions on the matter, and two in ten are undecided. Five in ten deny they have an influence. Judging from the description of the classroom activities of the small group of neophyte Communists, if they do not exert influence it is because they must encounter resistance, not because they do not try.

The pupils' account of the way this elite leadership group functions suggests almost a literal translation into action in the schoolroom of the gospel, according to Stalin, of party leadership. This small group of trusted and convinced young Communists uses force, fear, exhortation, example, as means of pressuring the unconvinced, the wavering and the laggard to accept the Communist teaching. In the pupils' words, this is the way this minority leadership functions:

"What kind of influence do they have?" (Asked of those who said that the convinced FDJ members had some influence in their class.)

One has to do whatever they order; they watch over us; They are class-speakers and have to decide on essays; one is afraid to talk openly in their presence, because officially we aren't supposed to say anything against them; they belong to the group-leadership of the FDJ and everybody has to conform to their views, otherwise it would be dangerous; in a political respect - we have to do what they say; our teacher has ordered them to watch over us, they were taken in as model pupils and pass judgment on us; etc.

13%

They try to convince the others; they work on those who waver: They make speeches about politics; if somebody expresses his opinion, they stand up and conspire with the teacher of current events ("Gegenwartskunde"); they always try to convince us; they deliver long speeches in case a student expresses a different opinion; first of all they exert a positive influence on students who are still wavering in their attitude - not on everybody in the class; after discussions those students who first had a different opinion agreed with them in the end; some influence - in civics they try to convince us, they challenge us to participate; etc.

11

They urge us on; They urge us on so that we become the best class and then receive a flag (Sturmflagge); they endeavor to get everybody interested in active effort (Aktiv-Einsatz); they push us along, so to speak; etc.

5

They always want their way; Always they know better; if you make a mistake, they say immediately how it must be done - they want to command everybody; etc.

4

Others: As a son of a lawyer, he is very well educated, so that he is superior to all of us, he gives everything a politically-tainted background; etc.

4/37

* The total adds to more than the number of respondents queried because some gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

THE "NEW" CURRICULUM APPEARS UNPOPULAR ...

Rejection of the political atmosphere of the East Zone schools is further indicated by reactions to the emphasis given to certain subjects in the curriculum to the neglect of others.

It is the preponderant opinion that the schools neglect certain fields of instruction and over-emphasize others. Again, the young East Germans object to the amount of time spent on "current events," the study of the Russian language, and generally all classes that were introduced for political reasons. In contrast, they seem to feel that languages - with the exception of Russian - the natural sciences, art and German itself are not given enough attention. In short, it appears from this that most regret the loss of a balanced and traditional education and do not welcome the new tendencies noticeable in the curriculum.

"In your opinion, are there any classes which school devotes too much time to?"

Yes	70%
No	29
No opinion	1
	<u>100%</u>

"Which classes does school devote too much time to?"

Instruction in current events ("Gegenwartskunde")	44%
Russian	30
History	7
All classes that have political tendencies (general)	7
The FDJ hour and the influence of FDJ activities in school	5
Others: mathematics; languages; German; etc.	5
	<u>98%</u>

"In your opinion, are there any classes which school devotes too little time to?"

Yes	83%
No	17
	<u>100%</u>

"Which classes does school devote too little time to?"

Languages, except Russian	23%
Natural sciences	22
German	21
Art instruction	21
Mathematics	20
Sports	10
All classes	2
Others: history; classical literature	7
	<u>126%</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

The courses they feel are neglected in the schools also tend to be those they enjoy most, as in indicated in results of another query. Not one of the respondents names the politically oriented education as something he likes about his school, but some (6%) specifically exclude these courses. Only the Russian language courses find support from a small fraction.

"And what do you enjoy most in school?"

<u>Natural sciences:</u> (physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics)	49%
<u>Sports</u>	21
<u>History and geography</u>	18
<u>German (Literature)</u>	17
<u>Languages</u> (except Russian)	14
<u>Art instruction</u>	12
<u>Being together with friends; spare time activities</u>	6
<u>All classes without Eastern propaganda</u>	6
<u>Russian language classes</u>	4
<u>To study</u>	4
<u>There is hardly anything that I enjoy</u>	3
<u>Others:</u> (handicraft, shop, etc.)	9
	163%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DISAGREEMENT WITH THEIR TEACHERS' POLITICAL ORIENTATION PREVAILS ...

Almost all of the youths interviewed in this survey claimed that they occasionally disagree with their teachers, with seven in ten saying they do so frequently. In itself such a finding might only suggest that kind of healthy, youthful skepticism that is also prevalent among pupils in the Western world. That it is much more than this and is, in fact, a fundamental disagreement, is apparent in the examples the young people give of the issues on which they differ with their teachers. The role of the teacher as a parroting mouth-piece of the Communist regime may be clearly inferred from these comments. For example, one pupil disagrees with his teacher who told the class "RIAS only tells lies to us and we shouldn't believe it, and that the Western police will catch us here in Berlin." Another cannot accept the teacher's claim that the "USSR and her inventions should set an example to us." A third says, "I asked a teacher about the people's police and he said it had to be that way and that it is in self-defense...."

The question and comments are given in detail below.

"Does it ever happen that you disagree with your teacher about certain things that you hear in class? How often does that happen?"

Yes, often	69%
Sometimes	18
Seldom	9
No	4
	100%

RESTRICTED

"About what are you of a different opinion? Can you name any examples?" (Asked of those who said that they disagreed with their teachers on certain things.)

About current political and ideological problems: In history and German - in political and ideological respects; in history and "Gegenwartskunde" - I have a different interpretation and I found confirmation of it in Berlin; in regard to politics, e.g. in history - we are taught to believe in materialism and I am not convinced of it; 100% in regard to "Gegenwartskunde" (current events); in regard to philosophy and current political problems; in regard to Russian - nobody wants to learn that language and they act as if it was the only language that existed; because in "Gegenwartskunde" they only tell us about things that would serve the Russians' objectives and they aren't true at all; etc.

31%

About what they tell us of America and the West: They always gave a wrong idea of the West - I always thought differently from the teacher; when they tell us in current events ("Gegenwartskunde") that the Americans are oppressors; because they always abuse West Germany and America; sometimes; when they abuse Western nations, I think that it isn't true; that RIAS tells only lies and that we shouldn't listen to it and that the "Stumm"-police will catch us here in Berlin; etc.

27

About what they tell us of Russia: Inventions made by the Russians, one could disagree on that with the teacher; about current problems - about the people in the Soviet Union - that they liberated us and want to be our examples; what they tell us about Russia; about the Lyssenko and Mithourin invention - if the success is true why don't they show the "miracle" tube to us; in modern history and that the Soviet Union should be an example for the DDR; that the USSR and her inventions should set an example to us; etc.

19

About the conditions in the East Zone: I asked the teacher once about the people's police and he said that it had to be that way and that it is self-defense and that it was of no special importance since they were only people's police; for example, the Flade case - four boys had to leave school because they sided with Flade; about reparations - they tell us that it will be put into our account but I don't believe it; etc.

15

About the reports on Korea: In political respects, e.g. Korea - there they quarreled a lot about who was the aggressor or about war preparations of the West; in "Gegenwartskunde" and in history - my political opinion on that is different in regard to who was the aggressor - in my opinion it was North Korea; etc.

6

About the peace propaganda of the East and the war mongering of the West: About the rally of the peace loving youth - it's nothing else but a military parade - they say that the Western world wants war and that the Eastern world wants only good and wants to liberate the Western people; when they tell us that they rearm for a new war in West Germany - that, of all things, the Soviet Union wants to fight for peace - when they talk about the army training grounds of the Americans in West Germany and say that something like that doesn't exist in the East Zone; they make so much ado about peace here and I can't agree to it that peace should be fought for with arms, while they insisted on the contrary in the past; etc.

3

About non-political matters: I don't understand anything about the creation of the earth and mankind; I sometimes think that it isn't necessary to learn Russian history because it is so difficult, therefore I don't study sometimes; I think that one could calculate in a different way much better, and also that some classes are held so frequently, like drawing instead of sports; etc.

3

General political differences: I can't think of any examples just now, but I am opposed to class room instruction as political information lessons; if somebody is not a member of the FDJ one cannot enter high school; etc.

2
106%

* The total adds to more than the 96% asked the question because some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

DISAGREEMENT LARGELY COVERT NOT OPEN ...

The rejection of the political point of view of the schools, though apparently quite general, is equally clearly largely covert. Only one in ten claims to express open disagreement with anyone, including the teacher. But three in ten say they keep their opinions entirely to themselves, for fear, as one pupil says, "they'd think I was not democratic," or according to another, "I keep my mouth shut because my brother has already been arrested once." The remainder discuss their differences on occasion and always with discretion: three in ten claim they sometimes argue with the teacher, depending on the teacher, e.g. "I talk with the teacher because he doesn't believe what he's to tell us either and he is glad if we are opposed to it too." A quarter discuss their differences with trusted classmates, and a few mention their families as confidants.

"What do you do when you disagree with your teacher; do you keep your opinion to yourself or do you express it? To whom?" (Asked of those who said that they disagreed with their teachers on certain things.)

It is better to keep one's opinion to oneself: I keep it to myself; it is not possible anymore to express one's opinion; I keep it to myself, otherwise I'll be expelled from school; I keep my mouth shut - one has to do that because informers are everywhere; I keep quiet in general because I don't feel like being expelled from school for making political remarks; I keep it to myself for fear they'd say that I am not democratic; I won't say anything because I might get bad grades for it; I keep it to myself - there are too many FDJ members in the class; I keep my mouth shut because my brother has already been arrested once; etc.

31%

It is possible to express one's opinion to some of the teachers: It depends on the teacher - with some of them we can speak quite openly particularly with one who is from Silesia - and with others we have to be very careful; sometimes I keep it to myself, but if one doesn't need to fear anything I tell it to the teacher too; I keep it to myself most of the time, but there are situations sometimes where the students get the teacher in a spot; in my class we can speak up in front of the teacher and then we have free exchange of opinions; we could protest against it since we still have the old teachers to whom we can talk openly - besides the whole class is united in it; I talk to the teacher because he doesn't believe what he has to tell us either, and he is glad if we are opposed to it too, etc.

28

I might express it to my best friends and classmates: Sometimes I tell my classmates about it, but mostly I keep it to myself; we can't express our opinions to the teacher because we get expelled from school - but we exchange opinions among ourselves; one can't say anything, otherwise there is trouble - one could talk to one's friends at the most; until 1949 I expressed my opinion freely but now it is of no use anymore - I can only talk about it with my closest classmates; because I have very little money I have to be careful - I just talk to a few classmates; we have an active FDJ member in our class and therefore we have to be very careful - even if I talk against it, I express it in an innocent way - only when we are among ourselves we talk; etc.

24

(cont'd on next page)

I express my opinion openly - even in front of the teacher;
I let my opinion be known - even in front of the teacher; I tell him my opinion, but he says that it isn't true and that I am wrong; I tell the teacher my opinions and give him examples too; we throw our opinions openly into the discussions and if everybody agrees with one opinion we act accordingly and realize that it must be true; etc.

11%

I express it to my parents and my relatives: Only to my parents, otherwise I keep it to myself; naturally, I talk with my parents about it; most of the time we keep it to ourselves, sometimes I talk about it at home - I never tell it to the teacher; etc.

5

Others: I never kept it to myself and I was in for it too - I never tell it to anybody in school anymore; if I see that it won't be to my disadvantage I discuss it openly - otherwise I naturally hold back with it; etc.

$\frac{3}{102\%}$

* The total adds to more than the 96% asked the question because some respondents gave more than one answer.

TEACHERS GIVE DISHONEST PICTURE OF THE EAST ZONE ...

Not only do most pupils interviewed say they frequently disagree with what teachers have to say in their courses, but they hold the teachers' mastery of their subjects, and their intellectual integrity, suspect. This is revealed in replies to the following questions.

Six out of ten deny that their teachers give a truthful account of conditions in the East Zone. Only two in ten say that they present an accurate picture.

"Does your teacher present the conditions in the DDR as they are in reality?"

Yes	22%
No	61
Partly-partly	15
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

All of the 61 per cent who claim their instructors give an inaccurate account of East Zone conditions reply "better" when queried whether teachers present conditions "better or worse than they really are." And only a small fraction (7%) clearly do not call the integrity of the school teacher into question on this matter. This fraction believes that their teachers are convinced of the truth of the situation as they present it to their pupils. But three in ten (28%) state flatly that their teachers know better and are in effect telling them falsehoods, and two in ten (22%) assert that it depends on the individual teacher - some are deliberately varnishing the truth, others are deluded.

"Do you have the impression that your teacher is convinced of what he tells you about conditions in the DDR?" (Asked of those who answered "Better" to the previous question.)

Yes	7%
No	28
Depends on the teacher	22
No opinion	4
	<u>61%</u>

PARENTS SUPPORT CHILDREN'S VIEWPOINT ...

In the atmosphere of political pressure and propaganda surrounding them, the home appears to be one of the few places in which East Zone youths feel free to discuss differences of opinion. Nine out of ten of the youthful respondents not only claim that they talk over with their parents the difference of opinion they have with what they are taught in school, but that their parents support their views. Apparently, the East Zone authorities have not yet achieved the aim of all totalitarian states, particularly in their formative stages, to drive a wedge between public authority and the home, the child and the parent.

In order to ascertain the extent to which the youthful respondents feel they receive support from their parents regarding the differences with their instructors all of those who had not previously mentioned discussing matters with their parents were asked this question with the following results.

"Do you talk with your parents about it?" (Asked of those who did not mention discussing school disagreements with their parents.)

Yes	81%
No	9
No answer/No opinion	1
	<hr/> 91%

The few children who do not talk with their parents about their dislike of what is being taught them in school never give ideological differences with their parents as a reason, as may be seen in the list of comments:

Those are problems, that I want to solve myself; because we always agree anyway; I see no reason to do so; because they have little time; my mother works all day long and doesn't have the time for such things; I can't burden my parents with my affairs, life is not so easy in the East; my parents are not very interested in that; etc.

The large majority who do discuss with their parents such disagreements as occur between them and their teachers mostly find confirmation from their elders who side with them; some parents are quoted as merely warning their children against running risks by expressing viewpoints differing from the teachers' and thus from the official position. But despite the apparent sympathy of the parents with their children's plight, few if any parents appear to advocate active resistance to the situation. On the contrary, their counsel seems to be one of passivity.

"What do they say about it?" (Asked of those who said that they talked with their parents about it.)

They are of the same opinion: They share my opinion; they tell me that what the teacher says is not true; in general they have the same opinion I have; they support me in my opinion of course; they share my opinion - they tell me for instance, that I should study those things in history which they don't teach in school; my father hasn't had a job in four years (NSDAP) and is opposed to the regime; they are glad when I am opposed to it; they are happy to hear that I want to change something; etc.

42%

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

They share my opinion but advise me to be careful and to hold out:
 We are often of one opinion but my father always tells me that I shouldn't say so much since I am dependent on the school; my parents taught me my opinion and my father always tells me to keep my opinion to myself; my father explains everything to me and tells me that I am right, yet he says that we should rather keep our mouth shut in school; they laugh about the system altogether and tell me that I should always do what they want me to because they are afraid that I might not come back one of these days; they laugh about it but tell me not to say so much, it could have a bad effect on my high school examination; they are of the same opinion I am, but advise me to be careful so the Russians won't come after me; etc.

17%

They tell me to be careful: They don't comment on it, just listen - they only tell me that I should not abuse openly so that I won't be expelled from school; they are in favor of being quiet about it; they always tell me that I should keep my mouth shut in school - if something came out they would get after my great-grand parents at whose home I live; my parents always say that the best thing is to keep quiet so I won't be expelled from school; I should take a passive attitude so I can take the high school examination, and I agree wholly with my parents; etc.

13

Others: They always say you have to believe, and that in our present time one has to believe everything - if one does otherwise one will be arrested; my father is neutral but opens my eyes about everything, because he knows it all - my mother used to be a member of the NS party and still is at heart - she knows that there were only good things in the past and I am of the same opinion; etc.

7

No opinion/ No answer;

$$\frac{2}{81\%}$$

RESTRICTED

BIASED TEACHING ABOUT AMERICA AND RUSSIA IS THE RULE ...

The kind of instruction that goes on in East Zone classrooms is sharply revealed in answers to queries on what is taught about America and Russia. The black and white pattern appears to be almost completely consistent. Seven in ten assert they hear only "bad things" about the United States, whereas 94 per cent state they are told only the good about Russia.

The questions and replies are as follows:

"Are good or bad things taught in your class about America (about Russia)?"

	America	Russia
Good things	3%	94%
Bad things	71	-
Partly-partly	14	6
Don't hear about America	11	-
No opinion	1	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The large preponderance of those who say they hear only adverse things about the U.S., claim they do not believe it. An equally large proportion of those saying they hear only good things about Russia assert their disbelief as is revealed in these follow-up queries.

"Do you believe what you hear about America is true?" (Asked of the 71% who hear only "bad things" about America.)

Yes	4%
No	53
Partly-partly	11
No opinion	7
	<u>71%</u>

"Do you believe what you hear about Russia is true?" (Asked of the 94% who hear only "good things" about Russia.)

Yes	9%
No	61
Partly-partly	17
No opinion	7
	<u>94%</u>

When the foregoing figures are totalled, the balance sheet for the United States is not as favorable and that for Russia not as unfavorable as might appear at first glance. A total of 47 per cent either admittedly swallow at least some of the Soviet line on the U.S., or are doubtful or without information. Contraposed is an almost equally large proportion (39%) who are prepared to accept some if not all of the East Zone claims on Russia's behalf, or are doubtful or uncertain.

The issue here is not of course that there is nothing to criticize about the U.S., or nothing to praise about the Soviet Union. What is important is that these judgments are apparently based on instruction which describe America in only the blackest of stereotypes and Russia in unbelievably favorable clichés.

Obviously, constant reiteration takes effect. Many Soviet Zone youths despite their assertions to the contrary succumb to a greater or lesser degree to the propaganda barrage that is their daily schoolroom fare. What this fare is is suggested by the comments on the following page.

"That do you hear that is bad about America?" (Asked of those who said "bad things" to the above question.)

It is a country that prepares for war (rearmament): It is said to be a war-mongering country, they incite for war; the whole capitalistic system means war; that they are for a war; war mongers and the like; they tell about war mongering, everything is agitation; war mongering on part of America, formation of the foreign legion in Germany; that America wants war and is opposed to peace - they draft all youths of the age of 18; etc.

33%

It is a country with a bad system and a bad leadership: The system is described as being antiquated and reactionary; the form of government, the elections are no proper elections by the people; that there is no personal freedom; that nobody is allowed to voice his opinions freely; that it is a totally imperialistic state, that the economic set-up is very bad, that the capital is tied up with the government; that the almighty finance people exert an influence upon the government to carry out their will; they talk about the American imperialism and that there is a constant state of crisis; etc.

20

It is a country of capitalists who exploit the laborers: They are capitalists and exploit the laborers; the usual oppression of the laborers, capitalism, exploitation, etc.; exploitation of the laborers by the capitalists; America is judged from the Marxist point of view only, that the laborer is being exploited and a small upper class lives a riotously good life; etc.

19

It is a country with very bad social conditions: There is a bad social situation; that the social conditions are very bad; great unemployment, economic crisis; about the bad living conditions of the population; that only the wealthy people are well off and about the misery of most inhabitants; that people are so badly off over there; in the first place about unemployment; etc.

16

It is a country where the Negroes are oppressed because of their race: The Negroes have no equal rights; the oppression of the Negroes; the negroes are badly treated in America; etc.

13

It makes the European countries - particularly West Germany - depend completely on it by means of the Marshall plan and other support: The Marshall plan is the most backward thing one can think of; that the Marshall plan means an enslavement of those countries that participate in it; that in order to indebt West Germany, too much food is sent here; about the Marshall plan, which is overflowing West Germany with goods and that Germany is made nothing but an American colony; that they exploit the German people and oppress them; etc.

11

It is a country with a low cultural level: Belittling the American culture; that their culture stands on a lower level than that of the Russians; women's wrestling is detested here, so, generally, there do not remain many good things about the American culture; the American people's way of living is superficial; etc.

7

America bears the responsibility for the Korean war: That America attacked Korea for merely economic reasons, that the Americans instigated South Korea to wage war in order to have a market outlet; etc.

5

Others: That the Americans say only nasty things about the Russians while they are really much worse than the Russians, that the Americans defeated the Germans while the Russians are the true friends of the Germans; that the Americans dropped the potato-bugs; all books by Americans and about America are torn down, they point out all minor misances described in these books and exaggerate them; etc.

5
1294

* The total adds to more than the 71% asked the question because some gave more than one answer.

"What good things do you hear about Russia?" (Asked of those who answered "good things" to the above question.)

Russia does everything for her people and for her workers, and everybody has a high living standard: About the well-being of the population; that the poor are helped; the social conditions must be excellent there; the situation of the workers is the best in the world; that the workers get everything, for instance that buildings were erected solely for the workers; it is a country of peace, they care only for the well-being of the workers; the people are progressive and their government too - they only do good for their people; that the business concerns are all people-owned and only work for the benefit of the people; etc.

34%

Russia is the paradise on earth and the great ideal (symbol) for everybody: I can't mention everything - Russia is just a paradise to the whole mankind; we should accept everybody in Russia as an example; all inventors have turned Russian; all inventions originate from Russia; the system is good in every way, life is idealistic there; that everything is fine there; she is the best nation in every respect - all the good came from Russia; Stalin is praised to high heaven; about the advantages of Communism, there is nothing bad at all in Russia; only Russia can improve the world; etc.

34

Russia fights for peace in the world: That she is a bulwark; that only Russia is peace-loving, that she uses all means for peaceful reconstruction and that she wants to protect us from the bad influence of the Western world; that they fight for peace and are opposed to any war; that the Russians are the greatest friends of peace and that the Americans are against peace, that they want to cooperate with the Germans on a basis of understanding between nations; Russia alone wants peace - all other countries are war-mongers; that peace has to be fought for - that atomic power shall be used for peaceful purposes only; etc.

33

Russia continues to rebuild and to develop herself: The boom of the industries by the five-year-plans; just the way it's getting on through Communism; a nation changes its structure, about the changed economy, the kolchoses, nationalization; the monster buildings in the USSR; that the Darnedow-Project (draining and irrigation of the South-Eastern steppe territories) will bring about many a good thing for the economy; the monster buildings; etc.

24

Russia liberated Germany from Hitler, she helps the DDR in every respect: That Russia signs trade agreements with East Germany - that she liberated us from Hitler's Fascism; Russia helps us with our economy and is our sole friend; that Russia alone wants to help our country and that the others want to make a colony out of Germany; that they do a lot for the rebuilding of East Germany; that they freed Germany, that they helped us in hard times; reconstruction - all the help the DDR gets from Russia; etc.

19

Russia doesn't know class differences - each individual has equal rights and equal possibilities: No class differences - equal rights for workers' children; that she is the first and only democratic power where the workers liberated themselves; about the society - the state without classes; that all individuals are equal, that they all have the same possibilities for professional progress and that therefore they are all equally well off; the possibilities for professional progress are more varied there, everybody can study, even the poor; that Russia is ruled by the people; etc.

14

Russia is on a high cultural level: The crystallization of the high Russian culture; the culture is progressive; etc.

6

Others: That Russia also has natural resources; bad things about Russia, but only good things about the Soviet Union - that once the Soviet people shall not have to pay for anything anymore, they just go into the shops and get what they need; etc.

6
170%

* The total adds to more than the 94% asked the question because some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

PREPONDERANCE APPEARS TO WITHSTAND EASTERN PROPAGANDA ...

In order further to test the extent to which East Zone youth had actually absorbed the Communist propaganda they are constantly subject to in the schools, they were queried on two key themes of Russian propaganda - major responsibility for the present East-West tensions, and the reasons for the Marshall plan.

On the first issue - major responsibility for the present East-West tensions, Russia is named over the Western powers by an eight to one preponderance. However, a quarter say both are equally responsible and one in ten have no opinion. But on the whole, it appears that the Soviet Union has been far from successful in convincing East Zone youth of its innocence in the Cold War.

"Who do you think is mainly responsible for the present tensions in the world: Russia or the Western powers?"

Russia	55%
The Western powers	7
Both	26
No opinion	12
	<u>100%</u>

As to the Marshall plan, the Russian line appears to have failed miserably. Almost without exception, the East Zone youth with opinions on the issue gave favorable interpretations of U.S. motives for the economic aid program. Three in ten (28%) are insufficiently familiar with the plan to comment. (When the same query was put to the West German public during the summer of 1951, 45 per cent were unable to come up with any reply.)

As the East Zone youths queried in this study see it, the purpose of the aid Europe is rendered is to rebuild all that was destroyed during the last war, to erect a bulwark against Communism, to promote Western unity, to help West Germany in particular. Only five comments imply that America is pursuing her own selfish interests, but even here, elements of altruism were not denied. Nine per cent of the youthful visitors from the East know only the Communist interpretation of the Marshall plan; but they insist that this is not their own opinion and that they would rather find out for themselves.

"What, in your opinion, is the purpose of the Marshall plan?"

To remove the damages caused by the last war in the countries participating in the Marshall plan, and to build up their economy: To re-build the economy destroyed during the last war; to lend aid to people in Western Europe, in order to bring them to their former level of economy and culture; to boost those countries that suffered too heavy losses during the war; U.S. support of the West European countries, so they can build up what had been destroyed during the war; to make reconstruction in all participating countries possible; etc.

31%

To create a counter-force against Communism: To create a defensive weapon against Communism; a relief scheme for Europe against Communism; that the Western powers should not conclude any trade agreements with the East, America wants to prevent that; it fights Communism - the Russians like to spread Communism everywhere - the Marshall plan fights against that in a peaceful way; it is a relief scheme for Europe's salvation from Bolshevism, against enslavement of all mankind; etc.

11

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

Respondent knows only Eastern interpretation but claims to disagree with it: I hear it as a slogan, that it leads to the deterioration of the West, but this is not my personal view, I am sorry, though, not to know the truth, shall have to get some brochures; haven't thought about it yet, we were told by the teacher in school that the Marshall plan aims at war, I don't believe it, but don't know what its real purpose is; I have no opinion, it was said in school it would lead to our ruin; that Germany would be deeply involved in debts, that it would become an American colony - that is only the opinion taught us in school; etc.

9%

To promote a unity among the Western countries: To reconcile the Western powers and promote an economic agreement among them, that all should be better off; to unite the Western countries in regard to politics and economics for reconstruction; the unification of the Western countries for economic reconstruction; the economy has been ruined through the war, and the nations must be helped, to unite the free Western countries; to create a tie between the West European countries and to abolish any emergency areas; etc.

7

To promote the economic reconstruction of West Germany: To raise the living standard of West Germany; to get the German economy on its feet; to help West Germany in regard to its economy; that Germany shall be rebuilt and that it be re-accepted in the community of the peoples; that the West German industry be brought back to its feet; etc.

6

To aid Europe, but simultaneously also to benefit America: To aid the Western countries, and also to open market outlets; to connect the agreeable with the useful; to aid Europe and to produce foreign currency for the U.S.; European reconstruction, but also strengthening of U.S. influence in Europe; to lend aid to Europe, the Americans don't act quite unselfishly - America so far has never done anything without profiting by it; etc.

5

To promote the exchange of goods (in general): Exchange of goods between the Western powers; to promote import; to promote trade; etc.

3

Others: A military enforcement of the Western bloc; that Germany be re-united; to create a better future; etc.

3

No opinion/No answer:

28
103%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CURRENT GERMAN VIEWS ON A NATIONAL
VERSUS A EUROPEAN ARMY

With Sidelights on Defense Participation
Trends and East German Opinion

Classification changed to

Report No. 117

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

The present report of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, is another in a continuous program of study of developments in German thinking on the issue of participation in European defense. Surveys primarily drawn upon for the present report are a 1,200 case probability sampling of West Germany conducted between October 29th and November 12th, 1951; and a 215 case sampling of East German opinions as obtained from visitors to a West Berlin Industrial Fair held between the 12th and 20th of October, 1951.

As usual, interviewing in the West German surveys was performed under German auspices under a contract with DIVO Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung G.m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main. Interviewing among East Germans followed a pattern developed during the recent Berlin Youth Festival with Berlin interviewers establishing what is in effect German sponsorship conditions by identifying themselves during the course of a brief explanation of the idea of polling as coming from an "Institut fuer Meinungsforschung."

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

In view of the fact that the decisions are now coming to a head that will decide the fate of the European army concept, the most significant finding in the present study is that German thinking on this point has considerably shifted ground over the past year.

In October 1950, preference for German participation in a European army outweighed by a two-to-one margin support for a national army for West Germany. But with the current survey a sharp switch in thinking has been disclosed with preference for a German national army now outweighing the European army idea by more than two-to-one.

The pattern of follow-up comments suggests that preference for a national army is being motivated for many by fear of West Germany's not being accorded equality of treatment in any integrated army setup. This state of affairs raises the possibility - now under study in the field - that if equality is specified as a condition of participation more Germans might be inclined to favor an integrated European army over the national type.

Study of comparative background attitudes reveals that though Germans of every viewpoint can be found supporting each type of army, the national army idea is the more attractive to the less desirable elements among the West German population. National army supporters as compared to integrationists, more widely manifest nationalist sentiments, neo-Nazi proclivities, neutralism, and the feeling that the Bonn government is but a puppet of the Western powers.

Concluding trends are presented in the present report on an Atlantic Pact query that has been employed as a mainstay of trend analysis of German opinions on defense participation. The indication is now that the pivotal role that equality thinking has come to play in the defense participation issue makes it desirable in future opinion surveys to indicate specifically whether or not equality is a condition of participation. Only in this way can it be assumed in the present context of German thinking that returns are not being influenced in unknown ways because some respondents assume equality as a condition of participation and some do not. A study embodying this new departure and embracing also questions about other currently significant details of the participation issue is now in the field and will be shortly reported upon.

West Zone defense attitudes are supplemented in the present report by side-lights on East Zone opinions as sampled from among visitors to an industrial fair held in West Berlin. To the extent that the sampling is representative, East German opinion is firmly on the side of West Germany's participation in a West European defensive army. Also the viewpoint is predominantly expressed that West German remilitarization would have the effect of decreasing rather than increasing the danger of any Russian aggression.

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I. WEST GERMAN ATTITUDES ON PARTICIPATION IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE

CONCLUDING ATLANTIC PACT TRENDS AND THE PIVOTAL ROLE OF "EQUALITY" ...

Since the early stages of German thinking about their role in European defense, RAS has relied for trend analysis upon a query raising the issue of defense participation within the framework of the Atlantic Pact. Returns on this query throughout most of 1950 was clear majority support for participation - at least as far as indicated by US Zones returns, the only part of West Germany surveyed at that time. However, as "Gleichberechtigung" became more and more injected into the participation issue, support fell off somewhat and in recent months, it may be noted below, though rather consistently preponderating over opposition in West Germany, has never regained the level of a firm majority.

"As you probably know, several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Western Europe. Would you then be for or against such a participation in a defense army?"

	Mar 7-15	Apr/May 30-11	May/June 29-5	June 16-23	July 12-20	July/Aug 27-8	August 20-30	October 1-8
WEST GERMANY								
For it	48%	43%	43%	46%	54%	49%	43%	48%
Against it	40	43	36	33	29	35	39	35
No opinion	12	14	21	21	17	16	18	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
British Zone								
For it	48%	47%	45%	47%	57%	51%	43%	50%
Against it	39	38	34	32	24	30	36	32
No opinion	13	15	21	21	19	19	21	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
US Zone								
For it	51%	40%	46%	47%	55%	48%	46%	45%
Against it	39	48	35	34	33	41	38	40
No opinion	10	12	19	19	12	11	16	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
French Zone								
For it	37%	36%	31%	35%	44%	43%	34%	50%
Against it	49	48	41	35	38	38	52	37
No opinion	14	16	28	30	18	19	14	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

However, follow up inquiries have more than once indicated that majority support for German defense participation is still existent if equality as a condition of participation is specifically guaranteed.

The pivotal role that the equality condition has come to play in the defense participation issue makes it desirable in future survey studies to indicate specifically in the inquiries whether or not equality is a condition of participation. Only in this way can it be assured in the present context of German thinking, that returns are not being influenced in unknown ways by how many respondents are assuming equality as a condition of participation and how many are not. A study embodying this new departure and embracing also questions about other currently significant details of the participation issue is now in the field and will be shortly reported upon.

GROUP VARIATIONS ON ATLANTIC PACT QUERY ...

Group comparisons on the Atlantic Pact question have consistently revealed (see appendix) that support for participation in such a framework is most widespread among the opinion leading elements of the West German population - the men, the better schooled, and the better paid.

II. EAST GERMAN SIDELIGHT ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

Two questions relating to West German participation in West European defense were included in a study which sampled 215 East German residents between the 12th and 20th of October who circulated through an Industrial exhibition then going on in West Berlin.

On the first inquiry almost three out of four of the East residents interviewed expressed themselves in favor of West Germany's participation in a West European defense army.

"Are you for or against West Germany's participation in a West European defense army?"

For it	73%
Against it	20
No opinion	7
	<u>100%</u>

The small sample obtained in this East German study does not, of course, lend itself to reliable breakdown analysis. But despite the paucity of cases there are fairly reliable indications in the group comparisons below that:

- 1) Support for West German defense participation is more widespread among East German men than among East German women. This, if true, parallels the situation in the West Zone.
- 2) Though approval of West German defense participation strongly preponderates among the better educated, just as among the less educated, opposition is slightly greater among the former group than among their less educated counterparts. This direction of difference is the reverse of that found in West German results wherein opposition to defense participation is greatest among the least educated.
- 3) Though approval of German defense participation strongly preponderates among both age groups, opposition is somewhat greater among the under-40 years of age Eastern residents than among those over 40 years of age. This indication parallels a similar trend in West German returns on the participation issue, as measured by the Atlantic Pact query.

"Are you for or against West Germany's participation in a West European defense army?"

EAST ZONE and SECTOR	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	75%	19%	6%...100%	192
Women	48	39	13	23
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	78	13	9	104
Beyond elementary school	68	28	4	111
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
150 - 300 DM	71	20	9	112
301 - 500 DM	73	21	6	67
500 DM and more	78	22	-	36
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	66	27	7	121
40 years and over	81	14	5	94

C O N F I D E N T I A L

REASONS WHY EAST RESIDENTS SUPPORT WEST GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

The most frequent single reason advanced by East Zone residents for approving West German participation in European defense is the contention that such a course of action is necessary as a defense against Communism. An interesting thread throughout the comments is the prevalence of the terms "we" and "us" - suggesting that the East Germans feel as one with the West Germans and are answering the present question as Germans talking to other Germans, who happen to be in a position to do something, to get about the business of stemming the tide of Communism in the only way that Communists understand - with force.

"Are you for or against West Germany's participation in a West European defense army?"

If "For it": "Why"?

EAST ZONE
and S ECTOR

For the sake of defense against the East, Communism, Russia - to defend our freedom: Otherwise the Russians would put us under the yoke; we have to be armed against the East, otherwise they would flood the West; because West Germany has to defend itself against Communism - Korea must not recur in Germany; to stop Bolshevism advancing to West Germany; there has to be a certain amount of protection - you can see that from Korea and Persia - the Communists seek strongholds; we have to accept it - we have no other choice lest we should become a mere Soviet Republic; because that's the only salvation from Communism; because it would put us into the position of making East and West Germany strong against Communism and the Russian policy of expansion; because West Germany needs a protection against Bolshevism; because I got to know Bolshevism - in order to spare the Western people the blessings of "life in paradise"; because one shouldn't underestimate the Eastern threat; because of self-preservation and because of the defense of freedom; merely as a counter-measure to the Eastern Volkspolizei; the East has got soldiers too - there is no other way left; of course West Germany has to have an army - also the East trains soldiers; that goes without saying - otherwise we would lack a counter-balance to the Eastern forces that have been established under the cloak of a police; because the Russian army stands in the East Zone and West Germany has to secure herself; etc.

36%

In order not to stand alone (a greater union is better; others will help fighting on our behalf; we have to give our share - we belong to the West) I think it's right, because America will back up Germany - she will never let the Russians expand to the West; it's better if West Germany would participate in a greater alliance rather than standing quite alone; Germany should be considered part of the West and get greater rehabilitation; the Western powers cannot defend our country by themselves - we have to assist - Germany has certainly to give her share for defense; we want to benefit from the West and should, of course, have to make sacrifices for the sake of it; Germany belongs to the West - she has to be in the position to defend herself - if we don't do that ourselves we cannot demand any more of others; etc.

9

The Russians respect only strength: The West ought to have learned the lesson taught in Korea - it's the only possibility to make the Russians respect you; because you can impress the Russians only with a strong army; the East will give in only if they feel strength on the part of West Germany; the stronger the West is, the more considerate you'll find the "Iwan;" it would put us into a position to face the Russians and they cannot do as they like; we could force the East to make compromises; etc.

9

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EAST ZONE
and SECTOR

Approval under certain conditions (equal rights, only for the sake of defense - not as cannonfodder): If we are accepted as partners with equal rights - yes, if not - no, not as cannonfodder; guarantees at first - equal rights - then I'm for it; but only with equal rights and sovereignty; it mustn't happen that Germany will be furnishing the other countries with hirelings; I don't know exactly what the army wants, but if - as the name says - its purpose is defense then why not?; but only if it's an army for real defense and remains an army of volunteers; etc.

8%

Every country has to protect itself (in general) and needs an army: A strong country has to have an army; we have to have an army for the sake of our defense; because Germany needs an army to grow into a nation - it would be a start; any country with no army is defenseless - and helplessly exposed to every political influence from the outside world; with a defense a country would also regain power; etc.

6

For liberation, for the release of the East Zone, of Germany, for reunification: To liberate Germany at least; because it's the only chance for us people in the East Zone; because I consider it a moral obligation if they have the desire for liberation; to kick the Russians out; because I believe that is the way to unite our people - through the power of the West; etc.

4

To avoid a political vacuum in West Germany: In order to strengthen West Germany even more and to avoid a political vacuum; because Germany in general and West Germany in particular cannot afford to remain in the state of a political vacuum; if West Germany would remain a vacuum, everybody could do with it what he likes - even the smallest country in the East is armed; to frustrate the lust for aggression on the part of the East; etc.

2

Because of dislike, hatred of the Russians: Certainly - if it means: to go against the "Ivan"; because I'm against the East - Western culture suits us much better - it would diminish the Russian threat; a 100% yes - like most of the young people in the East who would come if they were called; etc.

2

A defense with German participation is preferable: Germany is best defended by the Germans; you feel much safer if Germany would participate - the Russians are afraid of Germany and the German soldiers; etc.

1

Others: All the discussions about German unity have the one purpose of preventing it; I believe we would get peace then, both sides have to be armed to an equal extent; it would give the whole population of the East and the West a better backing; because it won't work without it - though it's preferable if we needed no defense at all; etc.

2

No answer/ No opinion:

79%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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REASONS GIVEN FOR DISAPPROVING WEST GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

The East German residents who registered disapproval of West Germany's participation in a West European defense army argued mainly that war must be prevented at all costs.

"Are you for or against West Germany's participation in a West European defense army?"

If "against it": "Why?"

EAST ZONE
and SECTOR

War must be prevented, I am against war and soldiers; lessens hope for peace; will lead to competition in armaments: To prevent war at all costs; because I am against any war, but certainly they must counterbalance each other; because this will lead to another war; we have enough of war, nobody should do anything to prepare for another war; lessens hope for peace; we don't want to be soldiers again; then it could be that we Germans would have to go to war again, there isn't anybody among us who wants to become a soldier again; because I am against it on the principle that everyone will be armed again; etc.

9%

That would only be to Germany's disadvantage (cannon fodder, staging-area, buffer state, etc.): It looks as if we are made a cat's-paw of other people; not 100% against it, but not having equal rights at the moment, a participation is impossible, only as cannonfodder; because in a future war Germany will be used as staging area and again everything would be destroyed; I am against a remilitarization of Germany on principle because this will put us in the fatal position of a buffer state; etc.

2

Runs the risk of a civil war: By that a civil war will be risked; because otherwise we would have a civil war and I am against it; because then Germans would have to fight against Germans; etc.

2

There is no need for it: Because we don't need any soldiers; as an independent state we don't have to join a West European army; etc.

1

We had a war only recently and the consequences haven't been overcome yet: I object to Germany's being engaged in these things, we only had a war 6 years ago; because the wounds of the last war are not healed up yet, and they should come to an agreement through negotiations; etc.

1

Hinders Germany's reunification: Would be bad for a reunification; etc.

1

Others: It is asking too much to agree to an army so soon when we were forbidden to have an army not long ago; the Western powers have had the opportunity to stop the Russians, but they wanted to beat Germany first, and now they should not carry out their conflict on German ground; etc.

4
20%

WOULD GERMAN REARMILITARIZATION INCREASE DANGER OF RUSSIAN ATTACK? ...

Whatever may be the current feelings of West Germans on this point the dominating viewpoint among the East Germans sampled is that West German rearmilitarization would decrease the danger of Russian aggression. Only thirteen per cent expressed the view that such a course of action would increase the danger of Russian attack.

"Supposing an army were established in West Germany, would that, in your opinion, increase or decrease the danger of Russian aggression?"

Increase	13%
Decrease	70
Neither/Nor	12
No opinion	5
	<u>100%</u>

Again reliable breakdown comparisons among population groupings are difficult to make because of the very small sample involved in the East-Gern study. However, the suggestion is that only a small minority in East German population groups feel that West Germany's participation in Western defense would have the effect of increasing the danger of attack from the East.

"Supposing an army were established in West Germany, would that, in your opinion, increase or decrease the danger of Russian aggression?"

	Increase	Decrease	Neither/ Nor	No opinion	No. of cases
EAST ZONE and SECTOR					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	13%	71%	11%	5% ... 100%	192
Women	13	61	22	4	23
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	14	76	6	4	104
Beyond elementary school	12	64	19	5	111
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
150 - 300 DM	16	71	6	7	112
301 - 500 DM	10	70	17	3	67
500 DM and more	8	67	25	-	36
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	16	64	16	4	121
40 years and over	10	77	8	5	94

III. WHAT KIND OF DEFENSE PARTICIPATION FOR GERMANY?

DO WEST GERMANS STILL PREFER A EUROPEAN ARMY? ...

In October 1950, a sample of 1,500 US Zone residents were asked to specify not only whether or not they were for German defense participation, but also what form this participation should take - participation in a European army or an independent army for West Germany. The results at the time indicated a preponderant preference for the European army concept.

"As you probably know, several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact. Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Western Europe. Would you then be for or against such a participation in a defense army?"

(October 1950)		US ZONE
For		65%
Against		22
No opinion		13
		<u>100%</u>

If "For": "What do you think is better: a participation of West Germany in a European army for the defense of West Europe or an independent army for West Germany?"

West European army	40%
Independent army	19
No opinion	6
	<u>65%</u>

If "Against" or "No opinion": "Are you then in favor of an independent West German army or are you in principle opposed to any kind of German military?"

Independent army	6%
In principle opposed to any kind of army	19
No opinion	10
	<u>35%</u>

In the light of this earlier trend, current returns on a similar query present considerable food for thought.

"(Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in a defense of West Europe.) In case West Germany participated in the defense of West Europe, which way would you consider preferable?" (CARD)

(October 1951) WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone

"A West German national army should be established"	48%	51%	43%	50%
"German troop contingents should be integrated into a general West European army"	20	20	21	18
Qualified replies	6	5	7	4
No opinion	26	24	29	28
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Comparison cannot be precise with the differences in the lines of questioning involved and the use of US Zone findings for inferences about West Germany as a whole. But nonetheless, the suggestion is strong that there has been a loss of favor among West Germans for the European army concept to the point where preference for a national army now leads by a margin of more than two to one.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN PREFERENCE ...

Support for the integrated European army concept is relatively greater, group comparisons reveal, among better educated respondents and among those with higher incomes. But notwithstanding, among these groups, as with all the other groups examined, preference for a West German national army is distinctly in the van.

"(Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe.) In case West Germany participated in the defense of West Europe, which way would you consider preferable?" (QARD)

	"A West German national army should be established"	"German troop contingents should be integrated into a general West European army"	Qualified reply	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	58%	23%	6%	13%...100%	587
Women	39	17	5	39	606
Education:					
Elementary school	48	17	5	30	960
Beyond elementary school	50	34	6	10	230
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	46	14	5	35	560
Middle and upper class	51	25	6	18	633
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	47	15	6	32	791
300 - 399 DM	53	24	6	17	204
400 DM and more	51	33	4	12	196
Age:					
From 19 - 24 years	54	23	6	17	158
" 25 - 34 "	57	20	4	19	235
" 35 - 44 "	48	21	5	26	259
" 45 - 54 "	44	19	7	30	247
55 years and over	43	17	6	34	286
Party Preference:					
SPD	60	24	4	12	279
CDU/CSU	48	26	5	21	219
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	57	32	5	6	79
Other parties	58	20	7	15	93
No party	51	15	8	26	233
Don't know	31	12	4	53	290
Occupation:					
Professionals	47	31	11	11	55
Businessmen	59	23	3	15	126
White-collar workers	49	28	5	18	148
Skilled laborers	53	21	4	22	223
Farmers	46	12	6	36	144
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	39	19	6	36	209
Trade Union Memberships:					
Yes, member	54	26	4	16	187
No	48	19	5	28	1004
Religion:					
Catholics	47	20	5	28	540
Protestants	50	19	6	25	599
Origin:					
Natives	49	20	6	25	915
Expellees, Refugees	46	20	5	29	278
Veteran Status:					
Yes	59	24	6	11	339
No	58	21	6	15	244

WHY OWN NATIONAL ARMY PREFERRED? ...

The most frequent theme underlying the argument advanced by supporters of a German national army is that only by such a measure can West Germany be guaranteed protection from discriminatory treatment. Arguments that such an army would be more efficient and the like were considerably less frequently brought forward.

This pattern of commentary suggests, of course, that preference for a national army is being motivated for many by fear of West Germany's not being accorded equality and consequent freedom from special discriminations or exploitation in any integrated army set-up. Such a state of affairs raises the possibility that if equality is assured, more Germans might be inclined to favor an integrated European army over the national type. This possibility is being examined in the study now currently in the field, in which Germans are asked to indicate their preference on the assumption that they would be invited to participate in European defense on a strictly equal basis.

Reasons for Preferring a West German National ArmyIt would guarantee our independence and equality:

Because then they'd be among Germans - otherwise we'd be at the disposal of the others and they could order us around; otherwise we'd be under foreign command and foreign pressure; because it will guarantee that Germany will get equality; because otherwise equality would be out of question for us - the French would always try to get the upper hand and we would always remain second class people; because a German national army would only then be called into action when it is necessary; because we know best what we have to do - we want to be independent; we would have independence if we had our own army - I mean this in regard to our own freedom; so the German soldier need not do what the others want; so we won't be oppressed by the others; because otherwise we would be slaves - just like the East Indians; because they'll put us last - we have lost the war; the German army would have independence then; because we want to be independent and have our own soldiers; so we can stand on our own feet; otherwise we'd just be the servants - we can act independently - but I am opposed to it in general; etc.

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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19%	21%	17%	19%
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A German national army would be more effective:

Because I expect greater efficiency and power from that; an army under own command is always better than an army where everybody can command and meddle; a general army would mean a very mixed-up group which wouldn't be of much use in case of war, a national army guarantees greater efficiency; one could get more done; a national army would have considerable influence on the fighting morale of the German soldier; because I have had the experience that one always obeys one's own officers much better than strangers; because a West German army would serve the interests of the German people much better - it would be more efficient; if we have to fight, then Germans should be together with Germans - the army would be uniform then; cooperation would be poor if the armies were integrated - German troops by themselves would be stronger; I am of the opinion that we can't fight together with the Allied soldiers; our own army under German command in alliance with the others would be stronger than a mixed army - that would only lead to squabbles in the command; etc.

11%	11%	10%	12%
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WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Otherwise the Germans would be used as cannon fodder:

Otherwise the German soldiers will be used as cannon fodder - they'll drive the Germans to the foremost front while the others stay behind; we then would be in command of this German army and needn't fear that it will be used as cannon fodder for foreign interests; because then we have our soldiers at our disposal and needn't fear that they'll be used as cannon fodder; in case German troops were integrated in a general army they would be in the foremost front while the others would dodge combat; then they wouldn't use us as their messenger boys and cannon fodder; I fear that they will exploit the Germans in a general West European army and place them in front of everything; otherwise we'd be used as cannon fodder and will have to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for others; so it won't be this way: "Germans to the front"; etc.

10%	9%	11%	12%
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Greater Assurance of Germany's protection and security:

Our own army would represent our own interests best; the Germans will go to war for German interests and won't be submerged among West Europeans; if one is under foreign command one serves the interest of foreigners and not the fatherland - a national army would be better for us; we want to defend our home - only then a soldier will really fight; in this case I can expect that Germany will be well protected - I can't believe that of a general West European army; because the Germans know best how to defend their country; every nation fights for its own - and every country will look out for itself first; because we want to defend ourselves and not others too; because it would be better for us - we would have protection again - we don't want to be helpless; because this army would really be used for the protection of West Germany; we would have our own soldiers which means security for the people; etc.

5	5	5	2
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Other soldiers are not up to the Germans:

I don't think the others are good soldiers - we saw that in the last autumn maneuvers; the Germans should be by themselves and others should not meddle - we know more about the military than the French and the Americans; etc.

2	3	1	4
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Language problems would not arise:

The soldiers have an easier time when trained if only Germans are around them - because of the language; because understanding is easier (language); etc.

1	1	1	2
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It is better for us:

Yes, one should say that this is best for us; etc.

1	1	*	2
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The Germans could prove their capability:

This way the Germans can show how capable they are - otherwise everything is thrown in one pot; in the other case we would be exploited - the German soldier can restore his reputation by that; etc.

*	*	1	-
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WEST Brit. US French
GERMAN Zone Zone Zone

Other pinions:

Then we won't need occupation armies anymore; our youth would be educated in the German army - we would have the same conditions as during the Kaiser Reich again; because "fraternal" warfare would be avoided with East Germany, because a national German army would never fight against East Germany - they would unite with East Germany; it is much better if there is a German command and we have nothing to do with the others - the supply of the Wehrmacht would be much easier; as long as the Western nations only supply part of their armies, I am definitely opposed to it; I am convinced that the influence of our government abroad would improve; etc.

3% 4% 2% 1%

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{1}{53\%}$ $\frac{*}{55\%}$ $\frac{*}{48\%}$ $\frac{3}{57\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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WHY EUROPEAN ARMY PREFERRED? ...

The most frequent theme advanced by the minority who expressed a preference for integrating German troop contingents into a general West European army, was that a common army would be more useful to Germany and/or West Europe in general because it would be more powerful. Only a relatively small proportion brought up the point that a European army would avoid the dangers of German militarism. A final point of some interest related to a difference of viewpoint as to how best to preserve West German soldiers from serving as cannonfodder. It has previously been seen that an appreciable number advocate a national army on the basis that such would preclude use of Germans as cannon fodder. It can now be seen below that another fraction - though not so large a one - argue that an integrated European army is best because the resultant shuffling would prevent Germans being singled out for shock troops.

Reasons for Preferring German Troop Units Integrated
Into a General West European Army

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>It would be more useful to us - we are not strong enough alone; Because Germany is not strong enough - has not enough arms -she would be much stronger together with the Allies; because we are too weak to defend ourselves alone; because we can't do anything alone - unity means strength; because Germany together with the other European nations would be strong enough to make a stand; because Germany alone does not have enough freedom to develop its military strength while together with the other nations Germany would get ahead; we can't do anything alone against the Poles and the Russians - we want our homelands back; it means security for us if all of West Europe is on our side; etc.</u>	5%	5%	4%	6%
<u>The danger and excesses of a German army (militarism) would be avoided; In order to avoid the German military; if we had our own national army it could lead to a concentration of military power which would neither be of advantage to Germany nor to West Europe; so the Prussian spirit of obedience won't rise again and a single army can't attack arbitrarily; etc.</u>	4	3	5	3
<u>It would be more useful to all participants - a common army is more powerful and is necessary in the struggle against Communism; The army would have more driving force than the national army of a country; the troops would be stronger than small armies from each nation; such an army would be more powerful and could successfully check a Russian invasion; we have common interests - Communism must be kept out of Europe; a national army would not get anywhere in a future war - a West European army, trained commonly and on the same principles, is necessary in order to stop Communism; because all of Western Europe is menaced by Communist aggression, therefore it is necessary to defend it together; West Europe is a block of nations belonging together and therefore it must cooperate; etc.</u>	3	4	3	2

(cont'd on next page)

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	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Then we could not be exploited by the other nations (cannon fodder):</u> Because then they can't drive us to our death if the soldiers are mixed with soldiers from other countries; if we had a national army we could consider ourselves cannon fodder - in a European army everybody is equal and they don't make any differences; etc.	3%	2%	4%	1%
<u>It promotes the idea of a United Europe - furthers understanding among the European nations:</u> An inclusion into a West European army could only serve to promote the idea of a United Europe; so the feeling of solidarity with the West is promoted - the idea of a United Europe grows from it; because national interests come second - the idea of a United Europe is first; because I think it would supply a good means of understanding among the European nations; we need a United Europe in order to be able to exist; the pan-European idea would grow - understanding among the nations for each other would increase; because I am for a United Europe - the small states must disappear - it furthers the unification of Europe; in order to reach better understanding among the West European nations; etc.	2	3	3	3
<u>We would not bear the sole responsibility again:</u> Because we alone can't be made responsible if something should go wrong; so we won't have to bear all the responsibility again; etc.	1	1	1	1
<u>General answers:</u> It would be better this way - the Germans would then get the same good equipment and arms as the other troop contingents; all under one command - all one army; etc.	1	*	*	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because the Germans are more courageous - they know what they are fighting for; I think that not enough men would volunteer - and a national army is impossible to recruit without the use of force - the unemployed e.g. would rather volunteer for a European army; because then there can't be armies who stay by themselves as it used to be before; etc.	1	1	2	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{21\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{20\%}$	$\frac{1}{23\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{19\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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IV. COMPARATIVE GENERAL ATTITUDES OF
NATIONAL ARMY VERSUS EUROPEAN ARMY SUPPORTERS

IS NATIONAL ARMY MORE ATTRACTIVE TO LESS DESIRABLE GERMAN ELEMENTS? ...

With Germany's dubious history in matters military, support for a national army versus an integrated European type raises a natural inquiry as to the kind of general attitudes held by proponents of the two positions. Are national army supporters similar to European army supporters in their general orientations, and simply differ as to the most adequate way of doing the defense job that needs to be done? Or is the national army concept attracting the less desirable attitudinal elements among the West German population?

The indication from a number of key attitude comparisons is that both Germans with background attitudes in accord with Western viewpoints and those with adverse attitudes can be found among the supporters of each type of army. But indicated also is that attitudes out of accord with Western viewpoints are more frequently to be found among those Germans who express a preference for a West German national army. From the results to the attitude indices below it may be seen that there is a greater incidence among national army supporters as compared to integrationists, of nationalist sentiments, neo-Nazism, neutralism, and the feeling that the Bonn government is but a puppet of the Western powers. The differences are not always large, but they are consistent in direction and they add up to a clear indication of a greater attractiveness of the national army idea to less desirable elements among the West German population.

"(Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in a defense of West Europe.) In case West Germany participated in the defense of West Europe, which way would you consider preferable?"

A West German national army should be established	German troop contingents should be integrated into a general West European army
--	---

"Mr. Braun and Mr. Schulze are discussing what Germany's policy should be, when East and West Germany are reunited and the four occupation powers have left Germany. (CARD)

"Mr. Schulze says: 'I am of the opinion that Germany should try to form a common government together with the other European nations. That would not only contribute to the welfare of the Germans but to that of the other West European nations as well.'

"Mr. Braun says: 'I am of the opinion that Germany should rather remain by herself - as she has been in the past - because the Germans know best what is good for themselves; only then the common welfare of all Germans will receive the necessary attention.'

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

Mr. Schulze	39%	68%
Mr. Braun	56	28
Qualified replies	2	2
No opinion	3	2
	100%	100%

(No. of cases:)

(578)

(237)

(cont'd on next page)

A West German German troop
national army contingents
should be should be
established integrated
into a general
West European
army

* "If you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

More good	53%	40%
More evil	36	45
No opinion	11	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(578)	(237)

* "Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

I would do everything in my power to prevent it	22%	32%
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it	35	38
I would not care	19	12
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	14	10
I would welcome it and do everything in my power to support it	5	3
No opinion	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it altogether?"

Side with West	36%	46%
Side with East	-	-
Try to keep out of it	58	46
They should try to come to an agreement	1	1
No opinion	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(578)	(237)

"Do you believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, or do you think that the West German government has enough independence?"

If "Too much influence":

"It has been said that the West German government is a puppet government and can only do what the Western powers prescribe. Do you share this opinion or not?"

Too much influence	75%	71%
Is a puppet government	29%	19%
Is not a puppet government	43	49
Don't know whether or not it is a puppet government	3	3
Independent enough	13	18
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>
	100%	100%

* Detailed treatment of the results of these and associated questions will appear in a forthcoming report on the present status of neo-Nazism in West Germany.

APPENDIX

Several West European nations and America some time ago signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact. Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?

	For participation								Against participation								No opinion								No. of cases					
	Mar	Apr/ May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Aug	Oct	Mar	Apr/ May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Aug	Oct	Mar	Apr/ May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Aug	Oct	Mar	Apr/ May	Jun		Jul	Aug	Aug	Oct	
WEST GERMANY	15	11	5	23	20	8	30	15	11	5	23	20	8	30	15	11	5	23	20	8	30	15	11	5	23	20	8	30	366	
Men	55%	53%	58%	59%	65%	62%	54%	58%	39%	42%	34%	29%	28%	30%	35%	34%		6%	5%	8%	12%	7%	8%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	366	
Women	42	33	33	36	46	38	34	40	40	44	36	36	29	39	42	36		18	23	31	28	25	23	24	24	24	24	24	433	
Location:																														
Elementary school	45	41	39	42	52	45	39	44	41	44	37	34	30	38	41	37		14	15	24	24	18	17	20	19					645
Beyond elementary school	63	55	62	62	69	67	59	65	31	38	28	31	22	22	30	28		6	7	10	7	9	11	11	7					152
Socio-economic Status:																														
Lower class	43	35	38	40	48	42	36	41	42	46	35	34	29	35	37	34		15	19	27	26	23	23	27	25					391
Middle and upper class	53	51	51	53	61	56	49	54	37	40	36	32	29	35	40	37		10	9	13	15	10	9	11	9					408
Income (per month):																														
Under 299 DM	47	40	41	42	51	44	36	46	40	45	36	35	30	38	42	33		13	15	23	23	19	18	22	21					521
300 - 399 DM	52	44	51	55	55	54	57	48	38	43	33	29	31	35	34	43		10	13	16	16	14	11	9	8					169
400 DM and more	55	64	54	62	72	69	57	59	36	28	39	31	21	23	31	33		9	8	7	7	7	8	12	8					116
Age:																														
Under 40 years	47	46	44	44	53	48	43	47	42	42	38	36	33	39	42	40		11	12	18	20	14	13	15	13					457
40 years and over	49	41	43	47	55	50	42	49	38	43	33	31	26	32	36	32		13	16	24	22	19	18	22	19					457
City Preferences:																														
SPD/CSU	51	42	48	62	60	56	51	50	45	48	39	29	35	36	42	44		4	10	13	9	5	6	7	6					199
CDU/LDP/DVP/BDV	51	56	52	56	70	63	58	61	33	33	24	25	16	24	27	29		10	11	16	16	13	13	15	10					176
Other parties	63	62	68	67	64	81	72	71	45	46	32	28	16	16	26	24		2	7	8	8	4	3	3	5					63
No party	36	52	65	58	64	52	55	46	33	40	28	38	32	37	39	33		5	8	7	4	5	11	6	21					167
Don't know	37	34	30	37	37	37	28	24	34	38	29	32	28	35	33	33		29	28	41	48	35	28	39	43					122

(cont'd on next page)
The number of cases indicated for various population groups in this and other breakdown tables refers specifically to the current survey. They are approximately similar, however, in prior surveys. In groups where the number of cases are few interpretations should be made with caution.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF "NEO-NAZISM" IN WEST GERMANY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTRODUCTION

The question has come to the fore in recent months as to the extent to which Nazi ideas may be regaining popularity among the German populace. Concern over what has been widely termed "neo-Nazism" has expressed itself primarily in connection with the activities of the Socialist Reichs Party led by former General Remer which has campaigned with a measure of success in some areas of Germany on a platform highly reminiscent of National Socialism.

As an attempt to appraise the present status of neo-Nazi proclivities among the German rank and file, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, instituted a survey between October 29th and November 10th, employing a 1,200 case representative probability sample of all of West Germany.

As usual interviewing was performed under German auspices under a contract with DIVO Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung G.m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main. High standards of operation are assured by the nature of the contract with this organization, and by the fact that its operatives have had several years experience in the most modern methods of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

BASIC FINDINGS ...

The first disclosure of the present survey was that the Nazi-like Socialist Reichs Party (SRP) thus far appears to have achieved only limited support in West Germany as a whole. A total of 11 per cent stated that they would like to see the new party have some influence.

However, in view of the fact that a majority of West Germans proved to be unaware of even the existence of the SRP, it would not seem to provide an adequate frame of reference for estimating the extent of neo-Nazism among the West German populace. The first hint that such proclivities were considerably more widespread than might be inferred from present support of SRP, emanated from the finding that only 37 per cent among West Germans took the position that, all things considered, there was more evil than good in National Socialist ideas. Forty-two per cent held that there was more good than evil, and the remainder expressed no opinion - which in this context can only be safely interpreted as an answer somewhat favorable to National Socialism in view of the opportunities Germans have had over the past five years to learn about Nazi evils.

But the most revealing indication of the present degree of vulnerability of the German people to Nazi-type movements was provided by the query - "Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

The results to this question can hardly be evaluated as other than disquieting. Only 20 per cent of the West German population reacted to the prospect of the restoration of a NSDAP-like party to power in West Germany with the answer - "I would do everything I could to prevent it." Another 30 per cent checked the answer - "I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it." Twenty-three per cent checked - "I would not care," ten per cent checked "I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it." Three per cent hold "I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it." And finally 14 per cent expressed no opinion in the matter.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

How much "neo-Nazism" these findings may be taken to denote depends of course upon definition. If neo-Nazism is the absence of any vigorous anti-Nazism, it would now seem that fully 80 per cent of the German people would qualify for such an appellation. If neo-Nazism is judged more conservatively, one still ends up with 50 per cent of the West German population who fail to state even that they would not like to see the return of a Nazi-like movement while explicitly refusing to do anything to counter such an eventuality. Finally, some might wish to limit the term neo-Nazism to only the 13 per cent who explicitly indicate that they would welcome the return of a Nazi-like regime. But whatever the terminology preferred, the fact appears clear - only a relatively small minority of the West German rank and file can by their own admission be counted upon to resist the efforts of any Nazi-type group to return to power.

A HYPOTHESIS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ...

Further inquiry disclosed that despite the very different reactions various groups of Germans exhibited to the prospects of a return to power of a Nazi-type movement, there was a considerable general similarity in their indications of what specifically were the goods and what the evils in National Socialist ideas. It may of course be argued that what such a pattern proves is that neo-Nazis are people who are willing to take the admitted evils of National Socialism (for someone else) in return for what they consider to be highly desirable advantages. But a hypothesis which deserves further study is that neo-Nazi orientations may not for many derive from seeing more good and less evil in National Socialism, or a willingness to take the evil with the good, but rather derive from a belief or a hope that what are considered to be very real goods that National Socialist ideas contained can be achieved while at the same time avoiding the evils the movement fell into.

Anti-Nazis possibly share the judgment of most of the nations which fought Nazism that the above cannot be done - that it is the essence of Nazism that the "good" features were obtained in such ways as to lead inevitably to the evils. Such a point of view would maintain that war, suppression, violence, and concentration camps were inevitable consequences of the National Socialist philosophy. And that whatever prosperity obtained was built upon the quicksand of war preparations and exploitation of elements within Germany and peoples without.

In such a framework of interpretation, a considerable part of present day neo-Nazism is not so much a willingness to have National Socialism restored with all its goods and its evils, but a failure to have learned the linkage between Nazi goods and Nazi evils.

If such an hypothesis appears plausible - and it should, of course, be subject to further investigation - one important implication that would seem to be entailed is that the wholesale condemnation of National Socialist ideas that implicitly or explicitly characterized the orientation of the occupation was - though understandable - logically and psychologically faulty. Reorientation efforts might have done better to stress that there was nothing wrong per se with some of the elements of Nazism - full employment, pensions, good roads and the like - but there are good and bad ways to go about achieving those ends, and that National Socialist philosophy pursued such objectives through measures leading inevitably to aggression, concentration camps, exploitation of minorities and the other admitted evils of the movement.

It is possible that many Germans do not adequately understand the linkage between the good and the evil in National Socialism because they have never been adequately taught. It is possible that if more can be done to convince Germans, not that everything about National Socialism was bad, but that the goods were rooted in evils - neo-Nazism might considerably diminish as a problem in Western Germany.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

I. CURRENT STANDING OF THE SOCIALIST REICHS PARTY

Most recent expressions of concern about the possible development of "neo-Nazi" sentiments in West Germany have focused primarily upon the activities of the Socialist Reichs Party (SRP). So in initiating the present inquiry there is some logic to first delving into the current status of the SRP movement with the West German public.

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF SRP ...

The majority of West Germans appear still to be completely unaware of the existence of the Socialist Reichs Party. The results of the latest survey do not differ reliably from mid-May returns in indicating that only approximately four out of ten voice some measure of familiarity with the new party. Only in Lower Saxony, among the Laender compared, is there a departure from the general picture. Here - as is not surprising in view of the centering of SRP activities in this area - awareness is more widespread with approximately six in ten indicating familiarity with the new party.

"Have you heard of the Socialist Reichs Party? (We are referring to the party the former General Remer identifies himself with.)"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	May	Oct-Nov	May	Oct-Nov	May	Oct-Nov	May	Oct-Nov
	16-28	29 - 10	16-28	29 - 10	16-28	29 - 10	16-28	29 - 10
Yes, heard of it	37%	41%	44%	46%	29%	38%	34%	29%
No, not heard of it	63	59	56	54	71	62	66	71
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	*British Zone						US Zone					
	North Rhine Westf.		Lower Saxony		Schleswig Holstein		Bavaria		Hesse		Wuerttbg. Baden	
	May	Oct/Nov	May	Oct/Nov	May	Oct/Nov	May	Oct/Nov	May	Oct/Nov	May	Oct/Nov
	16-28	29-10	16-28	29-10	16-28	29-10	16-28	29-10	16-28	29-10	16-28	29-10
Yes, heard of it	32%	39%	63%	59%	36%	37%	26%	37%	34%	32%	29%	44%
No, not heard of it	68	61	37	41	64	63	74	63	66	68	71	56
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Returns for the free cities of Bremen and Hamburg in the British Zone, and for the three Laender of the French Zone are not separately tabulated because in a representative sample of the overall size employed there are too few cases in these areas for reliable comparisons.

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Among population groupings there is the usual pattern of more widespread awareness among the typically more informed segments of the West German population - the men, the better schooled, and the better paid. Trend changes since May are not shown for population sub-groups below as they did not reliably exceed chance variation.

"Have you heard of the Socialist Reichs Party? (We are referring to the party the former General Romer identifies himself with.)"

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY			
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	60%	40%...100%	587
Women	22	78	606
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	33	67	960
Beyond elementary school	72	28	230
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Lower class	29	71	560
Middle and upper class	51	49	633
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 299 DM	34	66	791
300 - 399 DM	49	51	204
400 DM and more	59	41	198
<u>Age:</u>			
From 19 - 24 years	37	63	158
" 25 - 34 years	42	58	235
" 35 - 44 years	44	56	259
" 45 - 54 years	44	56	247
55 years and over	36	64	286
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	48	52	279
CDU/CSU	39	61	219
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	63	37	79
Other parties	47	53	93
No party	48	52	233
Don't know	20	80	290
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	78	22	55
Businessmen	53	47	126
White-collar workers	62	38	148
Skilled laborers	41	59	223
Semi-skilled laborers	32	68	171
Domestic & protective service	37	63	27
Farmers	26	74	144
Housewives	9	91	35
Unemployed	48	52	54
Not employed: students, retired, etc., apprentices	30	70	209
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>			
Yes, member	63	37	187
No	37	63	1004
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	35	65	540
Protestants	45	55	599
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	40	60	915
Expellees, Refugees	42	58	278
<u>Veteran Status:</u>			
Yes	66	34	339
No	51	49	244

WHAT ARE MAIN GOALS OF NEW PARTY? ...

The single most frequent objective advanced by West Germans who indicated awareness of the Socialist Reichs Party was reestablishment of National Socialism. Further indicating the widespread ignorance of the SRP, over a third who reported awareness of the party could offer no suggestion as to its major goals.

"Have you heard of the Socialist Reichs Party?" If "Yes":
 "As far as you know, what do you think are the main goals of the SRP?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Reestablishment of National Socialism:</u>				
That is a kind of rebirth of National Socialism, there is a NSDAP tendency - to carry into effect their system by force; they are great boasters, I identify their goals with those of the NSDAP - the claim for totalitarian power; the same goals Hitler pursued and the same claim for power; their goal is to establish a state like the past one; like the National Socialists - aiming at dictatorship; they want to reestablish the previous system - they want again a dictatorship; they aim at a Nazi-dictatorship; they want to reestablish the negative features of the Third Reich; etc.	14%	14%	16%	12%
<u>Reestablishment of Military Power:</u>				
They are the militarists who want to reestablish their previous profession - they want a third world war; I believe they pursue militaristic goals; these gentlemen merely want to resume their former positions - all these people are ex-soldiers; to create a military as Hitler did - whatever any general turns his hand to will have a military tinge - it would again become a dictatorship; etc.	2	1	2	2
<u>Dictatorship - Right-Wing Radicalism:</u>				
It's a rightist radical party that in the bulk consists of annoyed and discontented people - they try to establish a dictatorship; I'm not quite certain yet about the goals of this party, I suppose it's a question of founding a dictatorship; it has got a rather rightist tendency - I'm not properly informed as we have no such party here; etc.	1	3	1	-
<u>Reestablishment of Nationalism:</u>				
To awaken national feelings; to teach people to think decently German - to imbue the Germans with self-confidence, the confidence in their own strength; a policy which pursues the preservation of national interests; their aims are of a national character - to a certain extent they rely on the slogans of the National Socialists; as far as I know they further nationalism, but not the same way as the NSDAP; they want to create a national Germany; it is a party that favors a strong national Germany with a united government; I suppose that they are very nationalistic etc.	1	1	2	-

(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

For a United and Strong Germany:

In my opinion they want a strong Germany; creation of a united Germany; they want unity - want to reestablish one German nation; they want to unite the German people; they want a strong Germany; etc.

1% 1% 1% -

Betterment of Economic and Social Conditions:

Improvement of the workers' social situation; they want to provide work and take care of the refugees - they want to use the capital in order to provide work; they want the welfare of the worker; a government that does something socially for the citizens; etc.

1 1 * -

Independence and Equality of Germany:

To regain freedom; to make Germany independent of the occupation powers; equality of Germany; they tell us that we want to be a free people; they advocate a free Germany; they want the reestablishment of an independent Germany; etc.

1 1 * -

To Realize the Good Ideas of National Socialism:

To pursue the good aims of National Socialism; to put into effect everything that was good in the ideas of National Socialism; etc.

1 1 * -

Uncertain Ideas About the Party and Their Goals:

I don't know anything about the program - here the SRP is not known - I cannot tell you anything about it - I've only heard about it on the radio - I have heard one single speech - I cannot tell as I know too little about it; etc.

14 17 12 12

Other Opinions:

Behind it all is a certain clique of capitalists who previously supported Hitler and who now attempt to bring Remer into power; I suspect they have close ties to the East Zone (SED) - I think that is an organization under remote control - this party doesn't want to fight against the East without conditions; political and personal ambition of single persons who take advantage of the ignorance of the people; I think that they are the big shots wanting to come to power again - something the foreign countries don't like to see at all; I have heard of the name but don't know much more about it, except that Remer has been an old Nazi; I doubt any serious goals - in my view it's a great boast; etc.

3 3 4 2

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{3}{42\%}$ $\frac{4}{47\%}$ $\frac{2}{40\%}$ $\frac{1}{29\%}$

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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WHY ARE VOTERS ATTRACTED TO THE SRP? ...

Explanations vary as to why the SRP attracts West German voters, with an emphasis on dissatisfaction with present day economic and political conditions, and the appeal of many National Socialist ideas.

"As you may have heard, the Socialist Reichs Party has recently gained votes in various elections in West Germany. - In your opinion why are these voters attracted to the SRP?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Dissatisfaction with the Present Economic and Social Situation and Attractiveness of the Social Welfare Ideas of National Socialism:

The social ends that are exactly the same as the Nazis' attract many people because they expect the SRP to accomplish an improvement of the situation; Remer promises to make those achievements that had been made once in a social state - though without the mistakes that had been made; the voters believe that this party would do more on behalf of the people; to many people the SRP and its goals are linked with the good sides of the Third Reich - we had work and could make a living at that time - that is, at least, what people say; the mass of the population wants the time to come back when everybody had enough work and bread - the SRP promises its voters to resume the good sides of National Socialism - labor supply; because their concern, they say, will be the workers' welfare; the dissatisfaction with the present situation; because the SRP promises an improvement of the economic situation - that is what we need; the dissatisfaction with the present situation - very many people believe they could lose nothing but win everything; etc.

8%	8%	8%	3%
----	----	----	----

Dissatisfaction with the Present Government and the Existing Parties:

The general discontent with our government; the dissatisfaction with the activities our government has shown so far; dissatisfaction with the present situation, for which the population blames the government parties; dissatisfaction with the CDU and because of too strong an opposition on the part of the SPD; because most people have come to feel repelled by the other parties recently; all the other parties quarrel, people don't see any other remedy for their misery; the unsatisfactory political situation at present - the parties so far have done too little on behalf of the little people - now many people hope the SRP will achieve an economic improvement; etc.

5	4	6	4
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Hope for Personal Advantages Through Restoration of NS Ideas:

Mostly former Party members who expect to regain influence through the SRP; they are the profiteers of the Third Reich who expect to get where they have been once during the Third Reich - because this party's goals are the same as NSDAP's; these are the former Nazis who like to have the power; to most people the SRP is a chance to occupy new influential positions and thereby to win the upperhand - most of the electors belonged to the NSDAP at one time; I suppose it's mainly in the North of Germany (Hannover, Braunschweig, Holstein) where you find a lot of the Junkers who want to come into power, also ex-Nazis seek a satisfaction there for their suppression; because the past is looming in the bottom of their hearts and they hope for an improvement of their situation; many people expect to regain advantages thereby; etc.

4%	4%	4%	7%
----	----	----	----

General Desire for Reestablishment of NS:

They play the old Nazi tunes - that attracts voters; because they cling to the past; some party members who are now permitted to go to the polls consider the goals of the SRP similar to the ones of the NSDAP; the authoritarian system the SRP intends to establish in West Germany - many voters dream of a return of the Nazi times; etc.

4	5	3	2
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The Nationalistic attitude of the SRP Toward the Occupation Powers and Toward Other National Problems:

The same as in 1923 with the NSDAP, they put national interests before international interests; the SRP is more obstinate toward the occupation powers; Hitler's program - nationalism is still an ideal - from the national point of view, so Germany may play a part in Europe again; they are disappointed about the occupation powers, because the latter didn't keep a fraction of their earlier promises; the half-hearted observance of German interests toward the Western powers; etc.

4	5	3	1
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Support of the Military and the Rights of Former Soldiers:

The former soldiers mainly vote for it - the SRP intercedes for them and for their right on pensions; the former active soldiers expect to get advantages and sympathize with Remer; this party is of great attractiveness since it advocates militarism and since most Germans are born soldiers; because perhaps through the establishment of an army there is a possibility to do away with unemployment; they may have the opinion that it is a good thing for our young people to be soldiers and because thereby more jobs could be created; because we have many people which favor our getting an army again, who hope to get a position for themselves as a lieutenant or so; the military, because the former officers would get a position again; etc.

3	3	2	3
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(cont'd on next page)

- 6 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Because the SRP (Like the NSDAP) Makes a Lot of Propaganda and Many Promises:

The propaganda of the SRP is very good - it promises a lot like the NSDAP did and many Germans will again fall for their line; the large scale propaganda and the rising need of the workers who catch at every straw; they understand how to take advantage of the need of the broad mass, by promising the people this and that, the same as Hitler did; etc.

2%	3%	3%	-
----	----	----	---

Because the SRP is Something New:

Perhaps it is something new which attracts people; the dissatisfied voters, and there are many of them, always like to join a new party - they hope things will improve somehow; because anything existent now is out of date, something new must come, perhaps the voters believe the SRP to be that; in my opinion, many parties are obsolete, the people want to see something fresh and new; etc.

2	2	1	1
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Remer's Personality:

The personality of General Remer; the name of Mr. Remer; the way he attacks other representatives of the people; his phrases - that he sees politics turning to the better if former active soldiers get their former jobs; etc.

1	*	1	-
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Others:

It is a rightist party, I can't say more; many people have the feeling they can't make any progress - and some of the incorrigible people are followers; etc.

3	5	2	1
---	---	---	---

No Opinion; I Don't Know, Don't Know the SRP:

$\frac{10}{46\%}$ **	$\frac{12}{51\%}$ **	$\frac{9}{42\%}$ **	$\frac{8}{30\%}$ **
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* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

CURRENT EXTENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE SRP ...

The current extent of support for the SRP is clearly limited among the West German population. A total of 13 per cent would like to see the new political group have some influence in West Germany; another 11 per cent express no opinion in the matter; 17 per cent state that they would prefer the SRP to have no influence at all - and the remainder of the population, it has already been indicated, are unfamiliar with the new party.

"Would you prefer to see the Socialist Reichs Party have a strong, a medium, a small, or no influence at all in West Germany?"
(Asked of those respondents who had heard of the SRP.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Strong	2%	3%	2%	4%
Medium	5	6	4	2
Small	6	6	5	6
None at all	17	18	17	13
No opinion	11	12	10	8
Never heard of SRP	<u>59</u> 100%	<u>54</u> 100%	<u>62</u> 100%	<u>71</u> 100%

	British Zone			US Zone		
	North Rhine Westf.	Lower Saxony	Schlesw. Holstein	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttbg, Baden
Strong	1%	5%	3%	3%	1%	2%
Medium	4	12	-	4	3	3
Small	5	7	6	5	6	5
None at all	18	18	16	18	10	20
No opinion	11	17	12	7	12	14
Never heard of SRP	<u>61</u> 100%	<u>41</u> 100%	<u>63</u> 100%	<u>63</u> 100%	<u>68</u> 100%	<u>56</u> 100%

Among the Laender compared, support for the SRP is greatest, it may be noted above, in Lower Saxony with approximately a quarter of the population (24%) in that area indicating a desire for some measure of influence for the party. Whether this means that neo-Nazism is greatest in Lower Saxony is quite another question the answer to which will be forthcoming later in the present study.

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The distribution of attitudes toward the SRP among population groups indicate that both approval and disapproval is more frequent among the men, the better schooled and the better paid, with - as already indicated - more widespread unawareness among their counterpart groups. In none of the groupings compared, it will be observed, does total support for the SRP rise above one in three.

"Would you prefer to see the Socialist Reichs Party have a strong, a medium, a small, or no influence at all in West Germany?"
(Asked of those respondents who had heard of the SRP.)

	Strong	Medium	Small	None at all	No opinion	Never heard of SRP	No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	3%	8%	9%	25%	15%	40%..100%	587
Women	1	2	2	9	8	78	606
Education:							
Elementary school	2	4	4	14	9	67	960
Beyond elementary school	3	8	11	31	19	28	230
Socio-Economic Status:							
Lower class	3	3	3	11	9	71	560
Middle and upper class	2	6	8	22	13	49	633
Income (per month):							
0 - 299 DM	3	4	4	13	11	65	791
300 - 399 DM	3	5	6	24	11	51	204
400 DM and more	-	9	10	26	14	41	198
Age:							
From 19 - 24 years	1	3	4	14	15	63	158
" 25 - 34 years	5	7	5	14	11	58	235
" 35 - 44 years	4	5	8	17	12	54	259
" 45 - 54 years	2	4	6	21	11	56	247
55 and more	1	3	5	18	9	64	286
Party Preference:							
SPD	2	7	5	26	8	52	279
CDU/CSU	-	*	6	22	11	61	219
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	2	8	11	25	17	37	79
Other parties	7	9	6	14	11	53	93
No party	4	6	5	15	19	51	233
Don't know	1	3	4	4	8	80	290
Occupation:							
Professionals	4	9	18	36	11	22	55
Businessmen	3	6	4	26	14	47	126
White-collar workers	3	8	8	26	17	38	148
Skilled laborers	4	4	8	15	10	59	223
Semi-skilled laborers	1	5	4	10	12	68	171
Dom. & prot. Service	-	4	7	19	7	63	27
Farmers	1	2	2	12	9	74	144
Housewives	3	-	-	3	3	91	35
Unemployed	4	5	4	18	17	52	54
Not employed; students; retired; etc.	1	3	4	13	9	70	209
Trade Union Membership:							
Yes, member	3	6	7	32	15	37	187
No	2	5	5	14	11	63	1004
Religion:							
Catholics	1	4	4	16	9	66	540
Protestants	3	5	7	17	13	55	599
Origin:							
Natives	2	4	6	18	11	59	915
Expellees, Refugees	3	7	5	15	12	58	278
Veteran Status:							
Yes	5	10	10	26	16	33	339
No	1	5	7	25	13	49	244

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SRP SUPPORT NO VALID INDEX OF EXTENT OF NEO-NAZISM ...

Obviously from survey indications the Socialist Reichs Party has not yet gone very far as a popular movement. But it would be quite unwise to take this finding as any index of the present status of neo-Nazism in West Germany. Without in any way minimizing the significance of the new movement, questioning in the framework of the SRP is less than an adequate approach to neo-Nazi trends because at the present time the SRP is available as a vehicle of popular expression only in certain limited areas of West Germany. With the bulk of the West German population unaware of even the existence of the SRP, some other line of inquiry must obviously be utilized to assess the extent of neo-Nazi proclivities among the West German citizenry.

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II. NEO-NAZISM - GENERALIZED APPROACH

One approach to neo-Nazism, utilized in several studies to date, which avoids the arbitrary limitations of any SRP framework is the query - "When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?" It is possible to take the position that any respondent who fails to say "more evil" in answer to this question is in a broad sense susceptible to classification as an actual or potential "neo-Nazi." "No opinion" answers to such an inquiry can only be safely interpreted as more favorable than neutral to Nazism in view of the opportunities Germans have had to learn about Nazi evils.

TRENDS AND PRESENT FINDINGS ON MORE GOOD THAN EVIL IN NATIONAL SOCIALISM ...

From the results of five surveys it is clearly apparent that only a minority of the German people take the position that, everything considered, there was more evil than good in National Socialism. And since the earliest survey in June the proportion judging the contrary - more good than evil in National Socialism - has grown to where it is now the preponderant viewpoint in West Germany.

"When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

WEST GERMANY

	May '51 18-26	Aug '51 20-30	Sept '51 16-23	Oct '51 11-23	Oct/Nov '51 29-10
More good	34%	37%	46%	45%	42%
More evil	40	36	35	32	37
No opinion	26	27	19	23	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	British Zone					US Zone					French Zone				
	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/ Nov	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/ Nov	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/ Nov
	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10
More good	33%	39%	51%	47%	44%	38%	35%	42%	43%	41%	29%	36%	38%	40%	32%
More evil	40	30	30	28	32	38	44	40	34	42	46	41	45	46	46
No opinion	27	31	19	25	24	24	21	18	23	17	25	23	17	14	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Increase in the proportion judging more good than evil in National Socialism, the above table reveals, has been confined largely to the British Zone.

Further breakdown of the most recent results below reveals that, among the Laender compared, pro-Nazi sentiments - as measured by the present question - are greatest in Schleswig Holstein rather than in Lower Saxony, with the latter area falling in second place.

	British Zone			US Zone		
	North Rhine Westf.	Lower Saxony	Schleswig Holstein	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttbg. Baden
(Oct/29 - Nov/10 '51)						
More good	43%	47%	57%	46%	40%	29%
More evil	34	26	21	39	41	50
No opinion	23	27	22	15	19	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP TRENDS ...

Group comparisons on the present inquiry reveal numerous significant indications among which may be highlighted the following:

- (1) The judgment that, everything considered, there was more good than evil in National Socialism has risen across the board rather than in particular localized segments of the population.
- (2) It appears to be the more rather than the less educated Germans who at the present time are more frequently inclined to take the position that there was more good than evil in National Socialism.
- (3) Judgments of more good than evil in National Socialism are more frequent among younger rather than older Germans, and are particularly widespread among the 25 to 34 age group, i.e. Germans who were the youth of Hitler's era.
- (4) Judgments of more good than evil in National Socialism are more widespread among Protestant Germans than among Catholics.
- (5) Finally it may be observed that a particularly large difference in attitude toward National Socialism appears to be associated with whether or not one was a member of the German army, with 56 per cent of the veterans judging more good than evil in National Socialism versus 34 per cent among men who report never having served in the army.

"When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

WEST GERMANY	More good					More evil					Don't know					*No. of cases
	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/Nov	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/Nov	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/Nov	
	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10	
<u>Sex:</u>																
Men	36%	43%	50%	52%	46%	46%	37%	37%	33%	38%	18%	20%	13%	15%	16%	587
Women	32	33	42	40	38	35	35	34	32	36	33	32	24	28	26	606
<u>Education:</u>																
Elementary school	34	36	45	43	40	39	36	35	33	37	27	28	20	24	23	960
Beyond elementary school	35	43	55	52	48	44	35	35	29	37	21	22	10	19	15	230
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>																
Lower class	29	37	47	42	39	43	33	33	31	35	28	30	20	27	26	560
Middle and upper class	38	38	46	48	44	37	39	37	33	39	25	23	17	19	17	633
<u>Income (per month):</u>																
0-299 DM	35	37	43	54	40	39	35	37	21	37	26	28	20	25	23	791
300-399 DM	38	43	56	52	46	40	36	28	32	39	22	21	16	16	15	204
400 DM and more	23	33	49	49	44	51	41	37	28	38	26	26	14	23	18	196
<u>Age: **</u>																
19-24 years	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	32	-	-	-	-	32	158
25-34 "	-	-	-	-	56	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	20	235
35-44 "	-	-	-	-	45	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	19	259
45-54 "	-	-	-	-	42	-	-	-	-	39	-	-	-	-	19	247
55 years and over	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	21	286

(cont'd on next page)

*The number of cases cited refer specifically to the latest survey based on a sample of 1,200. The May through September samplings involved 800 cases so the sub-group sizes were approximately one third less.

**The enlarged sampling in the latest survey makes a more detailed breakdown possible on the important age variable.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

	More good					More evil					Don't know					No. of cases:
	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/Nov	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/Nov	May	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct/Nov	
	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10	18-26	20-30	16-23	11-23	29-10	
<u>Party Preference:</u>																
SPD	36%	40%	49%	42%	42%	46%	44%	43%	43%	44%	18%	16%	8%	15%	14%	279
CDU/CSU	23	29	36	42	34	55	48	48	43	53	22	23	16	15	13	219
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	42	46	58	54	49	46	46	28	28	41	12	8	14	18	10	79
Other parties	51	57	60	53	60	31	34	33	31	31	18	9	7	16	9	93
No party	40	44	60	53	47	30	25	24	24	29	30	31	16	23	24	233
Don't know	23	23	34	32	35	31	29	26	24	27	46	48	40	44	38	290
<u>Occupation:</u>																
Professionals	35	29	54	43	47	48	34	31	25	40	17	37	15	22	13	55
Businessmen	28	46	50	52	46	30	31	28	28	33	34	23	22	20	21	126
White-collar workers	28	35	49	48	47	47	46	33	31	36	25	19	18	21	17	148
Skilled laborers	36	41	52	47	46	45	35	33	32	33	19	24	15	21	21	223
Semi-skilled laborers	42	42	51	51	44	37	34	32	26	35	21	24	17	23	21	171
Dom. & prot. service	10	24	50	42	30	50	33	25	28	33	40	43	25	30	37	27
Farmers	28	42	36	35	33	38	33	38	35	40	34	25	26	30	27	144
Housewives	34	28	50	59	26	26	26	33	23	48	40	46	17	18	26	35
Unemployed	27	52	44	42	55	43	21	41	44	30	30	27	15	14	15	54
Pens., stud., retir., etc., apprentices	30	24	36	35	34	38	46	49	39	45	32	30	15	26	21	209
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>																
Yes, member	37	36	54	44	41	45	42	34	38	45	18	22	12	18	14	187
No	33	38	44	45	42	39	35	36	31	36	26	27	20	24	22	1004
<u>Religion:</u>																
Catholics	31	31	44	40	38	44	41	37	38	43	25	28	19	22	19	540
Protestants	37	43	47	48	45	35	32	33	27	32	28	25	20	25	23	599
<u>Origin:</u>																
Natives	33	35	46	45	41	41	39	35	33	39	26	26	19	22	20	915
Expatriates, Refugees	37	47	48	45	44	36	23	32	27	31	27	30	20	28	25	278
<u>Veteran Status:</u>																
Yes	-	49	57	55	56	-	34	31	30	30	-	17	12	15	14	339
No	-	31	40	46	34	-	43	45	38	49	-	26	15	16	17	244

C O N F I D E N T I A L

WHAT WAS GOOD IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST IDEAS? ...

Asked to specify what was good in the ideas of National Socialism, respondents generally cited economic benefits. It is also to be noted that such alleged economic advantages mark the largest differences in the answers expressed by those Germans who see in the not more good than evil in National Socialist ideas, versus those who indicated the contrary.

"What do you think was good in the ideas of National Socialism?"

	WEST GERMANY AS A WHOLE	More good than evil in NS ideas	More evil than good in NS ideas	No opinion
Good Job Opportunities and Living Standard:				
Good Social Welfare:				
Good Organization, Discipline - Security:				

Good Job Opportunities and Living Standard:

The working conditions of the workers - everyone got his wage; having cut down unemployment - nothing else; the workers were cared for, there was enough work and bread; to have solved the labor problem whereby the contentment of the little people was accomplished; the good side was that even the least could satisfy the most urgent necessities; the worker was offered something - regular holiday trips; the reduction of unemployment, everybody found work who wanted to - and what is the situation today?; the reduction of unemployment by using all suitable manpower; the labor supply; that they provided work; the care taken for the little people; the facilities that were offered to the workers; the farmers were helped in every respect; money circulated amongst the people and there were no unemployed; etc.

46% 60% 42% 25%

Good Social Welfare:

Social care for the people; the building of new settlements and all the social institutions were good; the support of families with many children; care for the old people; the regular payment of pensions; the protection of mother and child; the NSV-institution "Mother and Child"; KDF; loans given to young married couples; that everybody has been provided for in case of illness and old age; social institutions; the KDF-travels; everybody - whether old or young - had been cared for; workers' homes, decent provisions for old age; the community of the people ("Volksgemeinschaft") itself - support was given even to the least and poorest person - the care for mothers and KDF were just ideal; the winter aid ("Winterhilfswerk") institution; etc.

38 48 33 22

Good Organization, Discipline - Security:

Order - no one loafing on the streets; the unity - no dissension; one person had the say and that was carried into effect - and not everybody could butt in - no useless discussions going on for weeks; they created order; a model of order - good working of the authorities, no corruption (during the first years); compulsory work; etc.

10 14 10 4

(cont'd on next page)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

WEST	more	more	
GERMANY	good	evil	No
AS A	than	than	opinion
WHOLE	evil	good	
	in NS	in NS	
	ideas	ideas	

Controlled and Sound Economic Policy:

Orderly wage and price conditions; that the prices for food were not so high as they are today; the prices were standard and appropriate - today everybody fixes the prices he likes; prohibition of strikes; orderly economy - the state controlling the prices; even the business people paid bearable taxes; stable prices - the whole economic situation as it was with fixed prices was different; etc.

9%	13%	7%	5%
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Youth Education, Labor Service, Hitler Youth, Physical Training of the Youth:

To educate the young people to fulfill their duty and to keep order; the youth had a resort in labor service and the army; discipline and order among the youths; the introduction of one year of domestic service for young girls; the youth was trained decently; labor service for girls - the domestic service year; labor service; they did a lot of good for the youth - comradeship was furthered in the Hitler Youth; they trained the youth to be hard and strong within the individual organizations; etc.

9	12	7	3
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Nothing Was Good:

I have not been able to discover anything yet that was good in it; nothing at all; there was nothing good in it; etc.

6	*	14	3
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Extensive Construction (Autobahn, Settlements, etc.):

The network of the Reichsautobahn; the general build-up; the construction of roads - like the autobahn; extending the building program; housing construction - providing of houses; the construction of beautiful buildings; etc.

6	6	5	6
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Realizing National Ideas:

That our country was enlarged, as such countries as Austria were added; they succeeded in forming a united people; their idea to create a united and strong people; the general solidarity among the people; because of the overpopulated conditions their demanded expansion and colonies; nothing for themselves but everything for Germany; they eliminated Federalism; etc.

2	5	1	1
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Everything Was Good:

1	1	*	*
---	---	---	---

The Idea Itself Was Good - But Carried Out Badly:

Each of the 24 items of the program was good for the German people; it is hardly possible to say that in a few words - I would have to cite the whole party program; the whole social idea - and all of it that was done; the ideas were all good - only the leaders were bad; etc.

1	1	1	-
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Other Opinions:

Sterilisation - that no idiotic children were born; annulment of the reparations; the stress laid on the idea of the family; the class distinctions were bridged over; termination of the class struggle; the principle of efficiency; the use of garbage; the construction of the Volkswagen; much was done in the cultural field; the struggle against Bolshevism; women were much more highly respected; etc.

5	6	5	3
---	---	---	---

No Opinion / No answer:

19	6	13	53
152%	172%	138%	129%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHAT WAS EVIL IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST IDEAS? ...

Questioned as to the possible evils in National Socialist ideas, it is apparent that few Germans see the movement as wholly good. On the other hand the proportions who cite certain major evils, which seem so patent to the nations who fought Nazism, are not so large as to be at all reassuring.

It will be further observed in the commentaries below that when answers are compared between Germans who judged in the net more good than evil in National Socialism versus those who judged the contrary, the former group evidence somewhat less inclination to cite undesirable constraints on freedom in National Socialist ideas. However, it is also evident that the more good than evil group appears to be no less willing to condemn the racism, war, violence, and concentration camp features of National Socialist policy. The similarities in the answers of this group to those of the more evil than good are certainly marked enough to suggest that favorable net evaluations of National Socialism are not deriving primarily from any lesser appreciation of evils. Possible implications of this point will be developed in a similar connection later in the present paper.

"What do you think was evil in the ideas of National Socialism?"

WEST GERMANY AS A WHOLE	More good than evil in NS ideas	More evil than good in NS ideas	No opinion
----------------------------------	--	--	---------------

The Race Policy, the Persecution of the Jews:

The persecution of the Jews, what they did with the Jews was the greatest mistake; that they stripped the Jews, the racial hatred; the attitude toward the Jews was not right; the Jews' program - one should have been human; the laws against the Jews; etc.

30% 37% 32% 14%

No Freedom, Dictatorship:

Decisive was that personal freedom was suppressed; the dictatorship, then the spying - one couldn't speak frankly; the pressure was too strong; they spoiled the youth by their oppression; the compulsion exerted in everything - the personal freedom of the individual was threatened; that one couldn't speak out openly, that one was forced into everything; its authoritarian executive power and the fight against any other opinion; that everything was compulsory; the separating of families - boys and girls were sent to training schools and used for propaganda; that one had no freedom of speech, one was not allowed to listen to certain radio stations; just that they were too radical, the compulsion, the pressure; etc.

29 25 38 16

Preparation for War, Rearmament, the War:

The youth were forced to suffer, the big shots and the generals led a life of pleasure and luxury and thus caused the war to end to our disadvantage; too much military - that resulted in war; that war broke out and that the whole world became our enemy; that I lost my home, because they started war and couldn't get enough of pocketing other countries; the establishment of an army; the rearmament for war; first of all no war should have broken out; the start of a war in 1939; the war with all its consequences; etc.

26 26 29 19

(cont'd on next page)

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WEST GERMANY AS A WHOLE	More good than evil in NS ideas	More evil than good in NS ideas	No opinion
----------------------------------	--	--	---------------

Violence, Cruelty, the Concentration Camps:

That the Germans have burnt in gas chambers and thrown into prison their own brothers; the concentration camps; the persecution of people, that they killed so many people; that they haven't solved the problems in a humane way; the brutalities against political prisoners; etc.

17%	20%	18%	8%
-----	-----	-----	----

No Freedom of Religion (Persecution of the Church):

First of all, that they attacked religion; the religious struggle; that they stood up against the Church, that's the reason I despise them; that they ran the Church down, they wanted to abolish anything connected with the Church; that one was not allowed to practice one's religion freely; the attitude against religion; etc.

16	15	20	8
----	----	----	---

Poor Foreign Policy, Imperialism:

Their policy of expansion and the pretentious militaristic attitude; Hitler's megalomania; the exaggerated national pride; they took other nations' lands away, wanted to get too powerful; they were too full of their own importance; their desire for expansion as to other countries; they should not have done just as they pleased, they wanted too much; etc.

11	11	15	4
----	----	----	---

Dominant Position of the Party:

The exaggerated, party-political installations, like SA, SS, etc.; the filling of positions with unqualified persons, they had only to be old PG's, that was sufficient; that those people who were no party members were not furthered; that the high-ups enriched themselves; etc.

6	9	5	4
---	---	---	---

Everything Was Bad:

2	*	5	*
---	---	---	---

False Propaganda, Empty Promises:

They misused confidence; their promises were not feasible; that people's confidence was misused; etc.

2	1	3	*
---	---	---	---

Nothing Was Bad:

2	4	*	-
---	---	---	---

Other Opinions:

That too many people changed from other parties to the NSDAP and joined the party as inner opponents, and thereby had an opportunity for pernicious advice and activity - therefrom resulted the pernicious execution of the party program; etc.

4	5	5	2
---	---	---	---

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{18}{163\%}$ *	$\frac{9}{162\%}$ *	$\frac{7}{177\%}$ *	$\frac{55}{130\%}$ *
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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SUMMING-UP AND A RESERVATION...

If it is fair to say that any German must be looked upon as to some degree a "neo-Nazi" who fails to come up with "more evil" in answer to the question - "When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?" - then the conclusion must be that neo-Nazi proclivities currently characterize a majority of the West German population. But it might be argued that such a definition of neo-Nazism is unreasonably broad. However dubious their premises, respondents who fail to characterize National Socialism as more evil than good might still be strongly opposed to seeing any NSDAP-like movement return to power in Germany. It is well, therefore to suspend for the moment the drawing of conclusions about the current status of neo-Nazism in West Germany, until findings can be examined in the more focalized context of possible reactions to a Nazi-like movement returning to power.

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A more focalized approach to the measurement of neo-Nazism in West Germany was embodied in the query - "Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?" Since this inquiry focuses specifically upon German reactions to a possible return of a Nazi-type movement, it is perhaps a more definitive approach to what observers have in mind by the term - "neo-Nazism."

HOW WOULD WEST GERMANS REACT IF NAZI-LIKE PARTY MADE BID FOR POWER? ...

The results to the present question can hardly be evaluated as other than disquieting. Only 20 per cent of the West German population react to the prospect of the restoration of a NSDAP-like party to power in West Germany with the answer "I would do everything I could to prevent it." Another 30 per cent check the answer - "I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it." Twenty-three per cent check - "I would not care," ten per cent check - "I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it." Three per cent hold "I would welcome and do everything I could to support it." And finally 14 per cent express no opinion in the matter.

How much "neo-Nazism" these findings may be taken to denote depends of course upon definition. If neo-Nazism is the absence of any vigorous anti-Nazism, it would now seem that fully 80 per cent of the German people would qualify for such an appellation. If neo-Nazism is judged more conservatively, one still ends up with 50 per cent of the West German population who fail to state even that they would not like to see the return of a Nazi-like movement while explicitly refusing to do anything to counter such an eventuality. Finally some might wish to limit the term neo-Nazism to only the 13 per cent who explicitly indicate that they would welcome the return of a Nazi-like regime. But whatever the terminology preferred, the facts appear clear - that, though only comparatively few actively favor a Nazi-regime, only a relatively small minority of the West German rank and file can by their own admission be counted upon to resist the efforts of any Nazi-type group to return to power.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?" (CARD with alternatives)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
I would do everything I could to prevent it	20%	18%	22%	24%
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it	30	31	30	28
I would not care	23	21	24	29
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	10	11	10	6
I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it	3	4	2	5
No opinion	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%

	British Zone			US Zone		
	North Rhine Westf.	Lower Saxony	Schlesw. Holstein	Bava-ria	Hesse	Wuerttbg. Baden
I would do everything I could to prevent it	21%	10%	18%	20%	18%	30%
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it	33	26	27	29	38	25
I would not care	22	22	19	25	23	26
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	10	10	16	11	10	7
I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it	2	7	7	2	1	5
No opinion	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>25</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>10</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%

If the present type of inquiry is taken as the most definitive approach to neo-Nazism another important indication that emerges from the above tabulations is that such proclivities are by no means confined to Lower Saxony or the British Zone, but on the contrary are general throughout West Germany.

GROUP COMPARISONS...

Comparisons among various West German population groupings on the present question (see next page) reveal the following:

- (1) Disapproval of restoration of some form of National Socialism is greater among more educated respondents than among less. This contrasts with an earlier indicated trend on the good-versus-evil-in-National Socialism question, and indicates that the two lines of inquiry are not measuring entirely the same thing.*
- (2) Disapproval of any National Socialist restoration is more widespread among the higher socio-economic levels than among the lower.
- (3) There is a somewhat wider approval of a National Socialist restoration among younger Germans than among older - with again the youth of the Nazi era (25 to 34 years) in the van.
- (4) Disapproval of a National Socialist restoration is particularly infrequent among "No party" and "No opinion" political elements.
- (5) Trade unionists considerably more widely disapprove of any National Socialist restoration than do non-members of trade unions.
- (6) There is a somewhat more widespread favorable reaction to a National Socialist restoration among Protestants than among Catholics.
- (7) Finally, there is somewhat more widespread favorable reaction to a National Socialist restoration among veterans than among non-veteran respondents.

* This point is shown more clearly in the cross-break below which indicates that though there is considerable correlation in the answers to the two questions, there is, as was suspected, an appreciable proportion who see more good than evil in National Socialism who notwithstandingly would be strongly opposed to any NSDAP-like movement returning to power.

"If you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

More good More evil No opinion

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

I would do everything I could to prevent it	13%	35%	8%...
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it	30	36	20
I would not care	22	15	39
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	20	4	2
I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it	7	1	1
No opinion	8	9	30
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(497)	(444)	(252)

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"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

	I would do everything I could to prevent it	I would not like it, but I would not do anything against it	I would not care	I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it	No opinion	No. of cases:
--	---	---	------------------	---	--	------------	---------------

WEST GERMANY

<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	28%	32%	19%	10%	4%	7%/100%	587
Women	13	29	27	10	2	19	606
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	18	29	26	9	4	14	960
Beyond elementary school	30	36	11	13	3	7	230
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower class	15	27	28	9	3	18	560
Middle and upper class	24	34	19	11	3	9	633
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	17	28	26	10	3	16	791
300 - 399 DM	26	31	18	14	4	7	204
400 DM and more	27	33	17	7	4	7	196
<u>Age:</u>							
19 - 24 years	16	30	28	11	4	11	158
25 - 34 years	15	30	25	16	4	10	235
35 - 44 years	20	31	22	10	5	12	259
45 - 54 years	25	29	22	9	3	12	247
55 years and over	22	32	22	5	2	17	286
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	26	36	18	12	3	5	279
CDU/CSU	29	34	18	7	3	9	219
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	29	49	6	14	3	-	79
Other parties	20	34	20	15	5	6	93
No party	15	26	30	10	5	14	233
Don't know	8	20	32	8	3	29	290
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	30	47	13	4	2	4	55
Businessmen	18	35	21	12	5	9	126
White-collar work.	25	33	14	17	2	9	148
Skilled laborers	2	26	22	12	5	12	223
Semi-skilled lab.	16	31	31	9	5	8	171
Dom. & prot. service	11	41	30	7	-	11	27
Farmers	17	30	29	4	2	18	144
Housewives	17	20	23	6	6	28	35
Unemployed	24	24	24	15	2	11	54
Pens., stud., retir., etc., apprentices	18	28	24	9	1	20	209
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, member	31	37	16	8	3	5	187
No	18	29	25	10	4	14	1004
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	22	32	25	8	2	11	540
Protestants	18	29	22	12	5	14	599
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	20	31	24	10	3	12	935
Expellees, Refugees	20	28	22	11	3	16	278
<u>Veteran Status:</u>							
Yes	24	34	16	12	7	7	339
No	33	29	22	8	2	6	244

C O N F I D E N T I A L

WHAT MEASURES WOULD ANTI-NAZIS TAKE? ...

Respondents who reported that they would react to a bid for power by a Nazi-like party by doing all they could to prevent it, were asked what specifically they might do. The replies indicate that about half - or approximately 10 per cent of the population - would express opposition in ways that would appear to qualify as active resistance.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

If "I would do everything I could to prevent that": "What would you do?"

WEST	Brit. US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone Zone

I would Take a Stand Against it Through Counter-Propaganda, Protests, Sabotage, Enlightenment of Other People:

I would tell my opinion, that's the only thing I could do; I would work against it as much as possible by enlightening people; as a former official, I would exert all my influence - but at the moment I can't say how, it always depends on what a party is trying to do; I would contradict it in private talks, write articles in the newspapers; I would try to influence and inform people to the effect that they won't fall into the same mistakes as of 1933; to influence the people by enlightening them, tell them about the danger possibly resulting from such a party; in any case I would never support such a party, I would also warn my friends not to trust the slogans of such a party; I would urge all my acquaintances to oppose it; etc.

7%	5%	9%	8%
----	----	----	----

I Would Not Vote for this Party:

That could only be made possible through an election, then I would vote "No"; the only possibility would be through a vote; I would not vote for it, I can't say at the moment what else I would do then; at an election I would vote against it; etc.

4	4	4	6
---	---	---	---

I Would Support the Democratic Parties, Opposing Groups:

Would join a counter-party; would support the real democratic parties, would become a member of those; would participate in meetings against this party; would attend meetings aiming against such a party and would give financial aid; would form any organizations that would oppose such a party - it is also a matter of measures being laid down in the constitution; one can't do much against it, I would support the democratic parties through my vote; would vote at an election consistently for a party that is against it; etc.

3	2	3	2
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

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WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The Single Individual Cannot Do Anything Against it-
Except to Remain Passive (Not to Join the Party, not to
Support it, etc.):

The single individual can't do anything if from the side of the government nothing is done to prevent it; it is hard to say, in any case I wouldn't do anything for this party; my attitude toward it would be indifferent, I wouldn't be active in any way, but would object to it thereby; I would not support it; all other parties should oppose to it, an individual alone can't do anything; I would not join such a party, I couldn't do anything else against it; etc.

2% 2% 2% 3%

I Would Not Vote for this Party and Would Furthermore Take
a Stand against it:

The first thing would be to vote against it; then I would warn all people around which I work of voting for such a party; at an election I would definitely vote against it - I would do the necessary enlightening among my friends; I would not vote for it and urge all my friends to do the same; I would just not vote for it and furthermore would risk a mouth; I would not vote for this party - I would enlighten my fellow-citizens; I would not vote for it and would protest against it; would vote against it, wouldn't know anything else - at the most, would warn the people around whom I work; etc.

2 2 2 2

It is the Government's Concern - I would Demand that the
Government Take Measures Against this Party:

I would want the government to expel the leader of such a party; there should be a vote by ballot, nothing else can be done - thus, a pretext must be created for the government to prohibit such a party; the government should do something; would demand the banning of the party; etc.

1 1 1 1

I Would Do Anything Against It(general):

I would do anything against it - not comply with anything coming from this side; etc.

1 * 1 3

Other Opinions:

I would be in an unfortunate situation, I wouldn't know because eventually one wouldn't have any protection - the SA in the past times had more to say shortly before the seizing of power than the police had; etc.

1 1 1 *

No Opinion / No Answer:

1 2 1 1
22%** 19%** 24%** 26%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

If one studies the comparative tabulations below, it will be noted that the various kinds of reactions to the possibility of an NSDAP-like movement returning to power in Germany are not associated with large differences in judgment about what was good and what was evil in National Socialism. There is somewhat more frequent citing of alleged goods by the more pro-Nazi elements, and somewhat less frequent citing of evils - but the similarities are much more marked than the differences. It will be recalled that this is the very same pattern of comparisons that were obtained between respondent, who saw more good than evil in National Socialism versus those who saw the contrary.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"
(CARD)

I would do everything I could to prevent it

I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it

I would not care

I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it

I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it

No opinion

	Would do everything I could to prevent it	Dislike but would do nothing against it	Would like to see it happen	Don't care	No opinion
"What do you think was <u>good</u> in the ideas of National Socialism?"					
Good social welfare	41%	42%	52%	30%	18%
Good job opportunities and living standard	38	53	60	43	32
Nothing was good	16	4	1	5	3
Good organization, discipline - security	12	13	14	6	5
Controlled and sound economic policy	11	9	14	7	3
Youth education, labor service, Hitler Youth, physical training	8	11	14	6	1
Extensive construction (Autobahn, settlements, etc.)	6	7	5	5	3
Realizing of the national ideas	3	2	4	3	1
The idea itself was good - but carried out badly	1	1	1	*	*
Everything was good	*	1	3	-	1
Other opinions	5	5	9	4	2
No opinion / No answer	7	11	4	30	51
	148%***	159%***	181%***	139%***	120%***

"What do you think was evil in the ideas of National Socialism?"

No freedom, dictatorship	41%	43%	21%	16%	9%
The race policy, the persecution of the Jews	35	36	43	19	13
Preparation for war, rearmament, war	29	25	29	25	21
Violence, cruelty, the concentration camps	21	20	22	10	8
No freedom of religion (Persecution of the Church)	18	20	19	9	9
Poor foreign policy, imperialism	16	12	15	7	3
Dominant position of the party	9	7	9	5	2
False propaganda, empty promises	4	1	2	1	1
Everything was bad	4	1	-	3	1
Nothing was bad	*	1	2	4	1
Other opinions	5	3	4	6	3
No opinion / No answer	4	9	4	30	51
	186%***	178%***	170%***	135%***	122%***

(No. of cases:)

(239)

(362)

(161)

(276)

(155)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

• Readers will note that for the purposes of this and following similar tables the two pro-Nazi alternatives have been combined and the answer categories placed in a slightly different order.

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A HYPOTHESIS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ...

It may of course be argued that what the above pattern proves is that neo-Nazis are people who are willing to take the evils of National Socialism (for someone else) in return for what they consider to be highly desirable advantages - principally economic. Undoubtedly such thinking plays a role among hard-core elements. But one should not overlook another possible interpretation of neo-Nazi thinking, that it may not for many derive from seeing more good and less evil in National Socialism, or a willingness to take the evil with the good, but rather derives from a belief or a hope that what are considered to be very real goods that National Socialist ideas contained can be achieved while at the same time avoiding the evils the movement fell into.

Anti-Nazis possibly share the judgment of most of the nations which fought Nazism that the above cannot be done - that it is the essence of Nazism that the "good" features were obtained in such ways as to lead inevitably to the evils. Such a point of view would maintain that war, suppression, violence, and concentration camps were inevitable consequences of the National Socialist philosophy. And that whatever prosperity obtained was built upon the quicksand of war preparations and exploitation of elements within Germany and peoples without.

In such a framework of interpretation, a considerable part of present day neo-Naziism is not so much a willingness to have National Socialism restored with all its goods and its evils, but a failure to have learned the linkage between Nazi goods and Nazi evils.

If such an hypothesis appears plausible - and it should, of course, be subject to further investigation - one important implication that would seem to be untailed is that the wholesale condemnation of National Socialist ideas that implicitly or explicitly characterized the orientation of the occupation was - though understandable - logically and psychologically faulty. Reorientation efforts might have done better to stress that there was nothing wrong per se with some of the elements of Nazism - full employment, pensions, good roads and the like - but there are good and bad ways to go about achieving those ends, and that National Socialist philosophy pursued such objectives through measures leading inevitably to aggression, concentration camps, exploitation of minorities and the other admitted evils of the movement.

It is possible that many Germans do not adequately understand the linkage between the good and the evil in National Socialism because they have never been adequately taught. It is possible that if more can be done to convince Germans, not that everything about National Socialism was bad, but that the goods were rooted in evils - neo-Naziism might considerably diminish as a problem in Western Germany.

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IV. SOME FURTHER INSIGHTS INTO ATTITUDES AND CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO NEO-NAZISM

GENERAL ATTITUDES AND NEO-NAZISM ...

Study of the series of cross-comparisons below will disclose that respondents who reveal anti-Nazi orientations are also the ones who tend to have associated general attitudes which are considered desirable by Western standards. Conversely the more neo-Nazi orientations tend to be associated with less desirable general attitudes.

The more anti-Nazi appear to be:

- (1) Relatively more widely for a close European integration;
- (2) Relatively more widely for German participation in a European rather than in a national army (though preponderant sentiment in all groups is now for national type);
- (3) To a more limited degree, relatively more widely opposed to neutrality in the East-West struggle;
- (4) Relatively less widely of the opinion that the West German government is but a puppet of the Western powers.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?" (CARD)

I would do everything I could to prevent it

I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it

I would not care

I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it

I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it

No opinion

Would do everything to prevent it	Dislike but would do noth- ing against it	Would like to see it happen	Don't care opinion	No opinion
--	---	---	--------------------------	---------------

"Herr Braun and Herr Schulze are discussing what Germany's policy should be when East and West Germany are reunited and the four occupation powers have left Germany?"

Herr Schulze says: I am of the opinion that Germany should try to form a common government together with the other European nations. That would not only contribute to the welfare of Germany but to that of the other West European nations as well.

Herr Braun says: I am of the opinion that Germany should rather remain by herself - as she has been in the past - because the Germans know best what is good for themselves; only then the common welfare of all Germans will receive necessary attention.

Which of these two opinions comes almost closest to your own?"

Herr Schulze	58%	47%	35%	26%	17%
Herr Braun	36	44	60	51	35
Qualified replies	2	3	4	2	*
No opinion / No answer	4	6	1	21	48
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of Cases:)	(239)	(362)	(161)	(276)	(155)

(cont'd on next page)

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Would do everything to prevent it	Dislike but would do noth- ing against it	Would like to see it happen	Don't care	No opinion
--	---	---	---------------	---------------

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in a defense of West Europe. In case West Germany participated in the defense of West Europe, which way would you consider preferable?"

A West German national army should be established	53%	56%	69%	39%	21%
German troop contingents should be integrated into a general West European army	32	25	19	10	8
Qualified replies	7	5	4	6	5
No opinion / No answer	8	14	8	45	66
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle; should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it altogether?"

Side with West	50%	35%	37%	23%	14%
Side with East	*	*	-	-	-
Try to keep out of it	45	57	57	56	40
No opinion / No answer	5	8	6	21	46
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, or do you think that the West German government has enough independence?"

If "Too much influence":

"It is said that the West German government is only a puppet government and can only do what the Western powers prescribe. Do you share this opinion or not?"

Too much influence	82%	69%	77%	46%	27%
Yes, is puppet government	26%	22%	37%	18%	7%
No, is not a puppet government	52	44	37	24	15
Don't know whether or not it is a puppet government	4	3	3	4	5
Independent enough	10	15	14	12	6
No opinion / No answer	8	16	9	42	67
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of Cases:)	(239)	(362)	(161)	(276)	(155)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

The idea has been expressed on occasion that neo-Nazism may be in large part a consequence of economic difficulties - not so much of absolute income level, but of dissatisfaction with economic achievements at whatever level. The returns below yield some indication of the operation of such a factor in the somewhat more widespread dissatisfaction to be found among the most distinctly neo-Nazi group - those who candidly state they would like to see a Nazi-like movement return to power. But the figures make it equally clear that the relationship between economic dissatisfaction and neo-Nazism is not a particularly close one - as measured by the questions employed.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"
(CARD)

I would do everything I could to prevent it
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it
I would not care
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it
I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it
No opinion

Would do everything to prevent it
Dislike but would do nothing against it happen
Would like to see it
Don't care
No opinion

"In general, are you satisfied, or dissatisfied with the development of your economic situation during the past year?"

	4%	5%	4%	3%	3%
Very satisfied	42	50	35	42	45
Fairly satisfied	43	33	46	41	39
Dissatisfied	11	12	15	11	10
Very dissatisfied	*	*	-	3	3
No opinion / No answer	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

If "Dissatisfied":

"What is mainly to blame for the fact that your economic situation is not any better today?"

	29%	29%	35%	31%	27%
The high prices, low salaries and income, lack of capital and purchasing power	16	13	18	13	13
Other economic and social difficulties (lack of housing, unemployment, lack of coal, low industrial capacity)	15	13	10	14	15
The high taxes, low rents and pensions, not enough welfare for the refugees	13	10	16	10	7
The government, the state (their incapability, bad management, their lack of understanding toward different problems, their self-complacency, their sumptuousness)	7	6	7	5	10
Personal and family cares and worries	5	9	11	11	8
The war and its consequences (bombed-out, the future life of the refugees, the poverty of the German Reich)	5	3	3	1	4
The Allies - their measures and their policy (the split of Germany)	3	1	1	3	1
Other opinions	*	*	-	*	*
No opinion / No answer	95%**	84%**	101%**	88%**	85%**
(No. of cases:)	(239)	(362)	(161)	(276)	(155)

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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NEO-NAZISM AND POLITICAL PREFERENCE ...

Examination of the pattern of present day political preferences of the most distinctly neo-Nazi group - those who would like to see a NSDAP-like movement returns to power - reveals in comparison with the other groups:

- (1) Almost as large a representation of SPD and FDP adherents as among the more anti-Nazi groups.
- (2) Appreciably lesser representation of CDU adherents.
- (3) Considerably larger representation of "No party" and "No opinion" elements.

World do everything to prevent it	Dislike but would do noth- ing against it	Would like to see it happen	Don't care	No opinion
--	---	---	---------------	---------------

"Could you tell me which party you personally like best?"

	31%	28%	25%	18%	9%
SPD	27	21	13	15	12
CDU/CSU	10	11	8	2	-
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	3	*	1	-	-
KPD	-	-	2	-	1
SRP	5	8	9	6	3
Other parties	15	16	22	25	21
No party	9	16	20	34	54
No opinion / No answer	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(239)	(362)	(161)	(276)	(155)

* Less than one half of one per cent

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V. GERMAN OPINION ON PRESENT TREND OF ATTITUDES TOWARD NATIONAL SOCIALISM

DO GERMANS THINK BETTER OR WORSE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM TODAY? ...

As a final facet of the present study respondents were asked to express their opinions as to whether National Socialism is thought better of today or worse than just after the war. Judgments of better, it will be noted below, outweigh contrary opinions by a margin of two to one.

"Do you believe that the Germans in general think the same about National Socialism as they did right after the war, or do they think better of it or worse?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Better	35%	35%	35%	34%
Worse	16	16	18	11
The same	22	24	20	20
Partly - Partly	1	1	1	-
No opinion	26	24	26	35
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	British Zone			US Zone		
	North Rhine Westf.	Lower Saxony	Schleswig Holstein	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttbg. Baden
Better	36%	33%	35%	39%	26%	37%
Worse	18	9	14	17	20	16
The same	19	30	35	17	20	25
Partly - Partly	2	1	-	1	-	2
No opinion	25	27	16	26	34	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The opinion that National Socialism is thought better of today bulks most heavily among the more informed segments of the population - the men, the better schooled, and the better off. Such an opinion is also relatively more frequent among younger respondents, trade union members, and veterans than among their counterpart groups.

"Do you believe that the Germans in general think the same about National Socialism as they did right after the war, or do they think better of it or worse?"

	Better	Worse	The same	Partly Partly	No opinion	No. of Cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	42%	18%	23%	1%	16%..100%	587
Women	28	14	21	1	36	606
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	32	15	23	1	29	960
Beyond elementary school	48	20	19	2	11	230
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	27	15	23	1	34	560
Middle and upper class	42	16	22	1	19	633
<u>Income: (per month)</u>						
0 - 299 DM	30	15	23	1	31	791
300 - 399 DM	45	18	23	-	14	204
400DM and more	44	18	18	-	20	196
<u>Age:</u>						
19 - 24 years	39	15	20	*	26	158
25 - 34 "	43	11	23	2	21	235
35 - 44 "	41	17	19	2	21	259
45 - 54 "	32	15	23	-	30	247
55 years and over	24	22	24	*	30	286
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	44	21	20	1	14	279
CDU/CSU	29	24	29	-	18	219
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	47	16	27	2	8	79
Other parties	47	15	26	1	11	93
No party	37	12	23	1	27	233
Don't know	22	8	17	1	52	290
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	45	20	24	2	9	55
Businessmen	48	15	18	1	18	126
White-collar work.	41	23	19	1	16	148
Skilled laborers	40	14	22	1	23	223
Semi-skilled lab.	38	14	24	1	23	171
Dom.&prot. Service	37	19	22	-	22	27
Farmers	24	17	25	-	34	144
Housewives	14	23	9	3	51	35
Unemployed	39	13	28	-	20	54
pen., stud., retir., etc.)	22	14	24	-	40	209
Apprentices						
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	49	19	18	1	13	187
No	33	15	23	1	28	1004
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	34	16	20	1	29	540
Protestants	36	16	24	1	23	599
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	36	16	22	1	25	915
Expellees, Refugees	32	16	23	-	29	278
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	50	16	22	1	11	339
No	33	22	25	-	20	244

REASONS GIVEN FOR BELIEVING NATIONAL SOCIALISM BETTER THOUGHT OF TODAY ...

The major theme that appears to underlie the reasons advanced by those who feel that present day attitudes toward National Socialism are more favorable than just after the war, is that present times suffer by comparison with conditions under the Third Reich.

"Do you believe that the Germans in general think the same about National Socialism as they did right after the war, or do they think better of it or worse?"

If "Better": "Why do the Germans think better about National Socialism today?"

WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Recollection of Better Living Conditions Under National Socialism:

Because at that time we had work and bread and nowadays many a man is in extreme need -- the prices today are higher than those of past time; because one can see what will happen -- our affairs are going from bad to worse -- we think of the good times before the war; the working class wishes those times to return, since they are worse off from year to year; because they can see now how well off they were and how badly off everyone is nowadays; they took care then that we had enough money, that we had work and that the way of living was better; because the workers were better off -- at that time the workers were supported, nowadays they get nothing; because the people realized that at that time we were better off economically; the living standard has been better before the war than it is today; because at that time the possibilities for earning one's living were better -- the people were better off; because at that time there was no unemployment and nobody suffered want; because now they see the difference, at that time the workers were better off; because the workers had been better off during Hitler's time -- and on the whole; nowadays we are not satisfied with the living conditions, because the prices are going up daily, as well as the taxes, and the income remains the same; because most Germans were better off then than they are today; today we have nothing no work, no money, in past times we had a good living; etc.

17% 17% 15% 20%

One Can See Now that Some Things Were Right and Good, the Evil is Forgotten More Quickly, One Thinks More Objectively:

Most Germans have forgotten the evil in the course of time, and today they remember only the good; many people realized now that some things were right, after the war National Socialism was obominated, then everybody talked of the bad only; the former hatred after the terrible end has subsided, human beings generally forget evil things much easier than good things; because the people have calmed down now and the consequences have been forgotten; because ideas of National Socialism have been good and now, since they are worse off, the people see it; they think more about it, separate the good from the evil;; because we have a greater distance now from the events and have seen that things haven't been the way we were told -- they all are guilty of the war; etc.

8 8 9 2

(cont'd on next page)

Dissatisfaction With the Present Government or With the Present Political Parties:

Because they experience the uncapability of the Federal Government continually from their own experience; because the present rulers overdo the political machinations of the former rulers - struggle for the best positions without considering the people; as a result of so many parties and the confusion about these nothing is done for the population, in past times, anything done was done for the people; formerly we did not have such bad management in the government; one can see that the present government is formed only of scoundrels; because they see that today's rulers don't keep their promises either; since they have been disappointed by the present government, for instance regarding the equalization of burdens, taxes, etc.;

5% 5% 5% 4%

Disappointment with Occupation Program and/or Democracy:

Because they are enslaved by the Americans and the other occupation powers - they don't give us enough freedom, therefore, the National Socialists are in the running again; because the Allies did too much wrong, they promised right and freedom and haven't kept much of it; the occupation powers didn't show their best sides; because the situation today is worse, because they are disappointed with the Western powers which aren't doing anything better - if I inveigh against something like the West does, then I should do it better; because in the meantime they realized that a democracy doesn't offer anything like the Germans expect; they made bad experiences all the time, democracy gave poor examples, it can't do it any better; because the young people have been disappointed in democracy; because they expected more of democracy than has really occurred; etc.

4 3 5 2

Nothing is Done Better Today:

Actually nothing is done better today; because nothing has improved since; because experiences have been poor up to now - now they also talk much and don't keep their promises; because nothing better followed, it's growing worse from day to day; etc.

2 2 2 4

The Third Reich Provided Order and Security:

In the Third Reich we knew only security and order which aren't much to be noted today; because on the whole everything was going well in past times, one has to admit that; everything was in tight order; etc.

1 1 2 2

The People of Today Think Better about National Socialism From Ignorance, Stupidity, Short-sightedness, and Political Inexperience:

From stupidity and because they forget easily, and the majority have not the faintest idea about politics at all; etc.

1 * 1 1

Because Symptoms of a Revival of National Socialism are existent:

Today one can see that many people are for National Socialism again; because National Socialism has revived in the SRP (Socialist Reichs Party); etc.

* 1 * -

Other Opinions:

Because Germany at that time could record a certain recovery from previously bad times - perhaps they want to get rid of the occupation forces and might reach the goal this way; the denazification has been discontinued, that's the best proof for it; I don't know anything else; by the bad experiences of the post-war time; etc.

$\frac{1}{39\%}$ $\frac{1}{38\%}$ $\frac{1}{40\%}$ $\frac{2}{37\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

REASONS CITED FOR BELIEVING NATIONAL SOCIALISM LESS WELL THOUGHT OF TODAY

The relatively small proportion who feel that National Socialism is less well thought of today than immediately after the war argue mainly that Germans are now suffering the consequences of that regime and have learned the truth in the meantime about the evils of the Third Reich.

"Do you believe that the Germans in general think the same about National Socialism as they did right after the war, or do they think better of it or worse?"

If "Worse": "Why do the Germans think worse of National Socialism today?"

WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

We Suffer From the Consequences of that Regime Today:

Because today we suffer from the consequences - economic need, occupation costs etc.; we now see what this regime resulted in; because the consequences of this plague are steadily increasing and more and more people have to suffer from the misery which the party bequeathed to us; the people know that in 1945 National Socialism left them in the greatest misery that ever afflicted us; because all that misery which the Nazis started really takes effect today; because National Socialism is responsible for our present state of misery; because today we can see what it resulted in; because the people know today that they brought us nothing but misery; they have realized that Hitler caused our misery; because we have lost our homes and property; the people think worse of it today because they lost everything, they were expelled, they had to give up their homes - and everything because of the Nazis; because they lost everything due to National Socialism; etc.

6% 5% 7% 6%

The Germans Have Been Enlightened in the Meantime and Learned the Truth about the Past:

Because their deeds are known now - in the past we never saw any of it; in the meantime the Germans were informed about it and have realized what was done with the program by a criminal leadership; because a lot of the evil deeds became public afterwards; much of it was heard of after the war - about the KZ's and the persecution of the Jews - only because of this knowledge we see National Socialism in a different light and therefore we think worse of it; because the people were enlightened by the press and the radio; because I have heard of too many things that have happened; because the people know more about it today - many of us Germans were too much under the influence of National Socialism right after the war; one heard of so many evil things afterwards which one didn't know about right after the war; because today the people have a better knowledge of the past - especially through the Nuremberg trials; because many crimes are revealed today about which we didn't know anything before; etc.

4 4 6 2

(cont'd on next page)

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	WEST	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone

The Germans See the Difference Between Dictatorship and Democracy:

Because today they see how freely they can live and how suppressed they were under National Socialism; because only now one can see the consequences - one has more personal freedom now; because there is freedom of religion for everybody - the people see now that they can speak as they feel like without having to fear that they'll be punished for it as it used to be in the past; because experiences of the post war period taught the people that authoritarian states are outdated - the whole West is democratic; etc.

2%	2%	2%	2%
----	----	----	----

German Remember the Evil Consequences:

Our experiences during the period of the Nazi regime are so bitter that we don't want to be reminded of it anymore; the people turned away from it because they don't want to experience another war like that; because the Germans know that it would take the same course as in the past - would result in the same catastrophe; etc.

2	2	2	2
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They Made False Promises to Us:

Because they didn't keep what they promised and what we hoped for - everything turned out differently and ended in catastrophe; they said a lot of things which turned out to be untrue; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Other Opinions:

I can't give any reasons for it; because we lost the war; Because we are economically better off today; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{1}{17\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{16\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{19\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{12\%}$ **
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* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

02732

THE GERMAN APPRAISAL OF THE ALLIED FORCES IN WEST GERMANY
With Recommendations for Improved Citizen-

Soldier Relations

Classification changed to
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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This report on the German appraisal of the Allied forces in West Germany is based on a survey made from November 21 - December 6, 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. A stratified, probability sample of 1200 cases, representative of the population in the US, British, and French zones of Germany was used.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung G.m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

I. AS FIGHTING MEN, THE AMERICAN FORCES IN WEST GERMANY ARE HELD IN LOW ESTEEM BY LARGE PROPORTIONS OF THE WEST GERMAN PUBLIC.

- ... American troops are not expected to put up a good fight if the Russians should attack, according to the preponderance of the West German public. Only 27 per cent anticipate American soldiers would fight well in the event of Russian aggression; in contrast, 34 per cent wager they would fight poorly, 15 per cent say "so-so," and a quarter are not prepared to judge. (Judgments on the British and the French follow a similar pattern.)
- ... The German public's choice for the "worst" soldier among those compared (Germans, Americans, British, Russians, and French) falls largely between the American and the French, the former being so designated by 20 per cent, the latter by 25 per cent of the population. The British or Russian soldier is less frequently named as "worst," the German not at all.

Even as "second-best" soldier the American makes a poor showing. The Russian leads in this class, being named by three out of ten. Only 12 per cent grant this distinction to the American soldiers. The British vie with the Americans for this position, and the French follow closely.

Not unexpectedly, the German remains largely the prototype of the "best" soldier in West German thinking, with scarcely anyone willing to confer this distinction on soldiers of any other nationality - American, British or Russian.

- ... Among the qualities ascribed to the German soldier which contribute to his excellence are: discipline, courage, high ideals and patriotism. The general failure to consider the American soldier even as worthy of comparison with the German suggests that it is at least tacitly assumed that American troops are deficient in these qualities. Added indication of this is the fact that superior materiel rather than the heroic virtues are cited as reasons by the handful who rate the American as the best soldier.
- ... Adverse judgments on the military quality of the American soldiers stationed in West Germany do not seem to be related to any important degree to the opinion that they are not representative of American troops in other places. The view that the American soldiers in Germany are as good or better than US soldiers elsewhere outweighs the contrary opinion by almost a three to one preponderance. This also applies to the British; with the French there is a two to one preponderance.

II. THE LACK OF ESTEEM FOR THE COMBAT QUALITIES OF THE AMERICAN FORCES IN WEST GERMANY DOES NOT APPEAR TO DERIVE FROM IMPRESSIONS GAINED OF THE SOLDIERS' OFF-DUTY CONDUCT. THE PREVAILING OPINION IS THAT AMERICAN SOLDIERS BEHAVE WELL, ALL THINGS CONSIDERED.

... Contrary to reports and rumors, only a small fraction (8%) in the US Zone asserts that American soldiers reputedly behave badly. Majority opinion (55%) is that their conduct is good; 20 per cent judge it fair, and 17 per cent have no opinion. Similar estimates are made of the behavior of British and French troops by residents of the British and French zones, respectively.

Moreover, the reputation for good conduct of the troops is best among the people better qualified to judge - those who either live in vicinities where soldiers are stationed or who are acquainted with some of them.

... On conduct, the American soldier scores well in another respect. He conveys a good impression of his countrymen to six out of ten of the people asked to rate him on this point. His success as a personal ambassador of the United States is equaled by the British soldier as a representative of his country. Both are accorded a higher rating in this respect than is the French soldier. Again, the more contact people have with the soldiers, the more frequently do they say the soldiers give a good impression of their compatriots.

... American soldiers in Germany are commended on their conduct on another, and, from the German viewpoint, more rigorous test; a two-thirds majority assert they act just about the way German soldiers could be expected to act under similar circumstances. A minority (20%) alleges their conduct to be worse.

Here, again, judgments in similar vein are made about the British and French soldiers, though fewer make adverse comparisons between the British and the German soldiers than do so regarding the French (or the Americans) vis-a-vis the Germans.

... Opinions on troop behavior, however, are one thing, on military qualities quite another, as is clearly evident in the analysis of relationships between the two. Views on the comparative conduct of Allied and German troops appear to have no bearing on comparative ratings of the "best" and the "worst" soldiers. Whether or not the Allied soldiers are considered to act as well as, or worse than, Germans would in similar circumstances, the German soldier holds his place in lofty isolation as the best soldier, and the American remains bracketed with the French soldier as the worst.

... An added indication of the armed forces reputation for good conduct in West Germany is the more notable because it is indirect: large proportions apparently have nothing to criticize about the soldiers' conduct even when adverse opinions are deliberately sought. (To argue that this mainly reflects a discrete reticence is difficult in view of the uncomplimentary judgments on fighting qualities.) Thus, for example, half of the people who rate the troops' behavior as from good to fair say they have nothing to criticize when specifically asked what they do not like about the soldiers' conduct. And even the harshest critics of the troops' behavior when queried on reasons for misconduct tend to excuse the soldiers on the ground that they are simply following the usual behavior pattern of all soldiers.

Finally, about three-quarters of the West German population claims neither to have seen nor heard of any instances of misconduct on the part of the troops.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

- ... However, though the above findings apply in broad outline to the American forces, their behavior is more frequently criticized by US Zone residents than is that of the British or French by people in their occupation zones.

Proportionately more US Zone residents than those in the French, and especially the British, zones claim to have seen or heard of misconduct by soldiers. The figures for the three zones in the order named above are: 39%, 21%, and 17%. Moreover, American soldiers are most frequently named as the guilty party. Drunkenness, assaults and brawling lead as instances of bad conduct on the part of the Americans.

- ... The possible effect of the greater publicity given to alleged American misbehavior in the German press, both West and East, on this adverse minority opinion of American conduct cannot be definitely determined by the data on hand. A suggestion that such publicity plays no small role is the fact that twice as many of those who cite American misconduct have only heard of it than have witnessed it personally.
- ... In a general rating of Allied troop conduct, the British soldiers lead as best behaved, being accorded this rating by 27 per cent of the public. The Americans come second with a 19 per cent vote and the French are a low third with only 2 per cent mention. Indicative of the difficulties of making a judgment which for many can only be based on hearsay or preconceptions, is the fact that 41 per cent express no opinion and an added 11 per cent take refuge in the judgment that "they are all the same." The Americans are tied with the British in the estimates of US Zone residents, but the British lead in their zone of occupation and maintain their lead in the French Zone, whereas the French are in third place in the French Zone as in others. The French are named as the "worst behaved" soldiers by a ratio of three to one over the Americans and about twelve to one over the British, but an even larger proportion (50%) than in the case of the best behaved troops cannot make a comparison.

III. THE GERMAN PEOPLE ATTRIBUTE BUT LIMITED SECURITY VALUE TO THE ALLIED FORCES' PRESENCE. AND SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS ASIDE, THE DISADVANTAGES ARE SEEN AS STRONGLY OUTWEIGHING THE ADVANTAGES.

- ... The Allied forces make some contribution to German security according to majority opinion (50%). But only half of this group consider this contribution of sufficient value to recommend the bringing in of additional contingents; the other half think that more troops would be not only generally disadvantageous, but cost more than they are worth. And an appreciable minority (22%) asserts that Germany would be more secure if all the Allied troops left; an equal proportion cannot make up their minds.
- ... It is difficult to determine from the reasons given by those who want the troops to leave as well as by those who oppose additions to troop strength whether these people are largely impelled by the belief that the Germans do not get their money's worth in protection, or are so concerned with the costs that they are blind to values received. In any case, the high costs of the Allied troops together with their housing demands, both of which are coupled with charges of extravagant and luxurious living, make up half of the arguments against bringing more Allied soldiers to Germany. Only infrequently mentioned in this connection are either neutralist sentiments or the Communist line that the presence of Allied troops will provoke war.

- ... The large preponderance is not able to think of any benefits, other than security. (And, as already stated, a considerable fraction do not even acknowledge security benefits.) Thus, a third bluntly states that there are no advantages whatsoever, and a fifth merely repeats security benefits, though in the question asked, the security issue was specifically excluded as a basis for consideration. The remainder largely cite material advantages.
 - ... In contrast, the West Germans have little or no difficulty in pointing out drawbacks resulting from having Allied troops in their country. Among them, monetary costs and requisitioning again bulk very large, being named by 85 per cent as against 21 per cent mention of other disadvantages.
 - ... Whatever the merits of their case, many West Germans clearly feel they are not getting their Mark's worth from the Allied troops either in security or otherwise. Closely associated with this skepticism is the feeling that the three Allies are continuing to enjoy the prerogatives that come with an occupation of a conquered country. Accordingly they find it difficult to see where the sharing of defense burdens enters into the picture.
 - ... Further doubts on the degree of security which the Allied forces afford West Germany arise from opinions on how those forces are likely to meet a Russian onslaught. As stated previously, the preponderant West German view is that the Americans, British and French soldiers would not fight well should the Russians attack. This sentiment, it is important to note, is not confined to those who think the best way to protect Germany is for the Allies to leave. It is shared, though to a somewhat lesser degree, by those who recommend additional Western troops as a security safeguard.
- IV. DESPITE THEIR CRITICISM AND DOUBTS OF ALLIED MILITARY STRENGTH AND PURPOSE, WEST GERMANS SHOW CONSIDERABLE GOOD WILL TOWARD THE ALLIES. INCREASED SOCIAL CONTACTS ARE RECOMMENDED AS A MEANS OF OVERCOMING NATIONAL BARRIERS.
- ... West Germans follow the logic of their conclusions on troop behavior, by giving majority support to increased social contacts between German citizens and Allied military personnel. The residents of the US Zone are most frequently (57%) of this persuasion, those in the French Zone, least so (42%).
 - The minority opposed, stresses the basic antagonisms inherent in the conqueror-conquered status as an argument against such associations.

- ... Participation of the soldiers at public or quasi-public gatherings, especially at sports events and church services, would, however, be welcomed more frequently than at private family gatherings or social affairs such as public dances, according to replies to a checklist query.
- ... But when specifically questioned on the point, a majority are willing to extend the hospitality of their homes to the soldiers.
- ... Numerous suggestions are forthcoming on how Allied-German relations could be improved. They divide in frequency between suggestions as to what the soldiers could do and what the public alone or the public together with the soldiers could do. Joint group meetings (e.g. for discussion, sports, etc.), more evidence of mutual good will and friendliness, and learning each others' language are among the proposals most often made as steps to be taken mutually or by the German public.
- ... Suggestions directed at the troops are revealing, not because they offer positive courses of action (most do not), but because they disclose again the petty irritations and frictions incident to an occupation. Aside from negative advice to the troops - stop being arrogant, stop misbehaving, stop playing around with German girls, stop being so reserved and unfriendly - the proposals generally go quite beyond the scope of an individual soldier, or even a Post commander. Relations, it is said, would be improved if the Allies abandoned their segregated, "off limit" clubs, theatres, restaurants and churches, if they put an end to residential compounds and requisitioning, and if a peace treaty were signed and the West Germans were to gain real equality with the Allies.

- 0 -

I. GENERAL VIEWS ON THE PRESENCE OF ALLIED TROOPS IN WEST GERMANY

GERMAN SECURITY BETTER SAFEGUARDED BY ALLIED TROOPS ...

The armed forces of the Western powers stationed in Germany are seen as safeguarding West German security by a majority (58%) of the public. From this it may be assumed that the concept of the West's forces in Germany as defense rather than occupation troops is beginning to take hold.

However, among the majority seeing West German security enhanced by the troops' presence, as many (30%) believe that sufficient forces are now on hand for this purpose as believe additional troops should be brought in (28%).

Moreover, a considerable minority (22%) is of the opinion that it would be better for the West Germans, from the security point of view, if all Western troops left, and an equal proportion (20%) is not prepared to form an opinion on the matter.

"If you consider the question of West Germany's security, what would be better for us - if all troops of the Western powers leave West Germany, if as many troops remain here as there are at present, or if more troops were brought here?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Troops should leave West Germany	22%	22%	22%	17%
As many troops should remain as are here already	30	30	31	30
More troops should be brought to West Germany	28	28	27	30
No opinion	20	20	20	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

HIGH COSTS CITED ...

Neither undue sensitiveness about an "occupied" status nor neutralistic sentiments, it is very important to note, appear to enter, at least directly into judgments on this issue with any frequency. The group advocating complete withdrawal of Western troops as well as the group believing that no increase in Western troop strength is required for German security tend rather to stress two factors: first, the high monetary cost of the Western forces to the German people together with allegedly undue requisitioning demands; second, the belief that West German security would be better protected by German rather than by foreign troops.

The latter argument will tend, perhaps, to diminish in pertinency with the establishment of West German armed contingents. The former argument can, however, be expected to continue as long as the German public feels there is reason to believe that the forces of the Western powers stationed in Germany are being accorded a privileged position reminiscent of the era of the occupation rather than as persons sharing with the West German people the obligations of defense against a common danger.

"Why shouldn't the troops remain here in West Germany?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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They cost too much: Because they eat us up - we have to pay it all - what do we need so much occupation for; we shall have to pay all that; because of financial reasons - the occupation costs are enormously high, some officers need 3 or 4 bathrooms and other luxuries, and furthermore it's completely useless....; the soldiers' upkeep costs money - their presence is not necessary - it merely costs us money; it would be better for us in all respects - because of the money - we wouldn't have to pay so many taxes anymore; because it cost us our money - we need peace but no troops; it would be less expensive for us - we have to maintain them; because they merely rob us of our things and because it costs our money; that's a waste of money; haven't needed them so far and don't need them now - they cost us a lot of money; all decent people are, of course, against their staying here because of the high costs and because they are foreigners; etc.

9%	8%	11%	6%
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German troops would be better - they would give us more security: What do we need foreign troops for? our own people should be trained for it - enough of them will register voluntarily - and that way we could use the money for ourselves instead of spending it on foreign troops; I'm of the opinion that Germany should establish as much military of her own as she needs for her security and kick the foreigners out; we want a German army; we want to have an army of our own - it will do more for security than any foreign troops whom you cannot trust; because they won't be able to defend us anyway - whether there are more or fewer of them than there are here at present - we can best defend us ourselves as we have done before; we need an army of our own that should ally with the other Western armies; we would already have got much further if the occupation had left - only a real German army can provide for our security; we need a German Wehrmacht; they are of no use to our security - in case of trouble they would clear out; etc.

4	5	3	4
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Increase of the danger of war: Then our property will be again destroyed - they'll wage war; to avoid a war; because it would decrease the danger of war - the Russians wouldn't be provoked by re-armament; it might avoid war - well, the Russians too are fed up with war and the presence of so many troops in West Germany might give them the feeling of being threatened; if they stayed here it might increase the danger of our getting mixed up with the next war; if they fight battles here we are the ones who have to suffer - I mean to say that we have suffered enough and our country would be the battle field - what does security mean in this case; etc.

4	3	4	4
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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In order to regain freedom and independence - we can help ourselves: So that we regain our freedom and can do what we want - then we would be left in peace; because we have to regain our independence; to become independent - if they leave us in peace we industrious Germans would crawl back to the top; it prevents us from doing the work we want to do in Germany - we are being suppressed; we have to get back on our feet, we would act with much more conscientiousness if we were left alone (the Germans are at their post with greater sincerity if they fight on their own behalf - they have always been the best soldiers, all the others ran away in the East); an occupied country is not free; we Germans want to be on our own and want to have the say ourselves; etc.

3%	3%	3%	4%
----	----	----	----

We don't need them - they are of no use to us - they won't help us anyway: Everyone should remain in his own country - I don't see any reason we need them; we don't need these troops anymore; they are of no use anyway; these soldiers could be of no use if we were attacked by the East; etc.

3	3	4	3
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They require accommodations - they increase the housing shortage: People live crammed together here - they'll take our quarters away; to win more space - housing space; because they are an unnecessary encumbrance for us - they merely occupy our quarters; all the troops should leave West Germany because we want to have our houses for ourselves; etc.

1	2	1	1
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Others: We should be without any troops and remain neutral like Switzerland - in case of an attack it is up to the Western powers to decide whether they defend us; the zonal borders would be abolished; because it has led to overpopulation; etc.

$\frac{2}{26\%}$	$\frac{3}{27\%}$	$\frac{1}{27\%}$	$\frac{1}{23\%}$
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Why shouldn't more troops be brought to West Germany?"

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	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>They cost too much:</u>				
We would have to pay even more taxes; the costs are too high - we cannot bear them; it would mean a financial burden to us; because it is too expensive for us; we have to pay for that - if they pay for it themselves - why shouldn't they send more troops over here?; we would have to pay even more - the taxes are too high already now; for financial reasons - if you look at them you go crazy; because they need so much food - we would have to pay more taxes; because of the occupation costs; etc.	16%	13%	19%	18%
<u>There are already enough troops here, they offer us enough security:</u>				
Because these troops will do for our protection; they have enough troops to avoid war; they are enough as they are; we have enough here, we don't like to have only foreigners in our country, we cannot move about freely; also, the Russians won't attack yet for the time being; it is not necessary, they say that the Russians won't attack; I have the impression it is sufficient in order to keep Bolshevism out of the country; etc.	5	5	5	6
<u>It would increase the danger of war - provoke a Russian attack:</u>				
War could more easily begin, the Russians might feel threatened and attack some day; because Russia might take exception; if more troops were brought over here it might increase the wish of the Russians to attack us; etc.	3	4	2	4
<u>They need too much housing - increase the housing shortage:</u>				
Then they'll need so many apartments, the housing shortage will increase; no more houses should be requisitioned; the immense demands for accommodation cannot possibly be satisfied; etc.	3	3	4	4
<u>We should or shall soon have military forces of our own:</u>				
We should have a military of our own to reduce unemployment; because they keep saying Germany would build a military of her own; Germany should be made strong - in the military and the economic field; German troops should be formed instead - it is less expensive and better for our security; etc.	3	3	1	2
<u>The number does not matter - they offer us no protection or security anyway:</u>				
In case of war they'll all clear out; more of them are of no use - if the Russians come more troops cannot do anything - they'll all clear out; whether there are more or less troops it won't matter - we are never secure; if the Russians come, some more troops of the Western powers won't stop them; the Russians will break through anyhow, whether there are more or less Allied troops here; if it comes to fighting they'll need us, the Americans and the British are of no great use if the Germans don't help; etc.	2	2	2	1
<u>Other answers:</u>				
I don't know whether more troops should be brought over here, but it is evident we need some; because it does not change the situation much; etc.	3 1 36%	2 2 34%	2 2 37%	3 - 30%
<u>No opinion:</u>				

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON ALLIED TROOPS AND SECURITY ...

Only minority segments in all population groups assert that the interests of West German security would be furthered by the withdrawal of troops of the Western powers. The higher status levels - the better educated, the upper income and socio-economic groups - as well as the men tend more frequently than their opposites to recommend an increase in Allied troop strength.

"If you consider the question of West Germany's security, what would be better for us - if all troops of the Western powers leave West Germany, if as many troops remain here as there are at the present, or if more troops were brought here?"

	Troops should leave Germany	As many troops should remain as are here already	More troops should be brought to West Germany	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	24%	31%	36%	9%...100%	559
Women	19	30	21	30	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	23	29	25	23	980
Beyond elementary school	16	34	41	9	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	24	28	24	24	
Middle and upper class	19	32	32	17	595
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	24	29	24	23	776
300 - 399 DM	18	32	34	16	223
400 DM and more	17	31	36	16	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	23	30	30	17	508
40 years and over	21	30	26	23	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	24	35	33	8	301
CDU/CSU	13	35	32	20	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	17	27	47	9	91
Other parties	29	32	24	15	94
No party	30	22	24	24	247
Don't know	18	26	13	43	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	14	33	35	18	49
Businessmen	22	29	32	17	151
White-collar workers	22	32	34	12	148
Skilled laborers	30	28	28	14	206
Semi-skilled laborers	19	37	25	19	126
Farmers	20	29	24	27	152
Not employed; students, pensioners, retir.; etc.	25	22	27	26	59
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	20	32	26	22	534
Protestants	22	28	30	20	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	22	31	27	20	943
Expellees, Refugees	18	26	32	24	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	22	31	39	8	324
No	28	31	31	10	233

SECURITY ASIDE, TROOPS REPRESENT MORE LOSS THAN PROFIT ...

Security considerations aside, however, the presence of Allied troops on their soil is viewed by the preponderance of the West German people as at best a mixed blessing. Half of the population (51%) claim that when the defense aspect is left out of the picture, the Western armed forces bring greater disadvantages than advantages to the population, and an added 15 per cent, though more circumspect or equivocal in their replies, apparently are of much the same opinion. Only a small fraction (14%) considers that the German people stand to gain rather than to lose in general, because Allied soldiers are stationed in West Germany. Again, 20 per cent are undecided

"Aside from the question of West Germany's security, do you believe that the presence of Allied troops brings more advantages or more disadvantages to the West German population?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
More advantages	14%	14%	16%	11%
More disadvantages	51	52	49	50
Partly - partly	8	7	9	9
Neither/nor	7	7	8	4
No opinion	20	20	18	26
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Not only do the disadvantages of having Allied troops in Germany outweigh the advantages to half of the West German public when the security factor is ignored, but when further queried they find it difficult to cite any advantages at all which might accrue to them from the continued presence of Western Allied troops in their country. Conversely, they have slight trouble in specifying disadvantages. This is found in replies to two follow-up questions put to the 80 per cent of the population prepared to judge on the relative weight of advantages as against disadvantages.

Asked first to cite advantages other than security, a third bluntly state there are none. And almost a fifth (18%) reply with redundant affirmation, mentioning security benefits against either the East threat, or internally. A quarter do bring up advantages other than security, stressing mainly commercial or business benefits, and a few speak of the furthering of international understanding.

The disadvantages as detailed by the West German public are both more numerous and specific. But though the West Germans can specify many drawbacks resulting from the presence of Allied troops stationed in their country, it is important to note at the outset that neither the Communist nor the neutralist claim that the presence of Allied contingents tends to incite war appears to have support among West Germans. Only one per cent mention it. Emphasised as drawbacks are two aspects - the monetary costs (53%), and requisitioning demands (32%). A fraction (11%) holds the troops responsible for various occupation and/or political policies, and a smaller number brings up adverse moral consequences of their presence in West Germany. But the fiscal and requisitioning consequences are by far the most frequently mentioned disadvantages.

For convenience, a summary balance sheet of listed advantages and disadvantages for West Germany is presented below. It is followed by more detailed tables including respondents' comments.

ADVANTAGES		DISADVANTAGES	
<u>Are no advantages</u>	33%	<u>Are no disadvantages</u>	4%
Security against Russia	12	Monetary costs	53
Security (internal)	6	Housing and property requisitioning	32
Business and commercial benefits	16	Interference and control over domestic policies	11
Material aid and donations	5	Adverse influence on morals	5
Furthering international understanding	3	Increased danger of war	1
Miscellaneous	2	Miscellaneous	4
No opinion	3	No opinion	1
	<u>80%</u>		<u>111%*</u>

* Some people listed more than one disadvantage.

COSTS AND REQUISITIONING LEADING DISADVANTAGES ...

Scrutiny of the individual comments on the disadvantages of having the troops in West Germany listed below is not only revealing of the German frame of mind on the issue of the Western troops but is also indicative of the public relations problems which will require some solution before payment either in taxes or services becomes palatable to a considerable segment of the West German public. The West German public continues to regard the charges for the Western troops as part of the occupation. They not only continue to refer to the costs as occupation, not defense, costs, but they bolster their arguments by reference to the "luxurious" living of the troops and their dependents. One thing appears clear from these comments on the disadvantages of the Allied troops' presence in West Germany - so long as the troops and their dependents are seen as being privileged foreigners, the view that their presence is a blessing which the German people are hard put to afford is not likely to diminish greatly.

"And which disadvantages are you thinking of? (Are there any disadvantages?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>They cost us too much money - economic strain -</u> <u>occupation costs - increased taxes and prices :</u> Our money is wasted for occupation costs and therefore we have to pay higher taxes and everything gets more expensive; the high occupation costs have to be borne by the German taxpayer; occupation costs are too high - we are a poor people and have to watch the American troops live in luxury and wealth; the occupation costs - we are almost snowed under with taxes - in my opinion this is the main disadvantage - I can't say more but everything else is connected with that; the occupation costs us a lot of money - we have to starve and pay the taxes and these gentlemen waste it for parties and luxurious accommodations; this costs German capital - our government is forced to raise the prices and taxes; we have to feed them - the newspaper says that Canada feeds her own troops but I am not stupid enough to believe that; etc.	53%	53%	52%	52%
<u>They require housing and therefore increase the</u> <u>housing shortage:</u> They requisition now houses all the time and the furniture gets lost or damaged; the people who had to leave their homes are angry about it; they increase the housing shortage by requisitioning more homes; one can see that they build huge homes for American soldiers and at the same time the housing shortage is so great; the soldiers and their families take up a lot of housing which is badly needed by Germans; we just can't get along since the German government has to furnish so much housing for the troops; etc.	28	29	27	31

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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They interfere with our freedom and economy -

we have no rights - (Ruhr, Saar, dismantling problem);

We can't do what we like with our economy; our government can't act freely to any extent - everything is dictated - see the coal problem, etc.; they curtail our freedom - see passport and currency issues; I just think that a person can move freely in a country that is not occupied by foreign troops; we can't determine anything by ourselves - we are dependent on the others - we would be further ahead if left alone and if they hadn't dismantled our factories; our independence suffers from the occupation; the general disadvantages of an occupation, that is any occupation - they have the right to interfere with the German economy and they also have a say in the administration; the occupation powers act as the victors and we don't have the right to do anything about it - if occupation soldiers do something the German police are not permitted to interfere - they consider us a colonized nation; etc.

11%

11%

11%

11%

Endangers the morals (black market - illegitimate

children - brawls, etc.): Black market is in full bloom due to the soldiers; they support black market; one isn't safe from them, sometimes they manhandle us; we have to nurse the occupation children - black or white - and have to pay for them; no, at the most there are many occupation children - Negro children i.e.; it's bad for the young girls, they can really get a raw deal; etc. 5

5

6

9

Damages by maneuvers - requisitioning of farmland for airports and military structures: The maneuvers caused crop damages and the roads suffered; they need too much territory for their maneuvers and inflict much damage; in Hohenfels the people had to vacate their village; the construction of air ports - they requisitioned good farmland for that; the strategic tensions - they had to take a lot of ground for the construction of air ports and the housing problem increased due to that; the occupation troops need land - they need it for maneuvers, shooting ranges etc.; etc. 4

4

3

5

4

Increased the danger of war: Peace is endangered by the presence of the troops - the Russians feel that they are being attacked; that will get us the hatred of the Russians; the political situation with the East wouldn't be so tense; we are being made into the battle ground; the danger of war has increased by that; etc. 1

1

1

1

-

Other disadvantages: We could use the barracks ourselves - it would be good if our youth got into the Kasernes instead of the Allies - our young men would get an education then and would be taken off the streets and our money would be put to use in a better way; the French are against us - they are infused with Communism and oppose everything - they consider us as enemies - see the cases of Watenstedt-Salzgitter and another Walswerk in the Ruhr District; they brought us freedom of trade - that might be good in the USA but it doesn't work here; besides we could have our own army and defend ourselves with it; etc. 4

4

2

5

6

I don't know of any disadvantages - there aren't any:

I haven't noticed any difficulties yet; I don't think there are any; I don't want to say; no, I don't think so; no, there aren't any disadvantages - they are protecting us; etc. 4

4

4

4

4

No opinion/ No answer:

11%

109%

112%

119%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

HALF CAN THINK OF NO ADVANTAGES OTHER THAN SECURITY ...

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As already noted, a third of the public insists it cannot name any advantages other than security accruing to West Germany from the Allied troops' presence. An added fifth ignore the limitations imposed in the inquiry and repeat the factor of security benefits, either from the Russians (12%) or internally (6%). Most frequently cited by the remainder are economic advantages (16%), material help (5%), and the furtherance of international understanding (3%).

"Which advantages are you thinking of? (Are there any?)"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Economic advantages: It means an advantage to business - our business men can really tell the difference since the soldiers and their dependents buy from us; the more troops here the better in regard to our sale of goods - the occupation soldiers buy a lot here, like clothes and souvenirs and whatever else they can use; it would support business - the troops need all sorts of things and business gets better; the USA send supplies for their soldiers and that way they send something along for the German population - much more trade is going on due to that; trade will increase - the soldiers want to eat and we can sell a lot more meat and agricultural products - the prices will remain stable and we need not sell anything too cheaply; economic advantages for us - they bring foreign currency in here; orders for arms and other industrial products; many people found work with the occupation powers; one million people have work, though we have to pay for it; the refugees would find work with the Allied troops and the economy will be boosted - they (the soldiers) will visit German restaurants; the Germans who work for the Amis have advantages from it; etc.

16%	13%	18%	17%
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Security and support against Russia in case of war: Because it is safer if there are troops around in case of war; the Russians will begin to respect the armament program of the Allies, and won't decide to come here; in case of aggression we would have help, that's all I can think of at the moment; it would only be of advantage in case of war; perhaps the Russians will really be prevented from occupying West German territory; perhaps as a protection until we have our own army; because they are helping us against the Russians and we might get our homelands back that way; etc.

12	13	11	9
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Internal security and order will be maintained: The most important thing is our security - our police force is too weak and the presence of the troops will guarantee order in Germany; it guarantees order and security - certain subversive groups might be successful and the bitterness of the denazified could come into the open; because it guarantees the security of the population and therefore it is the greatest advantage for us - I am only concerned for peace and order here in Germany; I would get a feeling that order prevails here - Nazi activities have already increased too much; they mean protection against Communism and radicalism here in Germany; the advantage is of a political nature - otherwise we could already have had a revolution here in Germany or we would have been absorbed by the East; we are not powerful enough yet to be able to manage without the occupation; political advantages; we have better protection from Communism; etc.

6	6	6	9
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Material help (ERP, food - donations, emigration etc.):

The Americans and British have realized what is at stake - they are aiding us - the American taxpayer can tell; because they are aiding us in our reconstruction; they give presents to children - the McCloy fund; they helped us with food - financial aid in form of credit; in contrast to the Russian occupation in the East Zone the Americans help us with coffee, cigarettes, and food; because we have enough to eat and don't need ration coupons anymore like right after the war and like the people that live under Russian occupation; we do not have rationing anymore and we can thank the Allies for that; we get cheaper food from America - also clothing material - things that we can't get over here; etc.

5%	3%	7%	8%
----	----	----	----

It furthers international understanding: The people get to know more about each other through personal contact - the occupation soldiers get together with the Germans and discuss the problems of their countries; and so the soldiers will get to know Germany and reverse their bad opinion about the Germans; I can't express myself too well - international understanding; through the exchange of opinions, the population gets to meet other nationalities and can learn about their customs; etc.

3	2	2	5
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Other advantages: We are liberated; for all I care, things can happen - the main thing should be to take care of the disabled veterans and the families with many children; I think of the Ami girls - they have an easy time earning their money and they are always well dressed - I only talk about things I have seen with my own eyes - otherwise I don't know of anything; etc.

2	1	4	2
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There are no advantages: I don't know of any; I haven't noticed any; there is no advantage at all because we have to pay for it; I am not well educated politically, I just think that it is more to our disadvantage; they smuggle coffee and cigarettes which the population can buy cheaply, but I don't think that is a real advantage, since the government is cheated out of the duty taxes; there are no advantages because of the occupation costs; etc.

33	36	31	24
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No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{80\%}$	$\frac{4}{78\%}$	$\frac{3}{82\%}$	$\frac{3}{77\%}$
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON ADVANTAGES/DISADVANTAGES

Among all population groups, the most frequently held opinion is that, the question of security aside, the disadvantages incident to the Allied troops' presence in West Germany outweigh the advantages. Men are more inclined than women to hold this view, which is also the tendency among the better educated, and upper socio-economic groups. It will be noted, however, that the better educated are also more likely than people with only elementary schooling to see advantages in the troops' presence.

"Aside from the question of West Germany's security, do you believe that the presence of Allied troops brings more advantages or more disadvantages to the West German population?"

WEST GERMANY	More advantages	More disadvantages	Partly-advantages partly	Neither/nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	16%	57%	9%	8%	10%...100%	559
Women	13	44	7	7	29	636
Education:						
Elementary school	13	49	7	8	23	980
Beyond elementary school	21	55	14	3	7	214
Socio-Economic Status:						
Lower class	13	47	6	8	26	600
Middle and upper class	16	53	11	6	14	595
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	13	49	7	7	24	776
300 - 399 DM	18	51	9	9	13	223
400 DM and more	18	54	13	6	9	195
Age:						
Under 40 years	13	58	8	6	15	508
40 years and over	16	44	8	8	24	684
Party Preference:						
SPD	17	53	10	10	10	301
CDU/CSU	17	48	8	6	21	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	14	55	11	14	6	91
Other parties	20	55	9	5	11	94
No party	11	58	6	5	20	247
Don't know	9	35	6	6	44	200
Occupation:						
Professionals	19	61	14	-	6	49
Businessmen	19	55	6	6	14	151
White-collar workers	15	54	14	9	8	148
Skilled laborers	15	55	7	8	15	206
Semi-skilled laborers	11	55	6	8	20	126
Farmers	11	45	5	7	32	152
Not employed; students, pensioners, retir., etc.	15	41	8	7	29	232
Religion:						
Catholics	15	49	8	8	20	534
Protestants	15	50	8	6	21	609
Origin:						
Natives	15	51	7	7	20	943
Expellees, Refugees	13	48	12	8	19	252
Veterans Status:						
Yes	17	58	9	9	7	324
No	16	56	9	6	13	233

II. EVALUATION OF THE FIGHTING QUALITIES OF THE ALLIED TROOPS

MANY DOUBT TROOPS WOULD FIGHT WELL AGAINST RUSSIANS ...

The security the Allied troops offer by their presence is apparently considered by most West Germans as similar in nature to a windward anchor (and useful as such) rather than as a battlement of marked impregnability. Their speculative preview of the way the Western troops are likely to react to a Russian attack suggests the tenuousness of the security the West Germans believe the troops represent. For the most part, they doubt that the Allied soldiers would put up a good fight against the Russians.

Asked to judge from the troops they presumably know best, i.e. the US troops as rated by residents of the US Zone, the British by those in the British Zone and the French in the French Zone, the overall estimate is as follows: 26 per cent state the Western forces would fight well if the Russians attacked, but 31 per cent believe they would fight poorly, and 14 per cent say "so-so." The remainder are not prepared to express an opinion. It is to be noted that the American and French soldiers are rated as of poor calibre more frequently than are the British.

"According to what you have seen or heard, do you will believe that the (American) (British) (French) soldiers, who are here now, will fight well or poorly in case of Russian aggression?"

	Allied troops	British	American	French
Well	26%	27%	27%	19%
So-so (volunteered)	14	14	15	10
Poorly	31	26	34	40
No opinion	29	33	24	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Belief that the West's soldiers would fight well against the Russians is in the minority even among those recommending an addition to Allied troop contingents in West Germany - which again suggests that the West Germans regard the security afforded by the troops to be far from final. As will be noted in the results of the cross-tabulation presented below, the West Germans who believe their security would be furthered by the withdrawal of the Allied troops are more inclined to take a skeptical view of Allied fighting qualities than are those who recommend that troop contingents remain at their present strength or those who recommend additional strength. However, among the latter groups also the preponderance believes that the Allied forces would not put up too good a fight.

	If Russia Attacked, Allies Would Fight:			
	Well	So-so	Poorly	No opinion
Better for German security:				
Allied troops withdraw	20%	12%	41%	27%...100%
Remain at present strength	30	16	32	22
More troops brought to Germany	32	20	33	15

C O N F I D E N T I A L

LACK OF TRAINING AND UNWILLINGNESS TO DEFEND FOREIGNERS MAINLY SEEN AS REASONS ...

The two leading reasons for stating that Allied troops would do a poor job against the Russians are: first, they are poorly trained, too softened by easy living and not of high quality, and second, they have no interest in defending a foreign country, e.g. Germany. (It will be noted that the Americans are the soldiers most frequently specified as poorly trained.) Other reasons less frequently given are that they have never come up against anyone like the Russians, and that the Westerners have no desire to risk their necks in such a fight.

"Why would the (American) (British) (French) soldiers?" (Asked of those who said "poorly" to previous question)

Allied British American French
troops

They are poor soldiers (badly trained, pampered, have no front line experience, no discipline, etc.

They don't have the same good training as the others, the Russians are much better trained, and they can't stand it here because of the climate, they rely on their bombers; they have no infantry, they would call on the air force in that case; because their discipline is poor, we had an iron discipline that did not distinguish between life and death; because they are scared, you saw that after the invasion, they didn't dare to enter a house without a gun; they make no great effort, they prefer society and pleasure but don't think much of war; they are not courageous enough; because if things would not go as they should, they would give up easily; they march and are no fighters and no soldiers - this is a completely superfluous question, because every child knows that; because they are pampered, they have too much money; they are only "chewing gum soldiers;" they cannot feel that fanaticism or that kind of love for their country that we feel, soldiers who have been stationed in a country as an occupation army for a long time are pampered and are a failure on the battle field - our troops in France set the example, they led too good a life and gave up at once when the situation grew tight; etc.

16%

11%

22%

19%

They aren't defending their own country, have no interest in Germany; Their own homeland is not at stake and they won't have the same enthusiasm; because they say they have nothing to lose in Europe, perhaps they have more endurance in their own country, they don't see the bitter necessity for it in a foreign country; they have no interest in Germany; they simply lack the interest in defending our country, they will merely think of how to get back home; because they think that Germany after all is not their homeland - why should we sacrifice our lives for it?; if America were at stake they would probably fight better, but they don't care about Germany; they have no interest in us Germans but only want to protect their own lives; etc.

10

10

9

14

(cont'd on next page)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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Allied British American French
troops

They are no match for the Russians - they fear them: They don't know the Russians, they don't know such brutality and would be seized with horror; if the Russian steam roller approached they would simply not be up to that, just as we weren't up to it; if the Russians steam roller advances they may lose their nerve and storm backward; because the British are not up to Russian brutality, the English - like the Germans - are too civilized and are even less up to Russian barbarism than the Germans who are much harder; they are scared of the Russians, I have heard that myself again and again from the British interpretation; they would look twice if they found themselves face to face with the Russians; etc.

5% 5% 6% 4%

They won't risk their lives - they send others to the front lines: They would not risk their lives and prefer to send the Germans to the front; they'd rather send others to the front, but one doesn't know that for sure; because the English have never been real soldiers, they always wait until others have shed their blood; etc.

2 2 1 1

Others: Because they (the French) are more Communist than any other nations - the Amis would need more troops for France than for Germany; the French are very Communist; many soldiers are Communist and are unlikely even to fight against the Russians; etc.

1 1 1 6

No opinion / No answer:

 $\frac{1}{35\%}^{**}$ $\frac{1}{30\%}^{**}$ $\frac{*}{39\%}^{**}$ $\frac{-}{44\%}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TROOPS IN WEST GERMANY GENERALLY CONSIDERED REPRESENTATIVE OF ALLIED TROOPS ELSEWHERE ...

Another measure of opinions on the quality of the Allied forces in Germany was to ask respondents in the three zones to evaluate the quality of the American, British and French soldiers respectively as against troops of the three countries stationed elsewhere. Very large minorities cannot pass judgments on this matter. Among those who are prepared to do so, the opinion that the Allied soldiers in West Germany are as good as any other Allied soldiers outweighs the negative view by a two to one preponderance as regards US and French troops, and by the three to one as to the British.

"In your opinion, are the (American) (British) (French) soldiers, who are here in West Germany at the present time, just as good as the rest of the soldiers of the (American) (British) (French) army, are they better, or are they less good as soldiers?"

	Allied troops	British	American	French
The soldiers who are here are just as good	37%	37%	40%	31%
The soldiers who are here are better	4	2	5	6
The soldiers who are here are less good	14	11	18	16
No opinion	<u>45</u> 100%	<u>50</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>47</u> 100%

The suspicion that the Allies may have sent their second-raters to West Germany is not entirely unrelated to opinions on the security afforded by the Western forces. The table below reveals that there is a consistent relationship between speculations on the way the Allied would fight the Russians and views on the representativeness of the forces in West Germany. Those who predict the Allies would fight well against the Russians are more inclined than the group making adverse predictions to consider the troops now in West Germany as representative. The latter group conversely is more inclined than others to make invidious comparisons.

The relationship is only partially true as regards attitudes toward the security advantages afforded by the presence of Allied troops in Germany. Fewer of the West Germans who advocate withdrawal of the Allied troops than of those who want the troops to stay in the interests of security consider the Allied soldiers in Germany as good as others elsewhere. But they do not rate them below par any more frequently than do the groups who think the troops should remain.

Comparison of Allied Troops in Germany
with Allied Troops Elsewhere

	As Good	Better	Worse	No opinion
<u>If Russia Attacked, Allied Troops Would Fight:</u>				
Well	50%	7%	9%	34%...100%
So-so	49	3	15	33
Poorly	33	4	28	35
<u>Better for German Security:</u>				
Allied troops withdraw	32%	3%	18%	47%...100%
Remain at present strength	43	4	15	38
More troops brought in	44	5	18	33

LITTLE EVIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATORY. OPINION ON NEGRO SOLDIER ...

The Negro soldier enjoys as good a reputation among the West German public as does his white brother-in-arms. On this issue, too, the proportion of persons unprepared to express an opinion is large (42% in West Germany as a whole and 38% in the US Zone where most Negro troops are stationed), but among those with opinions, twice as many believe a Negro soldier could be expected to fight well as believe the contrary.

"Do you believe that the Negro soldier as an individual would fight well or poorly?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Well	39%	37%	44%	32%
Poorly	14	15	12	19
Qualified answers	5	4	6	8
No opinion	42	44	38	41
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Only a few (3%) of the people who consider the Negro soldier a good fighting man do so because they deny racial differences. For the most part, unique racial characteristics of the Negro are alleged as reasons for his fighting ability. Racial and cultural factors are also most frequently adduced by those who are skeptical of the Negro soldier's readiness to fight.

"Why would a Negro soldier fight well?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Because of certain racial qualities: Because they are primitive fellows - their nature impels them to fight, they are unshakable and dared devils; by nature - fighting is in their nature, they are primitives and less spoiled by education than we are; wildness and daring is in the blood; they are really primitive fellows - they are always brave; I consider them as being without fear and dogged and also their primitive instincts have a bearing on that; it is a primitive race, from childhood fighting is in their blood; because they have blood in their veins that is different from our's, they have natural instincts that qualify them for such deeds; it is a condition of their race - they are tough and dexterous; etc.

16%	14%	19%	12%
-----	-----	-----	-----

They are tough, brave, fearless (no mention of racial differences): They are like cats - dexterous, strong as bears and endowed with a tenacious will; they are radical, have no inhibitions; because they are dared devils, robust, don't think so much and think of nothing but of going ahead. They are no cowards; they are tough; they go forward like Bluecher, they are just as stubborn; etc.

7	7	8	4
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They are like anyone else: Why shouldn't they be capable of good fighting, they have a soft heart, but otherwise they have everything other people have; they do what they can, just like other soldiers, they defend their homeland; because they are just as good willed as the German soldiers; because they too give their last breath for their people; because they are scared of death like everybody else; the Negroes too will certainly think; rather kill the enemy than let myself get killed; like everybody else they love their life and defend themselves; because their life is at stake - they don't defend so much their own nation, because they are hired soldiers for somebody else's interests; etc.

3	3	3	4
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WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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They hope to improve racial quality and respect of their race: They have to preserve for their race which is suppressed and enlaved - they feel an urgent desire for freedom; they'd like to distinguish themselves and prove that their race is capable of excellence; because they hope to gain equal rights for their race in return; they are suppressed by the white race and they'd like to show they know how to fight; because of their race - they are forced to get on their feet, they want to preserve their race and not to be oppressed; etc.

3%	2%	3%	2%
----	----	----	----

They have proved themselves to be good fighters: I got to know them as brave fellows during the First World War; I know that from my own experience - I fought against Negroes at the Somme; they certainly were not poor soldiers during the campaign in France, more contented than other soldiers, more ready than other people to be enthusiastic about something; I know from experience that they fight to their last breath if they see that it has to go on; I have heard that the Negroes were good soldiers during the war and are not cowards when the situation is critical; etc.

2	2	2	3
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They have qualities superior to the white soldiers: Under a black skin beats a better heart than under a white skin; he has more bravery than the white soldier, he is not spoiled yet; because it is known that the Negroes are soldiers superior to the Americans, they can endure more and are braver; the Negroes are brave people, they are probably not as pampered back home as the "Amis"; because they are more tenacious; etc.

1	1	3	-
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Other reasons: Because they cling much more to the soldier's life due to their inferior social position; because they feel they are citizens with equal rights in the USA and that is enough to stimulate them and to give all their force in fighting for their country; because they come from a country where they are constantly engaged in fighting; because they have nothing to lose in a foreign country; etc.

8	7	9	5
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No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{43\%}$	$\frac{3}{39\%}$	$\frac{1}{48\%}$	$\frac{3}{33\%}$
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Why would a Negro soldier fight poorly?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>They have nothing to fight for: America is no home-land to them - they've no homeland to defend; because they are hirelings in a foreign country and therefore they feel fear; they lack the insight for fighting for a stranger nation or an idea; perhaps they have no feeling of nationality; because they are not interested in being catspaws for a foreign race; they don't know what they fight for over here; etc.</u>	5%	5%	3%	9%
<u>They are cowardly: Because they are cowards - that is well known; they tend to be scared more easily than others, even if they have the same kind of military training; they are easily scared and flee quickly (the Moroccans); as individual soldiers they are scared because they are superstitious; because they feel fear and are cowards when they have to fight all on their own; etc.</u>	3	3	4	4
<u>They lack independence and are valuable only under supervision: They can only be used in a crowd; they are only good if they are herded in a troop and if somebody stands behind them all the while; they need supervision and strong discipline, they lack independence; they are herd people who feel strong only in a crowd and because they lack the education to be conscious of their own personality; the crowd gives them the backing; because they are used to being guided, they lack independence; etc.</u>	3	3	2	6
<u>The Negroes are treated as a second class people and as cannon fodder, they are only slaves: Because they are British slaves and have nothing to say, they would do everything with aversion; Negroes are only slaves, they would not be so silly as to fight for the master race; because they are forced and are well aware that they only have to be cannon fodder for others; during the First World War I had the experience that no Negro will ever make a good fighter, the Negroes feel that they are only good as cannon fodder; by now they know that their race is treated as second rate and that is why they'll be indifferent soldiers; etc.</u>	2	2	1	2
<u>They lack intelligence and civilisation: Because they are mentally not so far developed as a white soldier; they are not intelligent; well, they are not civilized enough; etc.</u>	1	2	*	1
<u>They are too softhearted and good natured: Because they are much more softhearted than white people; they have a much better heart than we have; they are good-natured, playful people; etc.</u>	1	*	1	1
<u>Other reasons: Their constitution is too delicate for our climate - I would not know what else to say - I have not a high opinion of them but could not say why; because they would have to fight in unfamiliar surroundings, they would be more at their ease in the jungles; they have the instinct of primitives, they think; why should I fight as a single person, I have got no chance anyway; etc.</u>	3 16%**	4 19%**	2 13%**	2 25%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THE GERMAN SOLDIER CONSIDERED THE BEST FIGHTING MAN ...

A third approach to evaluations of the Americans, British and French as soldiers, and possibly the most telling one, required respondents to rate them together with the Germans and Russians as fighting men.

Taken man for man, the Americans do not fare too well as fighting men in West German opinions. About all that the Germans can say for them is that taken individually as soldiers, they are of not much poorer calibre than the British and somewhat better than the French. This estimate is all relative to the qualities of the German as a soldier. As the West Germans see it, the German soldier is without a peer, seventy-seven per cent rating him as the best individual fighting man. The Russian trails with five per cent mention as the best soldier; the American and the British soldiers are considered top-ranking by only one per cent, and the French are not even in the running.

Only twelve per cent are prepared to rank the American soldier as second-best in fighting quality. The British with 13 per cent and the French with 8 per cent mention compete with the Americans for this distinction, but all trail the Russian soldier who is given a rating just under the German by 31 per cent of the respondents.

AMERICAN AND FRENCH RATED LOWEST IN FIGHTING SCALE ...

When it comes to selecting the soldier of the lowest fighting calibre, the American and the French soldier compete neck and neck in West German opinions—the American being ranked last by 20 per cent, and the Frenchmen by 25 per cent.

"All in all, who in your opinion makes the best fighter as an individual? And who is in second place? And who is in last place?"
(The various nationalities as listed below were presented on a card to the respondent).

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone

First place

Germans	77%	74%	80%	75%
Russians	5	5	5	8
Americans	1	1	1	2
British	1	1	1	1
French	*	*	*	*
No opinion / No answer	16	19	13	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Second place

Russians	31%	26%	38%	29%
British	13	12	15	14
Americans	12	13	10	10
French	8	9	7	6
Germans	5	5	5	6
No opinion / No answer	31	35	25	35
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Last place

French	25%	21%	31%	22%
Americans	20	20	19	23
Russians	9	9	8	7
British	8	10	7	7
Germans	*	3	1	-
No opinion / No answer	38	40	34	41
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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The poor opinion the West Germans have of the calibre of Allied soldiers as compared with the German or even the Russian soldier as seen in the above tables assumes added importance especially as concerns the American aspects of the matter which compared with opinions on the kind of resistance Allied soldiers are expected to offer Russian aggression. As disclosed in the comparative tables below, the small group which ranks the American as the "second best" soldier is much less inclined to say the Western Allies would fight poorly against the Russians than are those who name the British or the French, as "second-best." Correspondingly, the group naming the Americans also more frequently wagers that the Allies would put up a good fight.

Conversely, those who rank the American soldier at the bottom of the fighting ability scale are more frequently of the opinion than others that a Russian attack would be poorly resisted. Clearly demonstrated by these findings is the crucial role that confidence in the American soldier's will and ability to resist aggression plays in West German opinions on the security issue.

	If Russia Attacked, Allies Would Fight:			
	Well	So-so	Poorly	No opinion
Total US Zone	26%	14%	31%	29%...100%
Second best soldier				
American	42	11	23	24
British	35	18	32	15
French	32	13	37	18
Worst soldier				
American	21%	16%	46%	17%
British	37	13	36	14
French	29	18	39	14

THE QUALITIES OF A GOOD SOLDIER ...

There is negative if not affirmative enlightenment to be gained from a perusal of the reasons why the West Germans give the kudos to their own soldiers, and to a much lesser extent to the Russians and others as the best fighting men. The arguments advanced by the overwhelming majority in behalf of the high quality of the German soldier describe the qualities of a good soldier any place, any time. The best soldier, it is said, is one who is brave, well trained, patriotic, idealistic, and honorable.

National pride undoubtedly plays a large and not unexpected role in forming German opinions on this score. Whether or not the almost total inability of the West Germans to consider any Allied fighting man as even approaching the German as a soldier means that the latter is considered to lack the virtues ascribed to the German cannot be definitely determined, although at least as far as the American soldier is concerned, the one per cent which names him as best tends to stress equipment, power, and other material aspects rather than the more heroic virtues. But whatever the basis for the low rating given the Allied soldier, especially the American and the French, it is difficult not to consider the finding as indicative of a crisis in confidence of a high order, particularly since the West Germans must rely for the present at least on protection by troops of which they have so poor an opinion.

"In your opinion, what makes the German the best fighter?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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The Germans are born soldiers - brave, fearless, persevering, hard, daring, etc.: The fighting spirit is innate in them; his courage - he is a born soldier; he doesn't give up easily, even when he fights all on his own; it is in our blood - we are thorough, take everything more seriously, the Germans can stand a lot; his attitude, he is brave, nobody is a match for him; all his ways - he is not a coward and knows how to persevere in distress; he is quick on foot, he has the most endurance and is particularly courageous, above all he is enduring, has more staying power and fears nothing, the Americans are poltroons - they always have to save themselves first; he is very reliable, enduring and energetic - he fights doggedly for his ends, the Germans don't retreat easily; because the Germans stay where they are put, it is in their character; the Germans are quick and dexterous and very persevering, they have great battle experience that has been gained with great sacrifice; the Germans persevere the longest, the French give up at once; etc.

36%	38%	35%	31%
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The Germans are better trained, disciplined, obedient: Because they had good discipline, they observed their duties; we have better training behind us, much importance was attached to discipline; it is because of hard discipline; his hard training and the hardening gained by outdoor service; the unequalled Prussian discipline and blind obedience (Kameradschaft); their innate sense of obedience and discipline; they know blind obedience and if it is commanded they will walk through fire; their infantry training is the best in the world; they have the best drill, they have the most thorough training and know how to handle their arms best; they have a stronger sense of duty; the pre-military training extends even to the tiniest detail, today it is imitated even by other nations; they have the best discipline and that is important for fighting; they are the best infantrymen; etc.

35	32	40	31
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(cont'd on next page)

The Germans love their country: Because they have a great love for their country the love for his homeland; the national feeling; pride in their country; fulfillment of their duty and obedience toward their country; we have always had to defend our country; the geographic situation of our country - we have always been pushed into defense; other nations mostly fight in foreign countries, for the Germans their own country is always at stake; etc.

17%	12%	21%	23%
-----	-----	-----	-----

The Germans have stood the test in every war; they have always been good soldiers: The Germans stood the test in the last war; nobody would be able to do what the Germans did in two wars; one has seen that in all the wars; brave and enduring - in the end we have fought against the whole world, that is the best proof; because they have fought a brave battle - those were great accomplishments; I don't know, people say so, they have proved in the war of what they are capable; I cannot really tell why, perhaps I merely think so because I am a German, they have proved it often enough in history; because the German soldiers have been good soldiers before; one saw that in the last war - bravery until the end; etc.

6	7	4	9
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The Germans are idealists, they give their full strength for a purpose: They have more idealism; they fight to the end for justice; if the Germans fight they have idealism and the will to make sacrifices - that is what distinguishes them as individual fighters, they never fight without having an ideal; etc.

4	4	5	1
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The ambition of the Germans: The Germans push, they want their people to lead a better life - they cannot understand that they - as a people without living space - should work for other people who have enough living space; the Germans are ambitious people who do their duty to the last wherever they are; because they have more ambition than the others; etc.

4	3	5	2
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The Germans are intelligent: They are more intelligent than the others; the German soldiers fight with thought; etc.

2	2	1	2
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General reasons: Because you always hear people say that the Germans have fought to the last - I do think so; because they have always been that way - people have always said so; you always hear that from others; I cannot tell - people say that generally; you hear it - I think that; etc.

2	1	3	4
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The German conditions are harder; etc.: The harder living conditions, beginning with apprenticeship; because the entire life of the Germans is a struggle, they never had the kind of easy life as, for instance, the Americans; because of the great unemployment and the lack of prospects for the future; they do everything for the sake of gaining better living conditions; etc.

1	*	2	2
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Miscellaneous reasons: Because they are the most stupid, the Germans are the most stupid, the Germans are so used to obeying that they fulfill every command, even the silliest - and even if it drives them into disaster; because every East German wants to win his homeland back, whilst the others have no interest in it; they have not had their homeland taken away; they are not really better than the Russians, but they are able to fight with greater thoughtfulness under a good command, I believe that under Hitler it was idealism, most of them were followers of Hitler and therefore fought to the last; etc.

3	4	3	2
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No opinion / No answer:

11%*	106%*	120%*	106%*
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* less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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"In your opinion, what makes the Russian soldier the best fighter?" (Asked of those naming the Russian as best)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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The Russians are tough and can endure much - they don't demand much in regard to food and clothing; Because they are tough leathernecks - that's all I can say to that; their power of endurance - their frugality; because they are terrific dare-devils and they practically hurl themselves into the struggle - they fight like animals for their possessions; their ability to get along on little and their power of endurance in any kind of weather - their contempt for their own as well as for other lives; because the Russians show the greatest ability to endure hardships and demand little in regard to food and clothing; the Russians are trained in a way that they can endure all hardships easily; etc.

3%	3%	2%	5%
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The Russians have the most rugged training, discipline, obedience; etc.: The Russians are trained to die rather than to give up anything; their rugged training and the hard military training; their absolute obedience - the Russians have the hardest training in comparison to the other soldiers; etc.

2	3	1	3
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Their political training - they fight for an ideal - they are fanatics; Their ideology; because they fight for an idea - they believe that they are fighting for a better world; their whole training is similar to our during the Third Reich - they were trained to be fanatic soldiers ever since they were children - their political schooling - their asiatic fanaticism; their Asiatic fatalism; they have a goal to fight for; etc.

3	2	3	6
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Other opinions: They are a primitive people - they are easily enthusiastic about something; they are easily influenced since they are stupid; etc.

1	*	1	1
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No opinion / No answer:

* 9%*	* 6%*	* 7%*	* 15%*
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* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"What makes the American the best soldier?" (Asked of those naming the American as best) *

I don't know how to make myself clear, I just believe it, because they conquered half of the world and have always been victorious;

According to what we have heard up till now, they are better than the others, - one only hears that the American makes a good fighter, like now in Korea;

Because he has the most interest - I don't know why; They won the war - I don't know;

Because they are supported by their government, they are well fed and are good sportsmen;

Perhaps the good outfit, the modern weapons which are at their disposal, they can fight well with them;

Their unconcern, they are daredevils; etc.

1%	1%	1%	1%
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* Replies are listed as there were too few to categorize.

GROSS DIFFERENCES IN THE FIGHTING QUALITY OF ALLIED TROOPS ...

It is noteworthy that the opinion leading elements - the better educated, the higher socio-economic levels, and the men - more frequently than others have a poor opinion of the ability of the Western troops to fight against an aggressor. Younger persons (under 40) and veterans also share this opinion more frequently than do their opposites.

"According to what you have seen or heard, do you believe that the (American) (British) (French) soldiers, who are here now, will fight well or poorly in case of Russian aggression?"

WEST GERMANY	Well	Fair	Poorly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	27%	19%	38%	16%...100%	559
Women	25	10	24	41	636
Education:					
Elementary school	26	15	27	32	980
Beyond elementary school	27	13	42	18	214
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	27	14	26	33	600
Middle and upper class	25	15	35	25	595
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	26	14	27	33	776
300 - 399 DM	26	12	35	27	223
400 DM and more	27	18	36	19	195
Age:					
Under 40 years	26	14	35	25	508
40 years and over	26	15	27	32	684
Party Preference:					
SPD	29	18	36	17	301
CDU/CSU	32	15	24	29	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	29	22	36	13	91
Other parties	31	15	35	19	94
No party	21	10	39	30	247
Don't know	17	9	15	59	200
Occupation:					
Professionals	24	18	35	23	49
Businessmen	20	11	41	20	151
White-collar workers	26	14	36	24	148
Skilled laborers	25	19	31	25	206
Semi-skilled laborers	36	11	28	25	126
Farmers	19	17	27	37	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retir.; etc.	29	13	23	35	232
Religion:					
Catholics	26	13	30	31	534
Protestants	28	15	29	28	609
Origin:					
Natives	26	14	30	30	943
Expellees, Refugees	27	17	28	28	252
Veterans Status:					
Yes	26	20	41	13	324
No	29	17	33	21	233

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Though it is a minority opinion among all population groups that the troops of the Western powers now stationed in Germany are of a poorer calibre than their brothers-in-arms stationed elsewhere, the men, the better educated, and the upper social groups tend to express this view more often than does the population as a whole.

"In your opinion, are the (American) (British) (French) soldiers, who are here in West Germany at the present time, just as good as the rest of the soldiers of the (American) (British) (French) army, are they better, or are they less good as soldiers?"

	The soldiers who are here are just as good	The soldiers who are here are better	The soldiers who are here are less good	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	42%	6%	10%	34%...100%	559
Women	33	2	11	54	636
Education:					
Elementary school	37	4	12	47	980
Beyond elementary school	39	4	25	32	214
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	38	3	9	50	600
Middle and upper class	36	5	19	40	595
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	36	3	11	50	776
300 - 399 DM	44	4	19	33	223
400 DM and more	35	6	21	38	195
Age:					
Under 40 years	44	4	16	36	508
40 years and over	32	4	13	51	684
Party Preference:					
SPD	42	6	16	36	301
CDU/CSU	37	4	14	45	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	49	5	20	26	91
Other parties	38	1	17	44	94
No party	34	3	17	46	247
Don't know	23	2	5	65	200
Occupation:					
Professionals	43	6	16	35	49
Businessmen	38	3	19	40	151
White-collar workers	40	5	23	32	148
Skilled laborers	45	4	19	32	206
Semi-skilled laborers	37	4	12	47	126
Farmers	36	2	7	55	152
Not employed; pensioners, students, retir. etc.;	29	3	9	59	232
Religion:					
Catholics	36	4	14	46	534
Protestants	30	4	14	44	609
Origin:					
Catholics	36	4	14	46	534
Protestants	38	4	14	44	609
Origin:					
Natives	36	4	15	45	943
Expellees, Refugees	40	4	12	44	252
Veteran Status:					
Yes	43	7	20	30	324
No	41	4	15	40	233

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Among those who more frequently than others believe the Negro would fight well are the higher status groups, the better educated, those in the higher income brackets, and the men, as well as younger persons and war veterans.

"Do you believe that the Negro soldier as an individual would fight well or poorly?"

WEST GERMANY	Well	Poorly	Qualified answers	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	45%	21%	7%	27%...100%	559
Women	32	9	4	55	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	37	13	5	45	980
Beyond elementary school	47	19	8	26	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	35	11	4	50	600
Middle and upper class	43	17	7	33	595
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	34	12	5	49	776
300 - 399 DM	50	17	3	30	223
400 DM and more	44	19	9	28	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	46	13	44	37	500
40 years and over	33	15	6	46	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	50	18	5	27	301
CDU/CSU	37	15	6	42	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	48	15	10	27	91
Other parties	44	15	4	37	94
No party	35	17	5	43	247
Don't know	21	5	4	70	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	53	16	6	25	49
Businessmen	38	19	5	38	151
White-collar workers	40	16	5	31	140
Skilled laborers	44	15	9	32	206
Semi-skilled laborers	39	14	2	45	126
Farmers	35	10	5	50	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retir. etc.;	20	14	3	55	232
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	36	16	5	43	534
Protestants	41	12	5	42	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	38	15	5	42	943
Expellees, Refugees	39	13	7	41	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	48	20	8	24	324
No	42	21	7	30	233

III. OPINIONS ON TROOP CONDUCT

SOLDIERS CONSIDERED WELL-BEHAVED ...

On behavior, the Allied troops in Germany score higher with the West German public than on their potential fighting qualities. Controverting the emphasis continually given in the press to instances of the Allied soldiers' unruliness and excesses,* the prevailing public opinion (58%) is that the troops' behavior is good. Fourteen per cent rate it fair according to what they have seen or heard. Only 7 per cent assert that Allied troops in Germany have a reputation for bad behavior. The remainder (21%) do not express an opinion.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, how do you find the behavior of the (American) (British) (French) soldiers - is it good or bad in general?"

	Allied Troops	British	American	French
Good	58%	61%	55%	58%
Fair	14	11	20	7
Bad	7	5	8	11
No opinion	21	23	17	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%

FAMILIARITY MAKES FOR A BETTER REPUTATION ...

It could be argued, of course, that this is a generalized judgment which would not hold true in areas where there are troop concentrations, and where misbehavior is most likely to occur. This argument does not hold, however. On the contrary, the troops enjoy a better reputation with those people who are most likely to come into contact with them than with those who do not live in areas where they are stationed or do not see or know any of them. This finding is demonstrated in the following comparative table.

	Allied Troops' Behavior			
	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion
Troops stationed in vicinity	65%	15%	7%	13%...100%
No troops in vicinity	51	13	6	30
See soldiers every week	68	15	7	10
See no soldiers	48	14	6	32
Know some soldiers	70	13	7	10
Do not know any	51	15	7	27

It is to be noted in the above table that judgments of troop behavior as fair or bad appear to have no relationship to the presence of soldiers in the community or to acquaintance with them. But favorable judgments have a distinct relationship to proximity and acquaintanceship. Familiarity, in this case, does not apparently breed contempt.

There is also a relationship between opinions on troop behavior and attitudes toward the issue of the troops and West German security. The group which feels that German security would be furthered by augmented Allied forces are more inclined than those advocating withdrawal of the forces for security reasons to consider the soldiers' conduct good. What is cause and effect in this relationship cannot be determined here. And, as it will be noted below, a considerable proportion of the advocates of withdrawal appear to find troops' behavior satisfactory.

	Allied Troops' Behavior			
	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion
Better for German Security if:				
Allied troops withdraw	47%	22%	12%	19%...100%
Remain at present strength	64	14	6	16
More troops brought in	70	12	6	12

*A recent example occurred in January when the West German press gave considerable play to Bavarian Minister President Erhard's complaint to the US Land Commissioner of Bavaria that the people of Bavaria were disturbed by the misconduct of US troops.

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GROUP DIFFERENCES ON TROOP BEHAVIOR ...

Only a small fraction within all population groups asserts that Allied soldiers have a reputation for bad conduct. While the preponderant view is generally that the troops are well-behaved, the opinion leading, generally better informed elements - persons with more than average education, those in the higher socio-economic level, and the men - are more frequently of this opinion than is the public as a whole. However, the better educated and the upper income brackets are also somewhat more inclined than their counterparts to select the designation of "fair" for the troops' conduct.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, how do you find the behavior of the (American) (British) (French) soldiers - is it good or bad in general?"

	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	64%	14%	7%	15%...100%	559
Women	54	14	6	26	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	57	13	7	23	980
Beyond elementary school	63	20	7	10	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	55	14	6	25	600
Middle and upper class	61	14	8	17	595
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	56	13	7	24	776
300 - 399 DM	68	12	7	13	223
400 DM and more	58	20	7	15	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	57	17	8	18	508
40 years and over	59	12	6	23	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	65	17	5	13	301
CDU/CSU	63	10	6	21	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	64	16	10	10	91
Other parties	60	18	6	16	94
No party	57	14	7	22	247
Don't know	43	12	7	38	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	57	27	4	12	49
Businessmen	57	12	9	22	151
White-collar workers	70	16	6	8	148
Skilled laborers	61	16	6	17	206
Semi-skilled laborers	63	10	9	18	126
Farmers	52	13	7	28	152
Not employed: Pensioners, students, retired, etc.	54	12	7	27	232
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	57	13	7	23	534
Protestants	61	15	6	18	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	59	14	7	20	943
Expellees, Refugees	59	13	5	23	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	63	13	7	17	324
No	65	15	7	13	233

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CRITICAL GROUP DOES NOT BLAME THE TROOPS TOO MUCH ...

As a further probe on the troops' behavior, that part of the West German population which considers the conduct of the soldiers in West Germany to be something less than good was queried on why they thought the Allied troops did not behave any better than they allegedly do. Comments on this point, though scattered and thin, are nevertheless not without interest. Aside from the explanation that poor conduct derives from a victor versus a vanquished status which is given with relative frequency, the explanations tend to excuse rather than to derogate the troops for their alleged misconduct.

They say, for example, that the soldiers have not been taught good manners at home, and (very infrequently) they have too little to do and too much money to do it with, as foreigners they do not care what people think of them, a soldier's life is always like that, and so on. The tenor of this reasoning suggests that even the critics of the soldiers take the matter in stride - the German people after all have had long experience with soldiers and their ways. Without minimizing this group's adverse judgment on troop conduct, their opinion appears to be, in effect, that such misconduct is to be expected - "soldiers are soldiers."

"What do you think - for what reasons don't the (American) (British) (French) soldiers behave any better?" (asked of those who are of the opinion that troop behavior is "fair" or "bad.")

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Allied troops	British soldiers	American soldiers	French soldiers

They Consider Themselves the Victors and the Masters:

They tell themselves - "we are the victors and the masters here"; they are arrogant - none of them makes a serious attempt to study Germany's culture; they only see the worse half of the German culture; because they are the victors and can do as they please; because they hate us - they were always told that they are the victors; they are better off financially and therefore they feel they are the masters; they are arrogant by nature; they probably don't like us at all; etc.

8% 6% 9% 13%

Their Home Training Has Not Been Good - They Just Don't Know Any Better:

Because they didn't get the right kind of training at home - it's just a question of upbringing, they were poorly brought up; because many of them didn't lead a different life in America either - they are just poorly brought up; they are not used to anything else, they have a much freer way of thinking and acting - they don't even know that we think differently about it; etc.

3 2 7 -

Their Military Training Is Too Soft; They Lack Discipline:

They lack the real military training - one would never catch a German soldier in uniform drunk; they have too many liberties as soldiers - they don't have severe enough punishments; they are too well off - they don't have much to do and they get a lot of money for it - they should really work like other people; etc.

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WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Allied troops	British soldiers	American soldiers	French soldiers

A Soldier's Life Is Just Like That - There
Are Good and Bad People Everywhere:

Our soldiers acted the same way - there are people everywhere who go too far sometimes and we were a bad example to them, people are just like that - we are the same too; one can't accuse all of them - there are always exceptions to the rule - and they mostly behave badly when they are drunk; we had bums like that in our army too; a soldier's life is just like that - the Germans in France didn't behave like angels either; oh dear, because they are human beings; etc.

1% -% 2% -%

They Are in a Foreign Country and Therefore
They Don't Care What the People Think About
Them:

They are not at home and they can do as they please - nobody knows them anyway; they are in a foreign country and that is always different from home - they don't care about many things here because it really doesn't matter; etc.

* - 1 -

Other Reasons:

Perhaps it's a bit our fault too - we imitate them too much and some women behave in such a way that it is hard for the soldiers to respect us; they are too mixed - all races are represented and each of them has different customs; because they are drunk most of the time and then they are still hostile toward us; most of them are still too young and haven't realized how serious life can be; perhaps they lack money and some of them just can't live without these gangster manners; because they send us all the trash for occupation troops; etc.

3 2 5 4

No Opinion / No Answer:

6 6 6 1
22%** 16% 31%** 18%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one reason.

BUT FAVORABLE GROUP CAN POINT TO INSTANCES OF MISCONDUCT ...

In order to investigate further the matter of the troops' conduct as the German people see it, those persons who judged the soldiers' behavior either as very good, good, or fair, were queried on what they do not like about the way the soldiers of the three Western powers conduct themselves. Though this question gives every opportunity for adverse comments, the large preponderance of those queried profess to be unfamiliar with any instances of misconduct or unfavorable aspects of troop behavior. The people who can do so, give scattered mention of a variety of examples: arrogance, lack of discipline, drunkenness, attacks on Germans, traffic violations, and so on. Though each of these allegations are made by only small fractions, it is to be noted that American troops are singled out more frequently than others on three scores: drunkenness and excesses, lack of discipline, and attacks on German citizens. (The charge of arrogance appears to be particularly levelled at the French, but because of sample size this difference is not reliably beyond chance.) It should be borne in mind, however, in reading the comments listed below, that they are made by people who, in general appear to find the behavior of the Allied troops satisfactory, all things considered.

"What don't you like about the behavior of the (American) (British) (French) soldiers?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Allied troops	British soldiers	American soldiers	French soldiers

**No Objections - Don't Know of Anything -
Good and Bad People are Everywhere in the
World:**

I can't say anything; I don't have anything against them - they never did anything to me; I can't say anything about it, I don't like them, but they aren't bad either; I rarely see such a soldier and when I see one I can't find anything indecent in his behavior; etc.

48% 55% 39% 45%

Arrogant Behavior:

Their arrogance - they don't consider the Germans their equals yet and let us feel that they have defeated us; they consider themselves too much as the victors; their arrogant attitude; the Amis always consider themselves tops - they could learn something from the French; they think themselves better than the Germans; they are arrogant; their stupid pride - they treat us as if we were dogs; etc.

8 7 7 16

No Discipline in Their Attitude or Behavior:

Because they show such little discipline; have no discipline - are not soldiers; they run around on the streets with their hats cocked and their hands in their pockets; they lack discipline, otherwise they wouldn't make assaults on the population; the chowing gum - they chew all the time and they always have their hands in the pockets; I've heard that they don't behave themselves well in Hamburg, but I don't know for sure whether that is true; because of their unconcerned behavior they don't find the right contacts with the population sometimes; because they are unfriendly and sometimes

(cont'd on next page)

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	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
	Allied troops	British soldiers	American soldiers	French soldiers
intolerable - I was spit at by an American soldier in Augsburg; they look at us in such an impudent way; they are too indifferent toward us and are inconsiderate - sometimes they are as noisy at nights as if they were alone; etc.	6%	4%	12%	4%
<u>Drunkonness and Excesses:</u>				
When they go somewhere they get drunk and then they get into fights; excesses toward the population - they are unpredictable when they are drunk and then they seek fights, especially over girls; sometimes they fall all over the street completely drunk; they are so disgusting when they are drunk; because they get plastered frequently and then they get noisy; when they are drunk they behave like rowdies and damage German property on purpose; etc.	4	1	9	-
<u>Inconsiderate in Traffic:</u>				
They drive as they please in their cars; they chase around like savages in their cars; inconsiderate in traffic; etc.	3	2	4	-
<u>Attacks on Germans:</u>				
Assaults on Germans, that's all I know; the continuous robberies of German civilians; the assaults on taxi drivers; they attempt robberies everywhere in order to get money for their girls; they try to steal personal property - some of them have the typical manner of gangsters; sometimes they attempt robberies, according to what we read in the papers - I never experienced any myself and I guess those are exceptions; etc.	3	1	7	4
<u>Insolent Behavior Toward Girls and Women:</u>				
That they leave the girls behind - mostly with children too; that they begot many children without taking care of them; etc.	3	1	4	3
<u>Other Opinions:</u>				
They are in a sad physical condition; they throw food and other useful things away instead of giving it to the poor; they purposely damaged the furniture of many apartments or stole them; etc.	4	3	6	5
<u>No Opinion / No Answer:</u>	$\frac{4}{83\%}$	$\frac{4}{78\%}$	$\frac{4}{92\%}$	$\frac{3}{76\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

BRITISH TROOPS LEAD AS BEST-BEHAVED, AMERICAN FOLLOW ...

As another measure of attitudes toward the way the Allied soldiers conduct themselves in West Germany, the public was asked for a comparative evaluation of the behavior of American, British and French troops. Judgments in this respect should be interpreted with some caution as they necessarily are largely based on hearsay and preconceptions since people living in one zone of occupation are not too likely to have had much contact, if any at all, with troops other than those of the respective occupying powers. (It may be assumed that the recently instituted practice of ignoring zonal boundaries in the stationing of Allied troops has not as yet been very noticeable to the public at large.)

A very large minority (41%), is not prepared to make a comparison of the conduct of the three Western contingents in Germany. Among those who are ready to do so, the British are rated best-behaved among West Germans as a whole (27%), with the American ranked second (19%), and the French trailing with only 2 per cent mention. One in ten (11%) claims there is no difference among the three.

The British increase their lead in their own zone of occupation and maintain it in the French Zone. The Americans tie with the British in the opinions of the US Zone public, whereas the French remain in third place in the French Zone as in other zones.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, which soldiers behave themselves the best here in West Germany - the American, the British, or the French?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
American	19%	17%	24%	13%
British	27	31	22	19
French	2	1	4	8
All the same	11	12	6	15
No opinion	41	39	44	45
	100%	100%	100%	100%

FRENCH CONSIDERED WORST-BEHAVED ...

The French soldiers have the dubious honor of receiving top rating as the worst-behaved troops by the West German public as a whole. That this judgment probably derives in large part from a stereotypical reaction to anything French is indicated by the fact that the people living in the French Zone and thus probably familiar with French soldiers are as likely to name American as French soldiers as worst-behaved. It is to be noted, however, that six out of ten West Germans are not ready to make comparisons about any of the three Allied groups.

"And which soldiers behave themselves the worst here in West Germany, according to your opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
American	9%	8%	7%	14%
British	2	2	3	1
French	23	23	28	12
All the same	8	8	6	12
No opinion	58	59	56	61
	100%	100%	100%	100%

LARGE MAJORITY HAS NOT HEARD OF OR SEEN ANY MISBEHAVIOR ...

Finally, all respondents, regardless of their generalized views on troop behavior, were asked whether they personally during the past year had seen, or, if not seen, had heard of any Allied soldiers who had misbehaved themselves and if so, what the nationality of the soldiers was, and what they had done.

To this bluntly direct line of inquiry, three-fourths of the public replied that they have neither seen nor heard of any such misconduct. However, the proportion making this claim is smaller in the US Zone (59%) than in either the British (82%) or French (76%) zones. Also noteworthy is the finding that whereas the mention of misconduct is more prevalent in the US Zone than in the other two zones, the evidence is based more frequently on hearsay than on personal knowledge.

"Have you seen Allied soldiers at any time within the past year who demonstrated bad behavior?" (Have you perhaps heard of it?)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, personally seen it	10%	8%	13%	6%
Yes, heard of it	16	9	26	15
No, neither/nor	73	82	59	76
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Whether the more frequent tendency of US Zone people to point out misconduct is a reflection of the actual situation or results from the publicity given in West German papers to the misbehavior of American soldiers cannot be definitely determined by the data on hand, though the fact that twice as many people base their claims on hearsay than on the evidence of their own eyes argues somewhat for the latter possibility.

In any case, because relatively so many more US Zone residents claim to have heard of or seen the soldiers misbehave, American are most frequently named in West Germany as a whole as the misbehaving troops. The British, it will be noted, are mentioned only in the British Zone, but French Zone residents name the Americans almost as frequently as they do the French.

"Of what nationality have the soldiers been?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
American	17%	5%	36%	8%
British	5	9	-	-
French	2	*	1	13
Others	2	4	*	1
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>
	27%**	19%**	39%**	22%**

Drunkenness, especially of Americans, beer-hall brawling, assaults - even murder and attacks on women are among the examples given as tabulated on the following page.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And what did you see (hear)?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Allied troops	British soldiers	American soldiers	French soldiers

Molestations and Bad Behavior By Drunk Americans:

Drunkenness and its excesses; that they always smash up the restaurants in Bamberg when they are drunk; they were drunk, made a hell of a noise and smashed everything to pieces; they knocked down Germans when they were drunk; on the main street in Bamberg a plastered American soldier crawled around on all fours; drunk Americans in a train, soiling everything and kicking up rows; that they run around drunk and molest people; a drunk American spit at me because I didn't want to go with him; they smashed up furnishings in restaurants; they walk through the streets when they are drunk; etc.

9% 6% 16% 3%

Brawls Among Themselves, With Germans on the Streets and in Restaurants:

Rows in restaurants and at dances; they were involved in fights with Germans; kicked up rows and beat up individuals; they were fighting with Germans at the station because of a girl; kicked up rows at dances because of young girls; how they mistreated civilians on the street; etc.

6 2 10 5

Taxi and Robbery Hold-Ups; Murders:

Attacks on automobile drivers; robbery hold-ups on taxi-drivers; the many attacks on taxis; an American killed a girl with a beer bottle; attacks on Germans; taxi- and robbery hold-ups; attacks on taxis, robbery of the drivers, sometimes even murder; etc.

5 4 8 6

Bad Behavior Towards Women:

They behaved badly toward German girls; rapes; attack on a girl and rape, of course, they were discharged from the army and convicted to hard labor; they were drunk and raped German women; etc.

4 2 6 3

Other Opinions:

Behaved like gangsters in Munich; they aimed four shots at a lamp post and drove on; molesting of the guests in restaurants, they put their feet on the table and act as if they were all by themselves; a jeep struck down a woman in a brutal way, they let her lie there without taking care of her; etc.

5 5 5 6

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{1}{30\%}$ $\frac{1}{20\%}$ $\frac{1}{46\%}$ $\frac{1}{23\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Without discounting public disapproval of alleged instances of misconduct by Allied troops (especially the Americans), it is important to bear in mind that these views are obtained from lines of inquiry deliberately designed to ferret out adverse judgments. The overall evaluation of troop behavior, it will be recalled, is in general quite complimentary to the American, British and French soldiers stationed in West Germany. Added evidence of this generally favorable opinion of Allied troops is found in replies to two other queries.

TROOPS CONSIDERED A CREDIT TO THEIR COUNTRY BY PREPONDERANCE ...

Allied soldiers give the Germans a good impression of their fellow countrymen in the opinion of a preponderance (58%) of the West German public. As personal ambassadors, British and American troops appear somewhat more successful than the French, as indicated in the table below.

"What impressions do the (American) (British) (French) soldiers convey to you about the (American) (British) (French) people in general - a good impression or a bad impression?"

	Allied troops	British	American	French
Good impression	58%	61%	58%	44%
Bad impression	8	7	7	19
No impression	10	11	11	3
Don't know any - never saw any	7	5	9	7
No opinion	17	16	15	27
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Persons who live in communities where troops are stationed or who have become personally acquainted with any Allied soldiers since the war's end are inclined to regard the troops as good ambassadors with greater frequency than those people who neither know any soldiers nor see them with any frequency. This finding supports the one previously reported on opinions on troop behavior - familiarity leads to more, not less, favorable judgments.

Impression Allied Soldiers Give of Their Countrymen:

	Good	Bad	None	Don't see any; No opinion
Acquainted with some soldiers	68%	10%	10%	12% ... 100%
Not acquainted with any	51	7	10	32
Troops stationed in vicinity	61	9	12	10
No troops stationed in vicinity	54	7	7	32
See some soldiers every week	65	11	11	13
Do not	50	6	9	35

ON BEHAVIOR, ALLIED TROOPS COMPARABLE TO GERMAN SOLDIERS ...

Possibly the severest test of troop conduct is to ask the German public to assess it in comparison to the way German soldiers would be likely to act under similar circumstances.* The American, British and French soldiers all pass this test in a satisfactory manner. In sum, two-thirds (65%) of the West German public state that the troops of the three Allied nations conduct themselves just about as they would expect their own troops to do in the same kind of situation. Only a very few (2%) go so far as to say that the Allied troops are better behaved than German soldiers probably would be, and a fairly large fraction, especially as concerns the Americans (20%) and the French (18%), claim they act worse.

Not only is the prevailing opinion a favorable one on this issue, but indications are that it is becoming more so. Since September there has been an across-the-board rise in the proportion saying the Allies act as German troops would, and a corresponding decline in that claiming the Allies' conduct is worse.

"Do you think that the (American) (British) (French) soldiers in West Germany in general behave the same, better, or worse, than German soldiers would under similar circumstances?"

	Allied Troops		British		American		French	
	Sept	Nov	Sept	Nov	Sept	Nov	Sept	Nov
The same	59%	65%	61%	66%	57%	63%	52%	61%
Better	4	2	4	2	3	4	2	1
Worse	19	14	12	9	26	20	26	18
No opinion	18	19	23	23	14	13	20	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

- * The statement made in a previous report remains pertinent: "On the assumption that the West German people would expect their soldiers to behave in an orderly, disciplined way (and this is the common view of the German people) in an occupation such as the present one in West Germany," . . . the Allies appear to be predominantly favorably estimated. See: Report No. 103, Series No. 2, dated October 12, 1951 - THE CURRENT STATE OF GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

There is little relationship between judgments on comparable behavior of Allied and German troops and opinions on which nationality makes the best or the worst soldiers, as is demonstrated in the table below. Persons who judge the conduct of Allied troops as identical to that of Germans under similar circumstances, are just as inclined as those who declare it to be worse to name the German as the best soldier. Similarly there is little or no distinction between the two groups on the ranking of the worst soldier - the Americans being named only slightly less frequently than the French by both groups. Apparently West German estimates of what makes a warrior do not derive from what they think about the day-to-day public behavior of Allied troops.

Allied Troop Behavior Compared With German

Best Soldier:	Same	Worse
American	1%	1%
British	1	-
French	1	1
German	80	84
Russian	5	7
No opinion	12	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Worst Soldier:		
American	22%	20%
British	8	14
French	28	33
German	*	-
Russian	10	9
No opinion	32	24
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

There is, however, a relationship between attitudes on the degree of security offered by the troops and on their behavior as compared with German soldiers. The people who assert that the Allied troops behave worse than the Germans would under similar circumstances, are more inclined than those who see no differences in behavior both to feel that West German security would be enhanced if Allied troops were withdrawn and to wager that the West would put up a poor fight against a Russian attack.

Allied Troop Behavior Compared With German

Better for German Security If:	Same	Worse
Allied troops withdraw	20%	31%
Remain at present strength	31	31
More troops are brought in	33	28
No opinion	16	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
If Russia Attacked, Allies Would Fight:		
Well	32%	18%
So-so	16	11
Poorly	30	55
No opinion	22	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Interpretation of the above tables will be aided if it is recalled that the reasoning behind the adverse judgments on the two queries on security and resistance to a Russian attack was a complex of views such as high costs (for allegedly luxurious living by occupation personnel), poor training and easy living, the belief that German soldiers could do the job better, the Allies would not want to fight to defend a foreign country, and so on. It could be ventured from this that when the German people say the Allied soldiers act worse than the Germans, they have in mind, to a large degree, the extravagant and softer aspects of the soldiers' (and his dependents) life as they consider it to be.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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GROUP DIFFERENCES ON TROOP BEHAVIOR ISSUES ...

The opinion prevails among all population groups that the American, British and French soldiers taken as a whole convey a good impression of their compatriots. Men, the better schooled, and people in the upper income brackets hold this opinion with somewhat greater frequency than does the public as a whole.

"What impressions do the (American) (British) (French) soldiers convey to you about the (American) (British) (French) people in general - a good impression or a bad impression?"

	Good in- pression	Bad in- pression	No in- pression	Don't know any - Never saw any	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY						
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	64%	10%	11%	3%	12%...100%	559
Women	52	7	9	9	23	636
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	57	7	10	8	18	980
Beyond elementary school	62	13	12	1	12	214
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	57	6	10	9	18	600
Middle and upper class	59	10	10	4	17	595
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	54	8	10	8	20	776
300 - 399 DM	65	9	9	4	13	223
400 DM and more	64	11	11	2	12	195
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	58	10	11	5	16	508
40 years and over	57	7	10	7	19	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	64	10	9	3	14	301
CDU/CSU	61	6	8	8	17	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	12	13	1	4	91
Other parties	65	8	14	2	11	94
No party	55	9	10	6	20	247
Don't know	40	5	10	16	29	200
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	60	10	14	4	12	49
Businessmen	59	11	9	6	15	151
White-collar workers	67	10	11	1	11	148
Skilled laborers	60	10	13	4	13	206
Semi-skilled laborers	62	9	6	6	17	126
Farmers	51	3	11	9	26	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	49	8	9	13	21	232
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	54	8	9	10	19	534
Protestants	61	8	10	4	17	609
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	57	9	10	6	18	943
Refugees, Expellees	61	7	10	7	15	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	64	10	12	3	11	324
No	65	10	9	3	13	233

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Within all segments of the population including the usually well-informed groups there is an apparent reluctance or unthreadiness to pass judgment on which of the troops of the three Western Allies behave themselves best. But among those who do make a comparison, the British lead, followed, in some cases quite closely, by the Americans, with the French ranked a poor third. The higher status and customarily better informed elements - the men, those with more than average education, and the higher socio-economic levels - tend to name the British as best behaved more often than do their counter-part groups.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, which soldiers behave themselves the best here in west Germany - the American, the British, or the French?"

WEST GERMANY	American	British	French	All the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	23%	33%	3%	10%	31%..100%	559
Women	15	21	3	11	50	636
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	18	24	2	11	45	980
Beyond elementary school	23	41	4	7	25	214
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	18	19	2	13	48	600
Middle and upper class	20	33	4	8	35	595
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	18	21	3	11	47	776
300 - 399 DM	19	36	1	9	35	223
400 DM and more	22	38	4	10	26	195
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	22	31	3	10	34	508
40 years and over	16	23	3	11	47	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	25	30	4	12	29	301
CDU/CSU	22	26	2	10	40	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	25	35	3	9	28	91
Other parties	18	28	-	10	44	94
No party	15	28	4	11	42	247
Don't know	7	16	1	10	66	200
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	24	35	8	6	27	49
Businessmen	20	28	4	10	38	151
White-collar workers	16	42	1	5	36	148
Skilled laborers	23	31	3	16	27	206
Semi-skilled laborers	20	20	2	15	43	126
Farmers	16	22	1	10	51	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	12	19	4	9	46	232
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	20	23	3	8	46	534
Protestants	18	29	2	13	38	609
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	19	27	3	10	41	943
Expellees, Refugees	18	23	2	12	45	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	24	37	3	9	27	324
No	22	28	2	11	37	233

On the question of which of the three Western Allies has the worst behaved troops in West Germany there is even greater reluctance to make a comparison than on which of the three has the best behaved. Few if any differences that are reliably above chance occur regarding the British and the Americans, though the latter are named slightly more often by all groups. The French are considered as worst behaved among all elements making comparisons, and are named more frequently by the higher status groups than by their opposite groups.

"And which soldiers behave themselves the worst here in West Germany, according to your opinion?"

WEST GERMANY	American	British	French	All the same	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	10%	3%	32%	7%	48%..100%	559
Women	7	2	15	8	68	636
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	7	2	22	8	61	980
Beyond elementary school	15	5	30	6	44	214
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	7	2	20	8	63	600
Middle and upper class	10	3	26	8	53	595
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	8	1	21	7	63	776
300 - 399 DM	8	3	27	8	54	223
400 DM and more	11	6	26	10	47	195
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	8	3	29	8	52	508
40 years and over	9	2	18	8	63	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	10	2	35	8	45	301
CDU/CSU	7	3	24	6	60	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	18	3	29	7	43	91
Other parties	6	2	23	7	62	94
No party	10	2	20	10	58	247
Don't know	4	1	7	8	80	200
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	14	8	27	2	49	49
Businessmen	13	3	24	10	50	151
White-collar workers	13	2	24	5	56	148
Skilled laborers	7	2	29	12	50	206
Semi-skilled laborers	3	3	24	12	58	126
Farmers	3	1	22	7	67	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	9	1	16	6	68	232
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	7	2	22	8	61	534
Protestants	10	2	24	7	57	609
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	9	2	23	8	58	943
Expellees, Refugees	7	3	22	8	60	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	11	3	37	6	43	324
No	9	3	26	8	54	233

With one or two exceptions, no differences reliably above chance occur in opinions among various population groups on whether Allied troops conduct themselves in the same way or better or worse than German soldiers probably would under the same circumstances. It is the preponderant view within all groups that the Germans would act about the same as do the Allied soldiers. Women, people with only elementary schooling and in the lower socio-economic level tend as they frequently do to withhold judgment more frequently than do their opposites. Exceptions occur among the men who more often than women say the two groups act in the same way, and among the better educated who are more inclined than those with average education to judge the behavior of the Allies as worse than the Germans would likely be.

"Do you think that the (American) (British) (French) soldiers in West Germany in general behave the same, better, or worse, than German soldiers would under similar circumstances?"

WEST GERMANY	The same	Better	Worse	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	70%	3%	16%	11% ... 100%	559
Women	60	2	12	26	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	65	2	13	20	980
Beyond elementary school	65	4	20	11	214
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	63	2	12	23	600
Middle and upper class	66	3	16	15	595
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	63	2	13	22	776
300 - 399 DM	68	3	15	14	223
400 DM and more	64	4	19	13	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	66	2	16	16	508
40 years and over	64	2	13	21	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	69	4	15	12	301
CDU/CSU	69	3	10	18	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	1	22	3	91
Other parties	67	2	14	17	94
No party	64	1	16	19	247
Don't know	48	1	11	40	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	70	2	18	10	49
Businessmen	60	3	23	14	151
White-collar workers	72	2	13	13	148
Skilled laborers	70	3	13	14	206
Semi-skilled laborers	72	2	9	17	126
Farmers	61	3	11	25	152
Not employed, pensioners, students, retired, etc.	60	1	12	27	232
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	62	2	15	21	534
Protestants	67	2	13	18	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	64	2	15	19	943
Expellees, Refugees	66	2	12	20	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	71	2	18	9	324
No	69	3	15	13	233

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IV. WAYS AND MEANS OF IMPROVING ALLIED-GERMAN RELATIONS.

PREVAILING VIEW IS THAT TROOPS HAVE LITTLE CONTACT WITH GERMAN PEOPLE ...

It has often been suggested that were the German people and Allied military personnel to mix socially more often than they do, it would contribute greatly to improving relations between them. To measure reactions to such suggestions, the queries reported in this section were put to a West German public.

The preponderant impression among the Germans is that there is little rather than much contact between Allied troops and the German people. This view prevails particularly in the French Zone, in which more than half of the respondents think there is little to no contact and only one in five say there is much or very much. The British estimate is slightly higher, although not significantly different from the French Zone, while in the US Zone the two views divide far more evenly, with 34 per cent expressing the belief that there is much or very much contact and 43 per cent saying there is little to none.

It should be noted, however, that in the findings of all the zones the extreme views ("very much" and "none") are given voice by very slight fractions of the populations, with the largest number of respondents saying "much" or "little" or having no opinion.

"Do you think that the (American) (British) (French) soldiers, who are now in West Germany have much contact with the German population, or little contact? (Much or very much?) (Little or very little?)"

	Allied troops	British	American	French
Very much	3%	2%	5%	2%
Much	24	22	29	18
Little	36	34	36	38
Very little	8	7	7	13
None	3	6	*	2
No opinion	26	29	23	27
	100%	100%	100%	100%

POPULATION AS WELL AS TROOPS HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR LACK OF ASSOCIATIONS ...

On the question of responsibility for Allied-German contact or lack of contact, the opinions vary somewhat according to the view taken on the foregoing question. Responsibility is more frequently attributed to the troops by those who believe there is little contact between the two elements than by those who think there is a good deal. But the differences are small and, in general, responsibility is placed by significant fractions of all groups on both soldiers and native population.

"And who is mainly responsible for that in your opinion - the soldiers or the population?"

	If "Very much" and "Much":				If "Little":				If "Very little" or "None":			
	Allied	Brit.	Am	French	Allied	Brit.	Am	French	Allied	Brit.	Am	French
Soldiers	6%	6%	5%	4%	12%	13%	12%	11%	3%	4%	2%	4%
Population	7	5	11	6	8	7	10	8	1	1	1	4
Both	13	12	15	10	10	10	9	10	2	2	1	1
Others	*	*	1	-	3	2	3	6	1	3	1	3
No opinion	1	*	1	-	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3
	27%	24%	34%	20%	36%	34%	36%	36%	11%	13%	7%	15%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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A very slight percentage of those who think there is little or no contact attribute this lack to other factors such as language differences, remoteness of living quarters and differences in living conditions and standards, the absence or scarcity of troops in certain areas, and so on.

BUT PREPONDERANCE WOULD WELCOME MORE CONTACT ...

More important than the German estimate of the present situation are their opinions with respect to the advisability or desirability of Allied-German contacts. Close to half of the population say there should be much contact and 11 per cent would like to see very frequent association. A negligible 4 per cent believe that the two elements should remain entirely separate, and one in five thinks there should be little or very little contact.

Again, the French Zone residents lag somewhat in their enthusiasm for German-Allied meetings, but it seems to be more a matter of apathy than of opposition, with a total of 31 per cent either saying that it doesn't matter or expressing no opinion pro or con.

"How frequently should the soldiers be in contact with the German population in your opinion - much, or little? (Much or very much?) (Little or very little?)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very much	11%	9%	13%	11%
Much	42	43	44	31
Little	15	16	14	14
Very little	4	4	3	6
Not at all	4	4	4	7
Doesn't matter	15	15	14	19
No opinion	9	9	8	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%

OPPOSITION TO CONTACT BASED ON ALLEGED ANTAGONISM BETWEEN GERMANS AND ALLIES ...

Of the 23 per cent who object to any association of the German people with Allied troops or who think there should be little contact, one fourth maintain that the two elements are still too antagonistic and that the Allies have only one objective - which is to dominate the country they occupy. Others argue on the supposition that contact would only aggravate the antagonism between both factions and would result in conflict; that there can be no real meeting of interests since German culture and customs are so different from the others; or that fraternization of the troops with Germans, particularly the women, is endangering the morals of the country.

"What are your objections to the soldiers having more contact with the population?"



They Want to Dominate Us and Strip Us, They Are Our Enemies!

They are our enemies; because they don't belong to us, they are our enemies; they are enemies, there should be no community between us; I prefer Germans, because the British are still our enemies; because the American soldiers still look upon us as their enemies, not as their friends - their behaviour indicates it; because they treat us like dirt; etc.

WEST GERMANY Zone	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
----------------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

6%	6%	4%	7%
----	----	----	----

It Would Engender Quarrels and Conflicts:

I think that the result would be nothing but quarrels; too much can happen, they stir up trouble, the hatred is still too strong; everybody should stay alone; it is always the best thing, it avoids quarreling; because military remains military and should remain by itself, it would prevent conflicts; it would prevent conflicts with the civilians; if everyone remains by himself there won't be quarrels; etc.

3	3	4	4
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It Is Useless - We Don't Go Together - Their Ways Are Different from Ours:

Because their opinions are different from ours; it is no use, the Germans are quite different people, have a heavy mind, there can be no understanding; match Germans with Germans and foreigners with foreigners, they are not suited for each other, these peoples' ways are too different; the gulf between them is still too great for any good agreement; because they are demoralising, they cannot give us any culture, their ways don't suit us; etc.

3	3	3	4
---	---	---	---

They Want to Fraternize with Our Girls and Let Them Down Afterwards:

They seek relations with our women; they should remain among themselves, because of our women, they only cause trouble; it is disadvantageous if they get together with the young girls, they spoil them; they have only our young girls in mind, they spoil morals; the soldiers are not honest, they let the girls down after they have a baby; I think it is no good if they come together too often - it might increase the number of divorces; etc.

2	3	2	1
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I Disapprove of it As Long As We Are Not Free Yet:

As long as we have not got equal rights the German population should have enough character to consider the occupation powers as intruders; because the soldiers demonstrate constantly that we are considered second class people - not until we have equal rights can we go together; because we are not free people and have always to play an inferior part; we have no advantage thereby and the relationship won't improve; we have no peace yet and until then we should treat the enemy the same way he treats us; etc.

1	2	2	1
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(cont'd on next page)

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	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>It Weakens the Discipline (Fighting Power) of the Soldiers:</u>				
The troops would be too much diverted, that weakens the fighting power; if the soldiers tie themselves too closely to the civilian population, discipline and order within the troops will suffer; etc.	1%	2%	1%	1%
<u>It Is No Use, Because You Cannot Understand Each Other, the Language, Danger of Misunderstandings:</u>				
It might lead to misunderstandings, because the language is not properly understood; it is no use for us to get together with the Americans. They don't understand us and we cannot understand them. It is better to remain apart right from the beginning; etc.	1	1	1	-
<u>General Aversion to the Military (Wants to Have Nothing to Do With Soldiers):</u>				
I am fed up with any kind of military we can get along very well without soldiers - I have been in French captivity of war and have been treated inhumanly, I shall never get rid of my hatred against anything military; I don't like the soldiers, they should go back home, it is no use that they are still here; etc.	1	*	*	2
<u>Other Answers:</u>				
Otherwise more of them will come here, if the others tell them that they are well off and like it here; military and civilian population should stay separated; German girls should marry Germans, for reasons of health, they agitate amongst each other; Germans get a bad reputation if they have contacts with the Americans; that Germany should remain clean, the German girls get babies that are bastards; because of espionage I mean to say if they got together with civilians much, they can be pumped for information to the disadvantage of their country - today any kind of rabble hang around in Germany; the soldiers that are over here are not the suitable representatives of their nation, from whom we could learn anything; etc.	4	3	4	7
<u>No Answer/ No Opinion:</u>	2	2	1	-
	<u>24%</u>	<u>25%**</u>	<u>22%**</u>	<u>27%</u>

* Less than one half of one percent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

HIGHER STATUS ELEMENTS ESTIMATE LITTLE ALLIED-GERMAN ASSOCIATION ...

Group breakdowns on the question of frequency of Allied-German contact show that, on the average, more than half of the respondents in the higher status elements of the population think that there is little or very little contact. Their opposites in general express fewer opinion, and in a few cases - for example, the less well educated group and the lower socio-economic group - they are somewhat more inclined to estimate more contact between Germans and the Allied troops.

With the exception of the women, responsibility for lack of contact is placed by most groups - and particularly by veterans - primarily on the soldiers. The women, however, attribute responsibility most often to both soldiers and population.

"Do you think that the (American)(British)(French) soldiers, who are now in West Germany have much contact with the German population, or little contact? (much or very much?)(little or very little?)"

	Very much	Much	Little	Very little	None	No opinion	No. of Cases
WEST GERMANY							
Sex:							
Men	3%	27%	40%	9%	2%	19%	559
Women	3	22	31	7	4	33	636
Education:							
Elementary school	3	26	32	7	3	29	980
Beyond elementary school	3	16	51	9	3	18	214
Socio-Economic Status:							
Lower class	4	25	30	6	4	31	600
Middle and upper class	2	23	41	9	2	23	595
Income: (per month)							
0 - 299 DM	3	24	30	8	4	31	776
300 - 399 DM	5	26	43	5	2	19	223
400 DM and more	2	23	48	8	2	17	195
Age:							
Under 40 years	3	26	41	7	2	21	508
40 years and over	3	23	31	8	4	31	684
Party Preference:							
SPD	6	33	36	8	1	16	301
CDU/CSU	3	24	39	10	2	22	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	1	28	42	9	1	19	91
Other parties	1	17	41	6	2	33	94
No party	2	22	36	8	5	27	247
Don't know	2	15	23	4	8	48	200
Occupation:							
Professionals	-	31	37	10	2	20	49
Businessmen	3	16	38	11	4	28	151
White-collar workers	3	26	49	8	1	13	148
Skilled laborers	5	28	39	8	2	18	206
Semi-skilled laborers	6	26	34	5	2	27	126
Farmers	1	22	30	9	6	32	152
Pensioners, students, retired, etc.	1	25	28	7	4	35	232
Religion:							
Catholics	4	22	34	9	2	29	534
Protestants	2	27	35	6	5	25	609
Origin:							
Natives	3	24	37	7	3	26	943
Expellees, Refugees	3	25	31	8	4	29	252
Veteran Status:							
Yes	4	27	41	6	2	20	324
No	2	28	38	12	3	17	233

"And who is mainly responsible for that in your opinion - the soldiers or the population?" (If "little")

Soldiers Population Both Other No opinion No. of cases

WEST GERMANY

Sex:

Sex	Soldiers	Population	Both	Other	No opinion	No. of cases
Men	40%	22%	21%	11%	6%	222
Women	29	25	32	6	8	199

Education:

Elementary school	33	23	27	8	9	313
Beyond elementary school	41	24	23	10	2	108

Socio-Economic Status:

Lower class	36	24	26	4	10	178
Middle and upper class	34	23	27	11	5	243

Income: (per month)

0 - 299 M	36	22	27	6	9	231
300 - 399 M	29	27	31	9	4	97
400 M and more	38	23	20	15	4	93

Age:

Under 40 years	34	24	28	5	9	207
40 years and over	35	22	25	12	6	214

Party Preference:

SPD	39	27	23	6	5	109
CDU/CSU	33	19	27	12	9	102
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	40	21	34	5	-	38
Other parties	29	40	21	5	5	38
No party	32	28	23	9	8	88
Don't know	33	4	37	11	15	46

Occupation:

Professionals	33	11	45	11	-	18
Businessmen	30	30	28	9	3	57
White-collar workers	29	25	28	14	4	72
Skilled laborers	39	16	25	9	11	80
Farmers	42	27	15	7	9	45
Pensioners, students, retired, etc.	32	26	32	2	8	65

Religion:

Catholics	39	22	22	11	6	183
Protestants	32	26	29	6	7	215

Origin:

Natives	34	24	26	9	7	344
Expellees, Refugees	39	20	27	8	6	77

Veteran Status:

Yes	44	20	22	11	3	133
No	33	25	20	12	10	89

C O N F I D E N T I A L

HIGHER STATUS GROUPS MORE FAVORABLE TOWARD ALLIED-GERMAN CONTACT ...

The higher status elements - the men, the better educated, and the more affluent - are more inclined than their opposites to favor association with Allied troops. This does not imply, however, that their counterparts oppose such association, but rather that they express less interest one way or another. It should be noted that in no case does a group depart from the pattern of a majority favoring much contact.

"How frequently should the soldiers be in contact with the German population in your opinion - much, or little? (much or very much? (little or very little?)"

WEST GERMANY	Very much	Much	Little	Very little	Not at all	Doesn't matter	No opi- nion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>								
Men	15%	46%	14%	3%	4%	12%	6%	559
Women	6	38	16	4	5	18	13	636
<u>Education:</u>								
Elementary school	9	41	15	4	4	16	11	980
Beyond elementary school	18	48	15	4	5	8	2	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>								
Lower class	8	40	14	4	4	17	13	600
Middle and upper class	13	45	15	3	5	13	6	595
<u>Income: (per month)</u>								
0 - 299 DM	8	39	14	4	5	18	12	776
300 - 399 DM	12	46	17	4	5	12	4	223
400 DM and more	17	49	15	4	3	7	5	195
<u>Age:</u>								
Under 40 years	9	43	20	4	4	14	6	508
40 years and over	11	41	12	3	5	16	12	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>								
SPD	13	51	16	2	4	10	4	301
CDU/CSU	13	44	16	3	4	12	8	262
FDP/LDP/BDV	12	54	23	1	6	3	1	91
Other parties	6	44	18	6	5	9	12	94
No party	11	39	13	5	5	19	8	247
Don't know	4	22	9	5	4	30	26	200
<u>Occupation:</u>								
Professionals	16	64	14	2	-	4	-	49
Businessmen	13	39	16	6	5	13	8	151
White-collar workers	15	45	14	3	3	14	6	148
Skilled laborers	11	48	13	4	5	14	5	206
Semi-skilled laborers	9	39	17	6	3	18	8	126
Farmers	6	31	20	1	9	17	16	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	9	37	14	3	3	21	13	232
<u>Religion:</u>								
Catholics	13	41	13	5	4	14	10	534
Protestants	8	42	17	3	4	16	10	609
<u>Origin:</u>								
Natives	11	41	15	4	5	16	8	943
Expellees, Refugees	8	46	13	3	3	12	15	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>								
Yes	16	49	13	3	4	11	4	324
No	14	43	15	3	4	11	10	233

JOINT PARTICIPATION BY GERMANS AND ALLIES WELCOMED ONLY IN PUBLIC, NON-SOCIAL ACTIVITIES ...

More association between Allied and German elements is recommended by half of the West German public, as already reported. To ascertain what ways and means the public believes should be used to develop these contacts, respondents were presented with a list of possible activities in which Germans and Allies could participate jointly, and were asked which they would welcome, which they would be indifferent to, and which they would oppose.

It is found that acceptance of common participation varies considerably according to the type of activity concerned. A majority of 58 per cent say they would welcome joint sports activities and only 3 per cent would oppose it. Church activities and attendance by Allied troops would also be welcomed by nearly half (48%) and only 6 per cent would object to this contact. But at public dances and family celebrations only about one in five would seek out Allied soldiers and a third would object to their presence. It would seem, then, that at any public, non-social event, Allied troops would find a good reception, but that at private, social affairs a considerable number of Germans would prefer segregation.

"On this card you find some possibilities in which (American) (British) (French) soldiers can come in contact with the German population. At which of these occasions would you welcome this contact, at which of them would you be against it?"

	Welcome				Not mind				Against				No opinion			
	All.Brit.	US.	Fr.	All.Brit.	US.	Fr.	All.Brit.	US.	Fr.	All.Brit.	US.	Fr.	All.Brit.	US.	Fr.	
Sport activities	58%	56%	62%	53%	32%	34%	27%	35%	3%	2%	3%	3%	7%	8%	8%	9%..100%
Club evenings	31	30	35	24	39	42	37	31	20	18	17	31	10	10	11	14
Church activities & worship	48	44	51	52	39	43	35	32	6	5	6	9	7	8	8	7
Family celebrations	21	20	24	15	36	37	36	32	32	32	30	42	11	11	10	11
Public dances	18	21	16	12	38	38	40	30	34	31	35	44	10	10	9	14
In German restaurants	23	23	22	21	46	45	48	46	22	22	21	22	9	10	9	11

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GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group breakdowns on the question of joint participation of Germans with Allied troops in these various activities reveal the following indications: (See Appendix for tables)

... In sport activities, joint participation would be favored considerably more frequently than opposed by all groups with the exception of the farmers and those respondents with no party preference. Of the higher status elements 7 in 10 would favor such contact and only 24% would oppose it. It is noteworthy that as many as 76% of the veterans would welcome the contact and only 22% would be against it.

... On the question of church activities, the general reaction is favorable for Allied participation, although some groups ("lower class", "no party preference", etc.) are more opposed than favorable. Almost 6 in 10 of the higher status elements would welcome Allied-German contact in church, with 34% opposed to it. It is of particular interest that the Catholic group is considerably more favorable to Allied participation in their church affairs than are the Protestants, who divide almost evenly between favor and opposition.

... At Club evenings Allied troops would be more welcome than unwelcome by only a few groups - the better educated, the SPD party adherents, and the professionals - while the men and the veterans divide evenly in their views, and the remaining groups are more opposed than favorable.

... All groups are opposed more often than in favor of mixed Allied-German groups at family celebrations. Here again the higher status elements are a good deal more favorable than their counterparts, but nevertheless remain preponderantly opposed.

... The majority in all groups would be either opposed or indifferent to contact with Allied troops at public dances, and without exception the troops would be unwelcome by the preponderance of Germans in German restaurants. The men, the better educated, and the better paid would be more favorable than their counterparts, but even they would oppose association with Allied troops under these circumstances.

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MANY SUGGEST WAYS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS ...

A second approach to probing opinions on ways and means of developing German-Allied contacts was to request all respondents to suggest how this could be done. Suggestions for improving relations or increasing contacts between the German people and the Allied troops stationed in Germany are made by half of the West German public. As the summary table below shows, residents of the US and French Zones have ideas on the subject more often than do those in the British Zone. Most of the people who do not make suggestions claim that they have no idea what to say as the problem is beyond their scope, but a handful state that relations are already so good that no improvement is needed, and a few refuse to make proposals, saying that they have no desire to further contacts between the troops and the German people.

Summary Division of Replies *

Proportions:	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Making suggestions	50%	46%	57%	55%
Not making suggestions:				
Relations already good	3	3	4	1
Against contacts	5	5	4	5
No opinion	$\frac{42}{100\%}$	$\frac{46}{100\%}$	$\frac{35}{100\%}$	$\frac{39}{100\%}$

PREPONDERANCE OF SUGGESTIONS LEAVE THE PROBLEM UP TO THE TROOPS ...

Twice as many of the suggestions made for improving relations between the Allied troops and the German people refer to steps the Allies could take as refer to what the population could do about the matter. Thus, 48 per cent of the mentions suggest Allied moves; 23 percent, action or changes in attitudes on the part of the German public; and 29 percent propose mutual steps to better relations.

Since the nature of many of the suggestions made on what the soldiers could do to improve relations requires special consideration, these suggestions will be dealt with separately. As to the proposals for mutual steps to foster good relations as well as to those regarding action by the German public, it will be noted that the leading proposals in both instances are for joint participation in group gatherings and social affairs. It is proposed that both groups invite each other to take part in discussions, sports events, meetings of one sort or another, and on the part of the Germans, to invite soldiers to their homes. More friendliness, and the abandonment of former prejudices are also recommended as ways in which the German people could help matters along. Increased friendliness, the disappearance of artificial dividing lines, and visits between families are also recommended as mutual steps to be taken.

* A series of questions was employed as follows:

First everyone was asked: "Can you propose anything which would improve the relations between the soldiers and the population?" This was followed by the probe, "And what else would you propose?" Those respondents who had confined their suggestions only to what the soldiers could do were then asked, "And what do you believe the population could do in this respect?" And, vice versa, those who had only mentioned the population, were asked, "And what do you believe could the soldiers do in this respect?"

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Suggestions of Mutual Steps Designed to Improve Relations

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Joint cultural meetings, sports events, clubs, etc.:</u>				
Have football matches; joint meetings initiated by both sides; joint activities during free time and movies that acquaint us with the American way of life; organize joint discussion groups without fixing a subject matter; cooperate in cultural fields - for instance, youth exchange programs, invite soldiers to meetings; more German-American clubs should be established; etc.	15%	19%	13%	15%
<u>No quarrels, social merger, equal rights for all:</u>				
There should be nothing less than social merger - they might stay here for 30 years; there shouldn't be such strict boundaries between Americans and Germans; etc.	5	6	4	4
<u>Mutual invitations from families:</u>				
Exchange of opinions between American families living here and German families; meetings in family circles; etc.	3	3	3	2
<u>Should learn each other's language:</u>				
They should start language lessons for both parties without charging, so that the American soldiers learn the German language, and we the English language - then the relationship would improve by itself; etc.	4	3	3	3
<u>More interchange of information about customs, aims, etc.:</u>				
The population should be informed through the press and through the radio about the goals and intentions of the English; etc.	2 29%	2 33%	1 24%	4 28%

Suggestions of Steps German People Could Take

<u>Soldiers should be invited to meetings to homes:</u>				
Invite soldiers to all events; invite soldiers to public meetings; German families should often invite the occupation soldiers and let them get acquainted with German family life through invitations, for instance, for Christmas; to invite the Americans and show them German hospitality and German friendship; etc.	9%	9%	10%	8%
<u>Be more friendly to the soldiers and become acquainted with them:</u>				
They should talk with them so they (the soldiers) have the feeling that we like them; should be friendly towards the soldiers, not malicious; real understanding requires no more than a little tact and mutual readiness to acknowledge the other person - and that ought to be done from our side too - unfortunately it's very often lacking; etc.	5	5	6	5
<u>Forget prejudice - forget about the past:</u>				
They should forget about what they did to us in the past war years; the Germans should give up their negative attitude and should regard them not only as an occupation power but also as human beings; they should have a greater interest in their fellow-men, and should not blame the individual soldier for things which aren't his fault; etc.	4	3	4	0
<u>Retain self-respect towards soldiers and not put up with everything:</u>				
They shouldn't be too pushing with the soldiers at the first contact but they should also not erect artificial barriers; the public should be more firm towards the soldiers and should not put up with everything; etc.	1	2	2	-
<u>Should learn English:</u> Should try to learn English; etc.	1	-	1	-
<u>Others:</u> They should not found a party like the Rumer party and thereby provoke the occupation powers; etc.	3 23%	2 21%	3 26%	3 23%

4 CRITICAL NOTE CHARACTERIZES SUGGESTIONS FOR TROOP ACTION ...

The strains and stresses incident to an occupation are readily apparent in the tenor of the suggestions about what the soldiers could do to improve relations. When the West Germans are not saying that the soldiers should stop doing what they allegedly are now doing, they tend to suggest actions which are quite beyond the scope of Privates Smith, Atkins or Lapin. Thus, the soldiers are advised to behave more correctly and more considerately to the Germans, or to stop being so arrogant, or to stop playing around with German girls. Only two categories mentioned deal with positive things the soldiers themselves can do: one) participate more in German activities; and two) learn to speak German. (A very small fraction, going contrary to the general sentiment, recommends less restraints, more freedom for the troops.)

The other recommendations, though beyond the scope of individual soldiers are nevertheless worthy of notice in that they indicate dissatisfaction with certain occupation policies: e.g. recommendations that 1) segregation be ended in movies, restaurants, playgrounds and churches; 2) that residential compounds and further requisitioning be abandoned; and 3) political equality, a peace treaty and other political measures be taken to reduce the differences between the German people and the Allies now stationed in Germany.

Suggestions of Steps the Soldiers Could Take

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Behave better, with more consideration:</u> They should keep peace with the public; the soldiers should meet the people with more friendliness and consideration; the British should not be so detached from the population as they have been up to now; they should care more about us; should be friendlier instead of walking around stubbornly; soldiers should have more discipline; the soldiers should behave correctly even when they are drunk; the soldiers should behave more correctly toward the German people, that would win them more sympathy; they ought to behave impeccably toward us and show us more respect, they should live modestly at our side; the Americans should adapt themselves a bit to the Germans; the Americans should help poor people, it would increase their popularity, and to them it would make no difference; etc.	15%	14%	16%	15%
<u>Put an end to their arrogant, immodest behavior and the attitude of victors and masters:</u> They should stop showing off as victors toward the population; the French should no longer consider us their ex-enemies; primarily the soldiers should give up acting like victors and treat us as human beings; the French occupation should behave more modestly - particularly the family members; don't keep telling the Germans about their war cruelties. - it irritates both - the Americans too hesitate doing so, that is a hindrance, but neither the soldiers nor the population is to blame; they shouldn't be so sure of themselves and think they are better than the Germans; etc.	7	7	7	12
<u>Participation in German activities, go to German restaurants, visit Germans:</u> The soldiers should participate in our sport festivals, attend our adult schools (Volkshochschule); the soldiers should go to German restaurants much more; take more interests in the spiritual life of the Germans, join our clubs - singing clubs, skittle clubs, they should also invite us in return; they should seek more family contacts and not only girl friends - everything that is typical for soldier life; etc.	(cont'd on next page) 5	6	5	3

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Put an end to separate movies, restaurants, swimming pools, church services, play grounds, etc. Play grounds for American children should also be open to German children; in the first line the posters "Out of bounds for Allied personnel" should disappear; Americans should have no special restaurants; no special cinemas, no special church services; they should share sports, open the swimming pools and sports grounds to Germans instead of always detaching themselves; etc.

4% 4% 5% 3%

Put an end to residential compounds; requisitioning of housing. Families should live as neighbors, the British should not have extra housing; they should requisition fewer apartments and should show consideration for the Germans; the mood would improve if the occupation released more housing space; they should not keep on requisitioning housing and not even allow the owners to stay in their houses, they all have too large apartments, sometimes one couple lives in a big villa by themselves; they should be billeted with the German families; etc.

4 4 3 2

Through special political measures:

We should be given equal rights; be given a peace treaty; the occupation costs should be out; America should pay part of the occupation costs, because the little man has to give his share and the relationship is not even particularly friendly; once they are over here they should try to get the PWs free and drop any further sentencing; etc.

3 2 5 3

The individual soldiers should be given more freedom: Cancel the laws that still exist - the Americans are always preached not to do this or that, such things should be eased; the soldiers should be allowed to move about freely, that they can come in contact with the German population, they can learn about their needs and worries and a relationship from one human being to the other one be created; the British government should leave more freedom to the soldiers, I believe they are not allowed by a superior authority to have social relations with the Germans in order to avoid quarrels, etc.

2 2 1 1

The soldiers should learn German:

The soldiers should be given the opportunity to take German language courses from Germans, etc.

2 1 2 4

The soldiers should not play around with German girls:

The soldiers should be forbidden to play around with German girls; etc.

1 1 2 *

The soldiers should remain in their barracks:

I said so before - they should stay in their barracks at night and not in pubs; etc.

1 1 1 1

Other answers: The "Amis" should build up everything they have destroyed; they should write home about one or the other injustice that happens here - maybe some things might be changed from over there; they should send more Germans to America, and not merely politicians; etc.;

4 4 3 3
48% 46% 50% 45%

* Less than one half of one per cent

MAJORITY WILLING TO INVITE ALLIED SOLDIERS INTO HOMES ...

On the basis of the foregoing results, it would seem that Allied-German association would be welcomed in rather impersonal, non-social situations. And yet when asked if they would be willing to invite Allied soldiers into their own homes, a majority of West German residents say they would. It is also true, of course, that a considerable number would not favor such close contact, and it should be noted that very few are undecided. On this question - its personal nature probably precludes indifference - their views are much more definite than on other questions.

"It has been proposed on the part of Germans, that German families should occasionally invite Allied soldiers into their homes. Would you be willing to invite a soldier into your family occasionally?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, willing	55%	55%	55%	50%
No, not willing	40	38	42	38
No opinion	5	7	3	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

A variety of arguments are brought up for not inviting Allied troops in German homes. They include such reasons as language barriers, the feeling of animosity toward the conquerors and the occupation, lack of money, or interest, dislike of inviting strangers into one's home, fear of gossip and so on. (See comments on following pages.)

FEWER READY TO INVITE NEGRO SOLDIERS ...

On the special question of Negro soldiers, acceptance falls off even among the group who express willingness to welcome troops in general. Only 23 per cent - or less than half of this group - would invite Negro soldiers into their houses - and 30 per cent would be opposed to such intermingling.

"Would you be willing to invite a Negro soldier occasionally into your family?" (Asked of those willing to invite soldiers to homes).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	23%	24%	23%	20%
No	30	29	30	37
No opinion	2	2	2	1
	<u>55%</u>	<u>55%</u>	<u>55%</u>	<u>50%</u>

"Why would you have anything against inviting Allied soldiers occasionally into your family?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
--------------	--------------	---------	-------------

Language difficulties: It is so difficult to understand each other - so I'd rather be with Germans; I am absolutely against such a thing because it is senseless - we can't understand each other anyway; because one can't understand the language and the soldier might get offended; we can't understand them; because I am not in the position to do that - I couldn't talk to them, one couldn't get acquainted; etc.

6%	6%	4%	8%
----	----	----	----

They are still our enemies: They are foreigners, enemies, and therefore it won't work; because in spite of everything they are our enemies, and it's their fault that we are as badly off as we are; I don't like them - they are the victors; if I start to invite them it would go too far - they were and are our enemies; there is still the difference between victor and defeated and therefore the suspicion will remain; there are enough Germans we can invite - it's out of question; I can't give enough reasons for that - I just think the whole matter of the occupation is senseless - they should see to it that they get home; because I am German - I just couldn't do it, I am much too proud - I don't want to have anything to do with them; etc.

6	8	5	5
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I don't have the money (the home) to extend such invitations: At the moment I don't have enough money to invite guests; I can't afford it - if I want to invite somebody I want to be a good host; I am much too poor - we are almost starving - (mother and 7 children); because of lack of space - we can't even offer a chair; we can't invite a person into our barrack; because I don't have a real apartment; etc.

5	5	5	7
---	---	---	---

No interest - want to be undisturbed at home with my family: I am not interested in it; I want to be undisturbed within my family; because I want to have peace and quiet when I get home; I am not interested in in personally - though I welcome the idea as a whole; we are rather by ourselves at home - we don't need a stranger and I don't want to start all that; etc.

5	3	7	4
---	---	---	---

They are strangers to us - they have other ways and customs: We don't know the ways of these soldiers; I don't have anything against them, but I don't want to have anything to do with them either - I feel sorry for them but they are strangers to me; because they are from another country where they live under different conditions; because I don't desire any closer contact with them - they are different people from us and have a different outlook on life; they are so different from us - we talk more and can adjust ourselves much easier - they don't want to adjust; because it is something different than inviting good friends; because they are not Germans - I don't have anything against them, but it would be better if they remained by themselves; etc.

4	3	3	9
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(cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>They treated us badly (during and after the war) - bad experiences with them (incidents, etc.): I don't want to have contact with these kind of people - I have an aversion toward them - they did enough to us during the war; because I can't forget the way they treated us after and during the war (bombardments); I don't want to invite soldiers to my home who treated us Germans like pigs in the past; those are the people that threw bombs on us and haven't made peace with us as of today; because the Amis mistreated us - they destroyed everything and bombed women and children and let them starve; because I had bad experiences with the Americans in 1945 right after the war; etc.</u>	3%	2%	4%	2%
<u>They don't behave well - I don't like them - I am afraid of them: They don't have any business with us - they might quarrel and I am afraid of them; I don't have any contacts with them, I am a little afraid of them; I couldn't say that - God knows what they might do at home; one doesn't know how the individual among them thinks - they might get fresh if we offer them something to drink; etc.</u>	3	2	5	4
<u>People would gossip: Because I live with my mother and the people would start talking if a soldier would begin to visit us - it would be different if there was a man at home; I am all alone - my husband is still missing and the neighbors would talk then; my profession as a teacher is always subject to criticism; etc.</u>	2	2	2	2
<u>One has to be careful - they just try to establish contacts (with women): I have two daughters, and therefore I have to be careful; I have a young daughter and an invitation like that would look like I was a match-maker; as I already mentioned - they just want to get at our women; etc.</u>	1	1	2	1
<u>They are arrogant - they don't consider us equal: Because the occupation soldiers don't consider us their equals; the soldiers are still arrogant toward us; they hate us; we should have equality first before we talk about something like that; etc.</u>	1	1	*	1
<u>Personal reasons and miscellaneous reasons: I am too old and too sick - I've got my pains and I wouldn't get any fun out of it; I don't even talk to my neighbors - what should I talk about then with the soldiers?; as I told you, I live like a hermit, and like to lead that kind of life - therefore it's senseless for me to invite any soldiers; because my parents are very old and they wouldn't stand for it; etc.</u>	7	7	7	6
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{44\%**}$	$\frac{2}{42\%**}$	$\frac{2}{46\%**}$	$\frac{1}{49\%**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Although the higher status groups - the men, the better educated, and the higher socio-economic and income groups - are more inclined than their counterparts to favor having Allied soldiers in their homes, all groups (with the exception of farmers and unemployed) express willingness to invite them more often than they express opposition to the idea.

"It has been proposed on the part of Germans, that German families should occasionally invite Allied soldiers into their homes. Would you be willing to invite a soldier into your family occasionally?"

WEST GERMANY	Yes, willing	No, not willing	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	65%	32%	3%	559
Women	47	46	7	636
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	52	42	6	980
Beyond elementary school	70	28	2	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	51	42	7	600
Middle and upper class	60	37	3	595
<u>Income: (per month)</u>				
0 - 299 DM	49	44	7	776
300 - 399 DM	64	34	2	223
400 DM and more	69	28	3	195
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	56	38	6	508
40 years and over	54	41	5	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	63	35	2	301
CDU/CSU	60	35	5	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	73	26	1	91
Other parties	52	46	2	94
No party	55	40	5	247
Don't know	32	52	16	200
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	74	24	2	49
Businessmen	58	38	4	151
White-collar workers	67	30	3	148
Skilled laborers	56	40	4	206
Semi-skilled laborers	61	33	6	126
Farmers	49	44	7	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	43	51	6	232
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	56	39	5	534
Protestants	53	41	6	609
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	54	41	5	943
Expellees, Refugees	61	34	5	252
<u>Veterans:</u>				
Yes	67	30	3	324
No	63	34	3	233

But with respect to the Negro question, there are several departures from the usual pattern of the higher status elements showing greater receptivity to liberal ideas. Socio-economic status and income, for example, seem to have little to do with attitudes toward Negroes - nor are there very significant differences between educational groups, although the better educated respondents are on the whole somewhat more inclined than their opposites to favor Negro associations. The men, the younger people, and the professionals, on the other hand, show a good deal more willingness than do their opposites to accept Negroes into their homes.

"Would you be willing to invite a Negro soldier occasionally into your family?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	53%	44%	3%	362
Women	30	67	3	298
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41	56	3	510
Beyond elementary school	49	49	2	150
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	42	55	3	305
Middle and upper class	42	54	4	355
<u>Income: (per month)</u>				
0 - 299 DM	42	55	3	382
300 - 399 DM	43	55	2	143
400 DM and more	42	54	4	134
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	52	46	2	285
40 years and over	35	61	4	372
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	45	54	1	189
CDU/CSU	44	55	1	157
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	47	47	6	66
Other parties	41	49	10	49
No party	44	54	2	136
Don't know	24	68	8	63
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	59	30	11	36
Businessmen	39	56	5	87
White-collar workers	38	60	2	99
Skilled laborers	50	48	2	116
Semi-skilled laborers	43	53	4	77
Farmers	37	63	-	75
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	39	60	1	99
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41	56	3	299
Protestants	42	55	3	323
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	42	55	3	507
Expellees, Refugees	44	54	2	153
<u>Veterans</u>				
Yes	53	44	3	216
No	51	46	3	146

HALF HAVE NO IDEA HOW ALLIED SOLDIERS SPEND LEISURE ACTIVITY ...

Indicative of the distance felt by the German people between themselves and Allied troops is the fact the 50 per cent of the population, questioned on the leisure activities of the troops, either show no interest at all or do not feel qualified to say what the soldiers do in their free time.

But of those who venture an impression, the most frequently expressed view is that the free time of the soldier is largely spent in sports such as hunting, fishing. Apparently the troops have also frequently been seen in movies, the theater, concerts, in restaurants, and particularly in the US Zone with girls. Only 4 per cent cite such undesirable activities as black marketing, brawling and drunken rowdiness as pastimes of the troops.

"As far as you know, how do most of the Allied soldiers spend their free time?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>With sports, hunting, fishing, walking, driving:</u>				
Sports; fishing and hunting; they probably do sports; mostly with sport and play, but also with fishing and hunting; sport activities; they go for drives in their cars; they go for walks or drives; etc.	25%	21%	32%	25%
<u>With girls or pursuing them:</u>				
Many of them go out with young girls - this seems to be the main occupation of these soldiers; they visit their girl friends and there they spend their hours of relaxation - I don't know more - I just know that they spend more time with love than in the Kasernes; they spend it with their girls - that is quite obvious - that is really a strange question; with "painted" German girls; there are restaurants where certain girls hang around and where the rest of the population doesn't like to go; with a German girl; most of them with girls; etc.	14	9	23	12
<u>Movies, plays, concerts:</u>				
They probably go to movies; they go to shows quite often; mostly in German movies; etc.	14	15	10	19
<u>In restaurants, cafes:</u>				
In restaurants, mostly they sit around in restaurants; bars; etc.	12	10	17	8
<u>In their clubs - casino - with their families:</u>				
They have club evenings and also many parties within their families; they have their own clubs and places of entertainment; they have their own clubs; etc.	11	13	9	7
<u>With dancing and other entertainments:</u>				
Dancing; with dancing and other entertainment; they go to dances a lot; etc.	9	8	10	14
<u>Drinking; brawling; fighting:</u>				
They drink a lot; they drink in restaurants and when they are drunk they get crazy ideas and molest honest citizens on the streets; etc.	3	1	5	2
<u>Traveling - vacations; visiting - windowshopping; etc.:</u>				
They see Germany; they visit downtown; they walk around in the city; others go travelling; they drive around the country side, that's all I know; etc.	3	3	3	6
<u>Black marketing - bartering:</u>				
They chase around on the black market; they do a lot of bartering; etc.	1	1	-	-
<u>Other opinions:</u>				
They write letters to their folks; go to church; with the families of the German girl friends; etc.	4	4	4	3
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	51	55	44	49
Don't know; never heard anything; not interested;	147%	140%	157%	145%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PREPONDERANCE HAS NO SUGGESTIONS FOR SPARE TIME ACTIVITIES OF TROOPS ...

Asked what they think the soldiers should do in their spare time, the preponderance would either leave it up to the soldiers or do not care (as long as the Germans are not disturbed). Thus, a fifth (18%) say it should be left to the individual to decide; another five per cent think the troops should do as they please provided they behave themselves and do not disturb the public; six per cent do not care what they do as long as they do it out of sight of the Germans, and thirty per cent refrain from making any suggestions at all. Among those who can propose something, sports are most frequently recommended (25). They should use their time in becoming more familiar with Germany - her language, culture, history and psychology, according to 17 per cent; while others suggest such recreational activities as the theater, dancing, in cafes and pubs, and cultural affairs.

"And how should the soldiers spend their free time, in your opinion?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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With sports, hunting, and hiking:

They should be active in sports; with sport and play; should go for hikes; with sports, that would be better than loafing around in restaurants; they should do sports - that keeps them healthy; etc.	25%	24%	30%	13%
--	-----	-----	-----	-----

That should be left up to the individual:

As each of them likes to - it should be left up to the individual; they should do as they please; then can enjoy themselves as they please; the same way as they actually spend their free time now; just as they please - I don't have any suggestions; each of them should do what he can afford; they can spend their free time as they please; that is asking too much - it's a private affair of each individual; they should do as they were used to at home - I just imagine it that way - I don't know for sure though; etc.	19	18	18	28
--	----	----	----	----

They should try to get acquainted with the German culture, language, history:

Should be interested in everything so they get to know Germany and learn to understand the Germans; they should learn German so they can understand the German people better; they should concern themselves with the German way of life - joint sports activities with Germans, because that helps to get acquainted; they should look at everything - should see the beauty of our country - should read German newspapers; should learn about our customs by taking trips; they should study about the territory they occupy, especially in cultural and economic respects; should take German lessons, should try to adjust themselves to our way of life - should visit cultural activities and get to know our country; etc.	17	18	16	14
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Movies - plays:

They should go to movies and to plays; should go to movies like the other Germans do too - they need some kind of entertainment too; just as we do - movies, plays; etc.	12	13	9	11
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With dancing - parties - other entertainments:

Should go dancing - God knows how much longer they'll be able to; they can go dancing and drinking - I don't have anything against it; at parties, every soldier seeks entertainment with his comrades at parties; they should take it as easy as possible - they should be merry; etc.	8	7	10	4
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

They should educate themselves further - reading - going to plays - music, etc.:

With reading, through cultural activities; music; take classes at the Volkshochschule; shouldn't go to movies and restaurants all the time - most of them are young guys who can go on with their education - they could hold club evenings; etc.

6%	5%	6%	6%
----	----	----	----

They should stay by themselves (their own clubs, etc.) and leave us alone:

Should remain by themselves; should stay in their own clubs and leave the population alone; they can have parties with each other; should stay by themselves if possible and leave us alone; sports and crafts - then they'll be by themselves; etc.

6	6	5	6
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They can do as they please, as long as they behave decently and leave us alone:

I can't tell them what to do - everybody should do as he pleases in his spare time providing he doesn't go too far; that is none of our business - they can spend their free time as they think right as long as they avoid quarrels; above all they should behave decently in public; they shall have their enjoyments, they shall go to restaurants, but they shall drink within reason; I don't care one way or the other, but they should leave our German girls alone - there are already enough occupation children - and we have to pay higher taxes in order to provide for them; etc.

5	4	7	5
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Restaurants and cafes:

In cafes and restaurants; should go to restaurants, as other Germans too; just as we used to do in the past - should go to restaurants and buy themselves a mug of beer; they shall relax after their work; etc.

3	3	4	3
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Other opinions:

With work and reconstruction; they should sleep and sleep, nothing else because then nothing can happen; they could help the population with work; they should build workshops and learn various crafts - i.e. should make presents for children; they do right - they should have some relaxation - that is nothing bad; etc.

4	4	5	6
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I don't care - I am not interested in it:

It doesn't matter to me; I am not interested in it; I don't care - I am not interested - they have their own opportunities and their own clubs; I wouldn't care - I don't know enough about it; I am not interested - how should I know anything about it?; a man might know; why should I care about it?; etc.

12	11	12	18
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No opinion / No answer:

18	21	14	11
135%*	134%*	136%*	125%*

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PROXIMITY TO AND ACQUAINTANCE WITH TROOPS TO ATTITUDES TOWARD CONTACTS ...

02792

In order to determine the relationship of acquaintance with Allied troops to German attitudes toward the troops, a series of cross-breaks of certain questions were made, and is presented below.

Bearing out the previously reported finding that proximity to the troops leads to good impression of them is the fact that those respondents who know that Allied troops are stationed in their vicinity, more frequently than those who do not live near troop contingents to recommend more German-Allied association. They also more often say that they would be willing to invite soldiers to their homes.

"As far as you know, are there any troops stationed here in your (city) (county)?"*

	Yes	No
"How frequently should the soldiers be in contact with the German population in your opinion - much or little (much or very much, little or very little)?"		
Very much or much	65%	43%
Little or very little	16	21
Not at all	5	4
Doesn't matter	14	16
No opinion	5	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"It has been proposed on the part of the Germans, that German families should occasionally invite Allied soldiers into their homes. Would you be willing to invite a soldier into your family occasionally?"

Yes, willing	60%	50%
No, not willing	37	42
No opinion	3	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Personal acquaintanceship with soldiers is also related to opinions concerning the desirability of German-Allied contact and on the willingness to invite soldiers into German homes. In the two tables below it is apparent that those who know soldiers personally are far more favorable disposed than those who do not know soldiers to approve more frequent German-Allied association as well as such personal contact as having soldiers in their homes.

"Have you personally gotten to know Allied soldiers since the war ended?"**

	Yes - Well or superficially	No, never
"How frequently should the soldier be in contact with the German population in your opinion - much or little (much or very much, little or very little)?"		
Very much or much	66%	44%
Little or very little	18	19
Not at all	2	6
Doesn't matter	10	18
No opinion	4	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"There has been proposed on the part of Germans, the German families should occasionally invite Allied soldiers into their homes. Would you be willing to invite a soldier into your family occasionally?"

Yes, willing	73%	44%
No, not willing	25	49
No opinion	2	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

- * In West Germany as a whole, 56 per cent say troops are stationed nearby.
 ** Thirty-eight per cent of the West German public claims to have become well or superficially acquainted with one or more soldiers since the war's end.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

APPENDIX

Group Breakdown Tables on Joint Troop-German Activities ...

"On this card you find some possibilities in which (American) (British) (French) soldiers can come in contact with the German population. At which of these occasions would you welcome this contact, at which of them would you not mind, and at which of them would you be against it?" (Sport Activities)

	Welcome	Against	Not mind	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>WEST GERMANY</u>					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	70%	25%	2%	3%	559
Women	47	39	3	11	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	54	34	3	9	980
Beyond elementary school	72	24	3	1	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	49	37	3	11	600
Middle and upper class	66	27	3	4	595
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	52	35	3	10	776
300 - 399 DM	65	32	1	2	223
400 DM and more	72	21	3	4	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	60	31	3	6	508
40 years and over	55	33	3	9	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	69	27	2	2	301
CDU/CSU	61	32	2	5	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	79	8	3	-	91
Other parties	65	31	1	3	94
No party	54	31	4	11	247
Don't know	27	49	3	21	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	82	18	-	-	49
Businessmen	60	30	5	5	151
White-collar workers	72	22	2	4	148
Skilled laborers	62	30	2	6	206
Semi-skilled laborers	62	29	-	9	126
Farmers	43	44	4	9	152
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	45	39	3	13	232
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	56	33	3	8	534
Protestants	58	33	2	7	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	57	32	3	8	943
Expellees, Refugees	58	33	2	7	252
<u>Voteran Status:</u>					
Yes	76	22	1	1	324
No	63	28	3	6	233

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"On this card you find some possibilities in which (American) (British) (French) soldiers can come in contact with the German population. At which of these occasions would you welcome this contact, at which of them would you not mind, and at which of them would you be against it?" (Club Evening)

	Welcome	Against	Not mind	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	38%	38%	18%	6%	559
Women	25	40	20	15	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	28	41	19	12	980
Beyond elementary school	43	31	22	4	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	29	38	18	15	600
Middle and upper class	32	40	21	7	595
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	29	38	20	13	776
300 - 399 DM	32	43	20	5	223
400 DM and more	36	40	17	7	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	30	40	22	8	508
40 years and over	32	38	18	12	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	43	34	19	4	301
CDU/CSU	34	41	18	7	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	37	47	16	-	91
Other parties	29	42	24	5	94
No party	28	38	20	14	247
Don't know	10	40	20	30	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	51	29	18	2	49
Businessmen	25	45	22	8	151
White-collar workers	34	40	21	5	148
Skilled laborers	37	36	18	9	206
Semi-skilled laborers	35	32	20	13	126
Farmers	20	43	24	13	152
Not employed: pensioners students, retired, etc.	27	40	17	16	232
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	31	37	20	12	534
Protestants	30	42	18	10	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	31	38	20	11	943
Expellees, Refugees	32	40	19	9	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	40	39	17	4	324
No	36	37	19	8	233

II

C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"On this card you find some possibilities in which (American) (British) (French) soldiers can come in contact with the German population. At which of these occasions would you welcome this contact, at which of them would you not mind, and at which of them would you be against it?" (Church Activities and Worship).

	Welcome	Against	Not mind	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	52%	39%	5%	4%	559
Women	44	39	6	11	636
Education:					
Elementary school	45	41	5	9	980
Beyond elementary school	60	32	7	1	214
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	41	42	6	11	600
Middle and upper class	54	36	5	5	595
Income: (per month)					
0 - 299 DM	45	40	5	10	776
300 - 399 DM	48	43	6	3	223
400 DM and more	60	30	6	4	195
Age:					
Under 40 years	46	42	6	6	508
40 years and over	48	37	6	9	684
Party Preference:					
SPD	54	38	6	2	301
CDU/CSU	60	31	4	5	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	61	35	4	-	91
Other parties	47	38	12	3	94
No party	40	42	6	12	247
Don't know	25	50	5	20	200
Occupation:					
Professionals	67	31	-	2	49
Businessmen	48	40	7	5	151
White-collar workers	53	36	7	4	148
Skilled laborers	48	43	4	5	206
Semi-skilled laborers	52	33	6	9	126
Farmers	37	47	5	11	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	43	38	6	13	232
Religion:					
Catholics	53	34	5	8	534
Protestants	43	45	5	7	609
Origin:					
Natives	47	39	6	8	943
Expellees, Refugees	49	42	3	6	251
Veteran Status:					
Yes	53	39	6	2	324
No	49	40	4	7	233

III

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

"On this card you find some possibilities in which (American) (British) (French) soldiers can come in contact with the German population. At which of these occasions would you welcome this contact, at which of them would you not mind, and at which of them would you be against it?" (Family Celebrations)

	Welcome	Against	Not mind	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	26%	37%	31%	6%	559
Women	17	35	33	15	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	19	36	33	12	980
Beyond elementary school	31	35	29	5	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	20	36	29	15	600
Middle and upper class	23	36	35	6	595
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	19	35	32	14	776
300 - 399 DM	23	37	35	5	223
400 DM and more	29	36	29	6	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	20	35	37	8	508
40 years and over	23	36	29	12	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	28	35	33	4	301
CDU/CSU	25	39	29	7	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	45	29	2	91
Other parties	26	31	39	4	94
No party	19	37	31	13	247
Don't know	7	32	33	28	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	37	45	16	2	49
Businessmen	18	40	34	8	151
White-collar workers	25	40	30	5	148
Skilled laborers	24	30	38	8	206
Semi-skilled laborers	18	34	37	11	126
Farmers	15	34	38	13	152
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired etc.	18	39	26	17	232
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	23	35	31	11	534
Protestants	20	37	33	10	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	20	35	33	12	943
Expellees, Refugees	24	40	27	9	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	26	39	32	3	324
No	26	34	31	9	233

IV

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"On this card you find some possibilities in which (American) (British) (French) soldiers can come in contact with the German population. At which of these occasions would you welcome this contact, at which of them would you not mind, and at which of them would you be against it?" (Public Dances)

	Welcome	Against	Not mind	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	23%	33%	39%	5%	559
Women	14	41	30	15	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	17	38	33	12	980
Beyond elementary school	23	36	37	4	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	18	38	29	15	600
Middle and upper class	18	38	38	6	595
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	16	39	33	13	776
300 - 399 DM	19	41	36	4	223
400 DM and more	24	32	38	6	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	14	41	38	7	508
40 years and over	21	35	31	13	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	24	38	34	4	301
CDU/CSU	21	39	33	7	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	13	36	50	1	91
Other parties	26	33	37	4	94
No party	15	37	34	14	247
Don't know	7	40	26	27	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	24	43	33	-	49
Businessmen	18	35	40	7	151
White-collar workers	18	37	38	7	148
Skilled laborers	19	42	32	7	206
Semi-skilled laborers	21	31	36	12	126
Farmers	12	38	38	12	152
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	15	41	27	17	232
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	19	35	35	11	534
Protestants	17	41	32	10	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	18	36	36	10	943
Expellees, Refugees	20	43	28	9	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	22	37	38	3	324
No	24	30	38	8	233

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"On this card you find some possibilities in which (American) (British) (French) soldiers can come in contact with the German population. At which of these occasions would you welcome this contact, at which of them would you not mind, and at which of them would you be against it?" (In German restaurants)

Welcome Against Not mind No opinion No. of cases

WEST GERMANY

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	30%	44%	21%	5%	559
Women	16	49	22	13	636
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	21	47	21	11	980
Beyond elementary school	30	43	23	4	214
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	20	46	21	13	600
Middle and upper class	25	47	23	5	595
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
€ - 299 DM	20	47	21	12	776
300 - 399 DM	24	46	26	4	223
400 DM and more	39	43	23	4	195
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	20	50	24	6	508
40 years and over	25	44	20	11	684
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	26	46	25	3	301
CDU/CSU	27	49	19	5	262
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	52	22	-	91
Other parties	27	45	25	3	94
No party	21	42	23	14	247
Don't know	10	46	17	27	200
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	35	43	22	-	49
Businessmen	24	42	27	7	151
White-collar workers	26	49	20	5	148
Skilled laborers	25	44	24	7	206
Semi-skilled laborers	23	47	21	9	126
Farmers	15	51	22	12	152
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	17	49	17	15	232
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	24	44	21	11	534
Protestants	21	50	21	8	609
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	22	46	22	10	943
Expellees, Refugees	23	47	21	9	252
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	31	47	19	3	324
No	29	40	23	8	233

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OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS STAFF

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INTRODUCTION

The present soundings of German opinions on issues related to European defense are based upon an 800 case probability sampling of West Germany obtained between December 14th to 22nd, 1951.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO ("Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung" m.b.H.), Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

SUMMARY

I. GERMAN APPRAISAL OF NATO AND EISENHOWER

The kind of impact that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has thus far had on the West German populace obviously becomes a matter of focal importance as the time draws near when the concrete decisions will be made as to the role that West Germany will play in European defense.

As of the time of the present survey a favorable public opinion toward NATO has as yet failed to develop in West Germany. Adverse evaluations of NATO's functioning to date are if anything more prevalent than favorable orientations, and lack of opinion on and unfamiliarity with NATO as an organization is widespread.

Reactions to General Eisenhower as a leader, however, among Germans aware of his NATO status, are distinctly more favorable than evaluations of NATO. But though favorable reactions clearly preponderate, lack of confidence in Eisenhower and the belief that he would not treat German troops as equal in any European army are feelings held by more than a negligible minority and hence will have to be considered if the situation arises wherein German contingents are to be incorporated under General Eisenhower's leadership.

II. WAR DANGER IN WESTERN MILITARY PREPARATIONS

The question has been raised as to what extent the large scale military build-up among Western nations may have engendered perturbations that the West rather than the East is the more serious threat to world peace.

The returns indicate that though Russia is far more widely seen as the dominant threat to world peace, approximately one third of the West German population have serious apprehensions about America's behavior precipitating war. This is obviously no inappreciable proportion and suggests that whatever can be done to counter such sentiments is distinctly indicated.

III. SOME REACTIONS TO POSSIBLE GERMAN CONSCRIPTION AND TAXATION

Also investigated in connection with military issues in the current survey, were reactions to possible German conscription and defense taxation. With the question of German defense participation becoming ever more concrete these are the kind of issues which now need study and attention.

- b -

Returns from surveys to date suggest that (a) West Germans are preponderately opposed to a conscription law, but (b) a majority is likely to go along with such a law if it were passed by the Federal government.

Among population groups, hard and fast opposition to a conscription law bulks larger among younger men than among older age levels. Such opposition is also more widespread among veterans and among native Germans as compared with refugee-expellee elements. In no group examined, however, does die-hard opposition attain majority status.

Whatever their attitudes on conscription, three out of four believe that it will be an inevitable consequence of West German participation in European defense.

Equally realistic views are held about the likelihood of increase in taxation with again three out of four expressing the judgment that such will be a consequence of German defense participation.

But whatever increases in taxes Germans may be resigned to, the feeling preponderates (four in ten) that they should pay a smaller proportion of their taxes for defense costs than other European nations. Almost as large a proportion, however, feel that an equal proportion of taxes would be proper.

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I. GERMAN APPRAISAL OF NATO AND EISENHOWER

The kind of impact that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has thus far had on the West German populace obviously becomes a matter of focal importance as the time draws near when the concrete decisions will be made as to the role that West Germany will play in European defense.

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF NATO AND ITS LEADERSHIP ...

As of the time of the present survey not quite half of the West German public (46%) proved to be aware of "NATO" or the Atlantic Pact by name. Almost as large a proportion - 43 per cent - also evidenced awareness of the fact that General Eisenhower is head of the NATO organization.

"Does the name 'NATO' or Atlantic Pact mean anything to you? (What?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Correct answers	46%	49%	47%	36%
Incorrect answers	4	3	4	7
No	<u>50</u> 100%	<u>48</u> 100%	<u>49</u> 100%	<u>57</u> 100%

"Can you tell me who Eisenhower is?"

"And do you know his present position?" (Asked if respondent failed to cite present position.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
NATO head	43%	44%	41%	41%
Incorrect answers	4	4	5	6
No	<u>53</u> 100%	<u>52</u> 100%	<u>54</u> 100%	<u>53</u> 100%

Group variations in the extent of awareness of NATO and of Eisenhower's leadership (see following pages) are in the usual direction of more widespread awareness among the typically more informed population strata - the men, the better schooled, and the better paid. These variations are quite considerable in magnitude, it will be noted, and indicate that rather widespread familiarity with the name of NATO has developed among some population elements, with very limited familiarity among others - particularly in this latter connection women, among whom only one in four evidenced any recognition of NATO by name.

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"Does the name 'MLTO' or Atlantic Pact mean anything to you? (What?)"

WEST GERMANY	Correct answers	Incorrect answers	No	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	73%	5%	22% ... 100%	354
Women	25	3	72	441
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	40	4	56	646
Beyond elementary school	73	5	22	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	32	4	64	463
Middle and upper class	60	5	35	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	38	4	58	517
300 - 399 DM	55	5	40	166
400 DM and more	74	5	21	101
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	47	6	47	322
40 years and over	45	3	52	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	54	3	43	209
CDU/CSU	46	5	49	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	2	28	46
Other parties	46	7	47	70
No party	50	4	46	187
Don't know	20	3	77	129
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	76	8	16	25
Businessmen	72	2	26	107
White-collar workers	55	5	40	102
Skilled laborers	45	4	51	138
Semi-skilled laborers	40	5	55	89
Farmers	25	7	68	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	35	2	63	166
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	45	5	50	344
Protestants	46	3	51	420
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	47	5	48	612
Expellees, Refugees	44	2	54	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	79	6	15	196
No	66	3	31	158

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"Can you tell me who General Eisenhower is?"

"And do you know his present position?" (Asked if respondents failed to cite present position.)

WEST GERMANY	NATO head	Incorrect answers	No	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	67%	5%	28% ... 100%	354
Women	23	4	73	441
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	36	4	60	646
Beyond elementary school	73	5	22	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	67	4	89	403
Middle and upper class	56	4	40	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	36	4	60	517
300 - 399 DM	51	5	44	166
400 DM and more	69	5	26	101
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	42	6	52	322
40 years and over	43	4	53	461
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	46	5	49	209
CDU/CSU	47	5	48	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	-	26	46
Other parties	47	3	50	70
No party	44	6	50	187
Don't know	20	2	78	128
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	76	4	20	25
Businessman	55	7	38	107
White-collar workers	60	3	37	102
Skilled laborers	38	8	54	138
Semi-skilled laborers	33	2	65	89
Farmers	27	2	71	87
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	39	2	59	166
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41	5	54	344
Protestants	42	4	54	420
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	44	4	52	612
Expellees, Refugees	39	4	57	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	70	6	24	196
No	63	3	34	158

IS NATO FUNCTIONING WELL? !!!

That the state of German opinion about the functioning of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is something less than favorable is clearly indicated in the current findings. Revealed in the tabulations below is that among West Germans aware of NATO by name, as large a proportion believe it is functioning badly as feel it is working well.

"Do you have the impression that the organization of the Atlantic Pact nations functions well in general, or not?" (Asked of those aware of NATO.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Functioning well	12%	12%	13%	6%
Not functioning well	16	17	17	15
No opinion	<u>18</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>
	46%	49%	47%	36%

It would appear from such indications that if German public opinion is to be aligned with the organized defense effort of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, NATO has a large public relations job facing it in Germany not only in erecting awareness of its existence, but in building understanding and appreciation of its accomplishments.

Judgments that the organization of the Atlantic Pact nations does not function well are considerably more widespread among the more educated and informed elements of the population - the men, the better schooled, and the better off. (See following page.) Among these groupings adverse evaluations clearly preponderate over favorable. Even among these typically more informed groups, however, "no opinion" is rather widespread, thus indicating that the functioning of Western defense efforts in Europe has not as yet been successfully brought to the attention of many among even the more alert levels of the West German population.

"Do you have the impression that the organization of the Atlantic Pact nations functions well in general, or not?" (Asked of those aware of NATO.)

WEST GERMANY	Function- ing well	Not function- ing well	No opinion	Not aware of NATO	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	19%	31%	23%	27%...100%	354
Women	5	5	14	76	441
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	10	12	17	61	646
Beyond elementary school	15	34	24	27	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	8	19	14	68	403
Middle and upper class	15	22	23	40	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	10	11	17	62	517
300 - 399 DM	14	20	21	45	166
400 DM and more	15	38	22	25	101
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	13	16	18	53	322
40 years and over	10	17	18	55	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	17	20	17	46	209
CDU/CSU	14	16	16	54	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	20	35	30	46
Other parties	7	21	17	55	70
No party	10	20	20	50	187
Don't know	2	2	16	80	128
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	12	24	40	24	25
Businessmen	16	28	28	28	107
White-collar workers	8	23	24	45	102
Skilled laborers	12	15	18	55	138
Semi-skilled laborers	12	11	17	60	89
Farmers	6	11	8	75	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	8	14	13	65	166
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	10	13	16	61	344
Protestants	12	14	20	54	420
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	11	17	19	53	612
Expellees, Refugees	16	20	22	42	138
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	18	35	26	21	196
No	20	26	20	44	158

REASONS CITED FOR ADVERSE JUDGMENT ...

Alleged squabbling among participants, pursuit of selfish national interests, and absence of achievements are among the more frequent reasons advanced by the West Germans for judging NATO to be functioning badly.

"Do you have the impression that the organization of the Atlantic Pact nations functions well in general, or not?"
If "Not functioning well": "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

They Don't Agree With Each Other:

The different nations don't come to any agreement; they don't easily agree with each other, one can read it in in the papers how they squabble about everything, some want to do this and some want to do that; one reads in the papers that they don't agree, that is always a bad omen for the organization; generally one hears that they don't agree to several problems, I don't know particulars; discord is too great, they don't do any positive work, even Eisenhower is dissatisfied, he is probably the only person who realizes the Eastern menace, but the others will not realize it until it is too late; their work is too slow, they don't agree and thereby strengthen the opposite party, namely the East; they squabble between each other about who is to get the most rights, each nation wants to retain its national army with their own supreme commander; there is no unity - because the former hatred still exists - there is no understanding between the nations; etc.

5% 5% 6% 5%

The Individual Nations Don't Want to Renounce Their National Interests - They are Too Selfish:

The individual countries are only interested in their own advantages, there is much talk about a United States of Europe, but they are far from it; every country only pursues its own interests and besides, the single nations don't like any pressure from the part of the USA; because, despite the big talk, each nation pursues its own aims, the alliance is much too lax - if the political situation might change once, all nations would separate again; because each nation considers the importance of this pact from its own viewpoint, and the common aim - warding off Communism - as a minor importance; etc.

4 4 4 4

Nothing Results From It:

One only hears about conferences and doesn't see any facts; because there is too much talk which results in nothing - they are still awaiting positive results; they consult too much, they should act more speedily; because they haven't achieved anything yet; etc.

3 4 4 4

They Don't Trust Each Other:

The single leading persons don't have enough confidence in each other - France minds too much her own interests, and Great Britain has enough problems of her own through her losses in the Near East; because the leading persons have no confidence in each other - if another war would break out, they would greedily squabble about their conquests afterwards; each nation wants anything else instead to unify and thereby to strengthen its position towards the Russians - every nation presumes that she is cheated by the other nations; etc.

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WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Other Opinions:

In France, for instance, the people aren't for it, at best, the government only; I suppose, because of the Communist's influence in several countries; they don't quite like to cooperate with us; there are too many different languages under one leadership, that's bound to function poorly; the nations aren't sure whether or not real danger is threatening, or whether they aren't steered into another war; because for this reason Eisenhower intends even to resign from his post - from all sides he is hampered so that he doesn't know what to do; I haven't heard yet about the organization functioning well; the English are mainly to blame; etc.

$\frac{7\%}{18\%}$ $\frac{4\%}{18\%}$ $\frac{4\%}{18\%}$ $\frac{6\%}{17\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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REASONS CITED FOR FAVORABLE JUDGMENTS ...

Respondents who judge the NATO organization to be functioning well stress that agreements have been evidenced, and according to press or radio reports progress appears to have been made.

"Do you have the impression that the organization of the Atlantic Pact nations functions well in general or not?"
If "Jell": "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The Pact Partners Agree in Opinions and Work Together:

We have heard nothing so far about any disagreement between the pact partners; on the whole they agree on the basic questions; it is not made of thin air - things are getting on, the whole West forms itself to be a unity; they work hand in hand - if things are getting serious, of course, I'm not yet convinced that everything will be alright - I rather expect everything to be turned upside down; because all the Western nations cooperate in it and, above all, dispose of the necessary means in general, such as funds, arms, etc.; they have come to terms much quicker than the partners of the European army - Italy, Turkey and Greece obtain consistent aid and supplies from the Americans; etc.

* * *

According to Reports of Press and Radio, etc., It Is Making Progress:

According to everything you read in the press or hear in the radio I haven't got the impression that anything detrimental has emerged - I cannot say much more about it; I heard that in the radio, and the radio ought to know this much better than I do; reading the newspapers I understand that things are getting on, that they let us have a say and that in the face of the Russian danger even the antagonists reach unanimity; I read that they hold well together and cooperate; from what I have read or heard about it so far conformity rules among the six nations on the unconditional defense against the eventual danger from the East and on their mutual assistance; etc.

2 3 3 1

Progress Is Being Made in Establishing an Army:

Everything goes slowly, though, but bit by bit an army is being put on its feet; because the single commanders of army, navy and air force have already been nominated - once they have reached an agreement on these points it is an indication that everything is marching alright; because the organization is making progress in the preparation of the defense; etc.

1 1 1 -

The Russians' Reactions Proves It - They Are Getting Scared:

The Russians are guided by that, and their constant attempts toward reconciliation indicate that they have fear; deliberations, conferences and work startle and intimidate the East; because otherwise the Russians would have got way deeper into Germany; etc.

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GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The Number of Its Members Is Increasing - an Indication of Strength.

It functions well, because negotiations are pending as to whether Turkey and Spain are to be accepted into the Atlantic Pact - an indication of strength; because so many nations have joined already; etc.

* * * 1% 4%

Other Opinions:

The organization is very good, it might be even better under German guidance; because they build up a community of interests, and everyone is concerned about his security - therefore everything functions well; efficient politicians and diplomats sit in it who know what they want; see Korea, Indochina, Japan, Australia - I mean the commitment of troops at critical centers; etc.

3 3 4 -

No Answer / No Opinions

$\frac{2}{12\%}$ $\frac{2}{12\%}$ $\frac{1}{14\%}$ $\frac{1}{6\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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ARE EFFORTS FOR A COMMON DEFENSE ARMY MAKING GOOD PROGRESS? ...

All respondents - regardless of whether or not they were aware of NATO by name - were asked specifically whether they felt that efforts to establish a common European defense army were making good progress. Only a quarter answered in the affirmative. A third voiced the opinion that good progress was not being made and the remainder expressed no opinion.*

"Do you think that the efforts for a common defense army for West Europe are making good progress or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Making good progress	25%	25%	26%	25%
Not making good progress	33	33	33	34
No opinion	42	42	41	41
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

It would appear then, that about the European army in particular as well as NATO efforts in general, there is a widespread if not preponderant feeling among West Germans who express opinions in the matter that things are not going well with European defense plans.

Judgments that plans for a common defense army for West Europe are not progressing well are particularly widespread, group comparisons disclose (see following page), among respondents with better education and higher income.

* These results were obtained prior to Security Commissioner Blank's radio address of January 19th, 1952, in which he described in some detail prospective plans for German participation in European defense.

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"Do you think that the efforts for a common defense army for West Europe are making good progress or not?"

WEST GERMANY	Making good progress	Not making good progress	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	32%	50%	18%...100%	354
Women	19	20	61	441
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	26	27	47	646
Beyond elementary school	22	61	17	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	25	23	52	403
Middle and upper class	25	44	31	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	25	26	49	517
300 - 399 DM	28	40	32	166
400 DM and more	23	60	17	101
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	26	34	40	322
40 years and over	24	33	43	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	34	35	31	209
CDU/CSU	33	28	39	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	59	15	46
Other parties	23	41	36	70
No party	18	40	42	187
Don't know	11	15	74	128
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	28	52	20	25
Businessmen	22	55	23	107
White-collar workers	27	43	30	102
Skilled laborers	25	31	44	138
Semi-skilled laborers	30	27	43	89
Farmers	20	18	62	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	22	27	31	166
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	26	31	43	344
Protestants	24	34	42	420
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	24	34	42	612
Expellees, Refugees	29	30	41	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	35	55	10	196
No	29	44	27	158

REASONS CITED FOR MAKING LITTLE PROGRESS TOWARD COMMON ARMY ...

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Reasons advanced by the respondents who expressed the opinion that good progress was not being made in the efforts for a common defense army, focused most frequently on alleged dissension, indecision, opposition, and nationalistic preoccupation on the part of the Western nations.

"Do you think that the efforts for a common defense army for West Europe are making good progress or not?"

If "Not making good progress": "and what is responsible for that, in your opinion?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Dissension and Indecision on the Part of the Western Nations:

Everybody wants to take command - many feel neglected - no accord; the Western nations are not yet agreed on individual points, only the Americans are pressing for an agreement; no agreement could be reached on the German problem and on the strength of the German army contingent; there are too many delegates, therefore they can't agree; up until now we only learned that problems were under discussion, I didn't learn about any success; because they devote too much time to negotiations, they go on negotiating until the Russians are armed to the teeth; according to what I read in the papers, nothing but conferences take place, there have been no actions, however; because nobody takes problems on hand seriously, they will never reach full agreement; because they do not agree with each other; individual politicians do not reach an agreement, I read, for example, that they can't reach an agreement on soldiers' pay, that's all I know; the many differences of opinion cropping up at every conference are, in my opinion, one of the main obstacles; the outcome of conferences proves that hardly ever a full agreement is reached; etc.

14% 15% 13% 13%

Negative Attitude Towards Defense Army Shown By Some Nations (Especially Britain and France):

Again the French as well as the British, as the latter do not want to participate; in France as well as in Britain the remilitarization of Western Germany as advocated by the U.S. is still regarded very critically; that France is opposed to it, they want to be consulted on everything first; the British do not want to participate; the British do not want them before next year, the French not at all; because many nations are still opposed to it; because Britain does not fully support the European idea and as, on the other hand, the French are too cautious in regard to including Germany; nobody wants to give in and everybody wants his argument to win, especially Britain is very obstinate; the French do not want us as allies and the British do not want to participate; etc.

6 7 5 9

Excessive National Interests (Economic Reasons and Reasons of Prestige):

The one-sided national pride within these nations; everybody wants to be on top and is afraid of losing prestige; this probably is the fault of leading figures of the countries concerned; nobody is willing to sacrifice any prestige; this has economic reasons, competition on the world market, nobody wants to accept a place within an over-all plan and nobody wants to give up any privileges;

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every nation places its interests above international interests; every country is afraid of encroachments on its sovereignty; they would like to have a West European army, but every nation wants to command her own troops; everybody tries to get the most advantageous position for his country; the interests of individual countries are different, every nation is interested only in looking after her own interests, thus everybody is making difficulties for everybody else; through the egotism of the Western European nations; it's mainly the fault of the French, they want military supremacy and do not want any nation to become too powerful; etc.

6% 7% 10% 6%

Fear of Germany:

Because they all fear us; because they are afraid of us; they are afraid that we might fight against them; the French, they are so much afraid of Germany; more than all other nations France is afraid of our getting too strong again; France principally opposes the American approach to the problem of German participation, France wants to exclude Germany from the defense army, probably mainly out of fear; France is afraid that German militarism might be revived, therefore the Western powers are not yet agreed on the strength of the German contingent; etc.

4 3 3 8

Suspicion and Envy Shown By the Western European Nations toward Each Other:

The mutual mistrust of individual nations, these are reasons deriving from suspicion, I can't, however, give you any details; the lack of good will shown towards each other and fear of each other; because one is envious of the other's good fortune; the jealousy of West Europeans; there is no enthusiasm and no belief in the whole thing, because the smaller nations are aware of getting a pretty bad deal; etc.

2 2 3 1

Defeatism:

Most people - especially the young generation - do not want another war; because all nations are sick of war with the exception of the U.S., which country suffered least; because nations had very bad experiences with wars, they are sick of them; all countries suffered heavy losses through the war, which they did not make up yet; nobody is in favor of war and therefore everybody is cautious, especially those nations that suffered through the last war; etc.

2 1 2 2

Costs Are Too High:

Because it is a matter of money, the establishment of an army is tremendously expensive; because our government won't and can't pay so much; in the individual countries the costs are the main problem and naturally every country dreads the responsibility thereof; France, like Italy, has comparatively little money for rearming; etc.

2 1 2 2

Underestimating the Communist Danger:

They do not see that there is a danger, thus it is reiterated to the Western world; apparently, they still do not quite believe in the seriousness of the present situation, they do not think the Russians will come; they do not recognize the danger, they do not know Communism; etc.

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WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Other Opinions:

Because within the single nations many counter-movements of different parties are preventing this; one can't make a nation enthusiastic about a matter, which other people have to atone for in prison; because they do everything without belief in God - matters don't get on well if one isn't helped by God; because the Germans don't consent in everything, if we would agree to all proposals things would go ahead more speedily, but that wouldn't do any good; we have no equal rights, therefore we aren't interested; the big capitalists are to blame for it, they want war because they would make money by it, and also, they don't want to give in; at the present, Schumacher is to blame for it - as a workers' leader he has also to advocate the interests of the broad mass because the danger of war has increased, also the French are against us, but they want us to join because they know that the Germans wherever they are placed do well; etc.

4%	4%	5%	4%
$\frac{1}{42\%}$	$\frac{1}{40\%}$	$\frac{1}{43\%}$	$\frac{1}{47\%}$

No Opinion / No Answer:

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DO GERMANS HAVE CONFIDENCE IN EISENHOWER AS A LEADER? ...

Attitudes toward Eisenhower as the General responsible for the establishment of a common West European defense army tend to be appreciably more favorable than the judgments previously expressed about the success of NATO or the progress in plans for a European army. Among West Germans aware of Eisenhower's position as chief of NATO, fair to great confidence in his leadership clearly preponderated over expressions of little or no confidence.

"By and large, do you have confidence in Eisenhower as the responsible General for the establishment of a common West European defense army, or do you have no confidence in him?" (Asked of respondents aware of Eisenhower's NATO function.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Great confidence	10%	9%	12%	10%
Fair confidence	15	16	13	15
Little confidence	6	5	5	7
No confidence at all	4	5	4	1
No opinion	8	9	7	8
	<u>43%</u>	<u>44%</u>	<u>43%</u>	<u>41%</u>

Though adverse judgments are overshadowed by favorable sentiments in the above tabulations, they are of course not inappreciable and will have to be considered if the situation arises wherein German contingents are to be incorporated under General Eisenhower's leadership.

Among population groups, confidence in Eisenhower as a military leader bulks largest among the better educated and the economically better situated. (See following page.)

"By and large, do you have confidence in Eisenhower as the responsible General for the establishment of a common West European defense army, or do you have no confidence in him?" (Asked of respondents aware of Eisenhower's NATO function.)

WEST GERMANY	Greatest confidence	Fair confidence	Little confidence	No confidence at all	No opinion	Not aware of Eisenhower as NATO chief	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	17%	23%	11%	7%	10%	32%...100%	354
Women	5	9	1	1	7	77	441
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	8	13	4	3	7	65	646
Beyond elementary school	19	24	10	6	14	27	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower class	6	12	3	2	7	70	403
Middle and upper class	14	19	8	5	10	44	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	7	14	4	3	8	64	517
300 - 399 DM	11	16	9	5	10	49	166
400 DM and more	25	23	8	5	9	30	101
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	10	16	5	4	7	58	322
40 years and over	11	14	5	4	10	56	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	12	17	6	4	7	54	209
CDU/CSU	15	18	5	1	8	52	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	14	26	15	4	8	33	46
Other parties	6	14	9	11	7	53	70
No party	10	15	5	5	12	53	187
Don't know	3	6	2	2	6	81	128
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	28	12	4	4	28	24	25
Businessmen	12	23	7	7	6	45	107
White-collar workers	15	21	7	5	13	39	102
Skilled laborers	8	14	7	6	4	61	138
Semi-skilled laborers	9	8	2	2	11	68	89
Farmers	1	9	8	1	7	74	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	11	14	3	3	8	61	166
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	12	15	6	2	6	59	344
Protestants	9	14	4	5	10	58	420
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	11	15	5	4	9	56	612
Expellees, Refugees	8	20	10	5	9	48	138
<u>Veteran Status:</u>							
Yes	16	25	12	7	8	32	196
No	18	19	9	9	11	34	158

REASONS CITED FOR LACK OF CONFIDENCE ...

Those respondents who voiced little or not confidence in Eisenhower as leader of a West European defense army cited a variety of reasons for their stand, the single most frequent of which is General Eisenhower's alleged hostility toward the Germans as evidenced in the measures he took during and after the war in Germany.

"By and large, do you have confidence in Eisenhower as the responsible General for the establishment of a common West European defense army, or do you have no confidence in him?"

If "Little" or "No confidence at all": "What are the reasons?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Because of His Measures Taken During and After the War in Germany (Because of His Hostility Toward Germany):

He was the general who extradited us to the Russians - nobody will ever forget that; he made himself very unpopular with the orders for the German civil population after the capitulation, he called all Germans Nazis and treated them badly; he was a great German-hater despite his German descent; in 1945, during the capitulation, he showed neither heart nor brains - he put the Russians in the position to behave as they do today and now he wants the German soldiers to make up for his own grave mistakes; I don't know whether I may say everything I think of Eisenhower - my disapproving attitude dates back from the time I spent as a prisoner of war; because he hates the Germans; etc.

46 76 76 26

Because His Abilities Are Not Too Great - I Don't Approve of His Plans:

He is not the right man, I don't approve of the way he builds up a European army - he wants to use us as cannon fodder only; he is not a particularly talented General, he can succeed only with a lot of material but not because of his own strategic ideas - I don't know enough about Eisenhower to add more to that; because he cannot point out any great merits of his own - the invasion of Germany was only possible after treason within the German army itself; armies - if they have to be at all - should be built upon a national basis; etc.

2 3 1 -

Because He Too Much Represents the Interests of America Which Are Different From European Interests:

America has views which are quite different from Europe's - it might just as well be a Dutchman or a Belgian as - unfortunately enough - they don't want to have a German; he represents the interests of his own country too strongly; etc.

1 1 2 *

Because He (the Americans) Tell Us Merely Lies - I Don't Trust the Americans:

Because he also merely lies to us; because I don't trust any American at all, they have lied and cheated us too much; etc.

1 1 1 -

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Because We Have Enough Capable Men Ourselves - We Cannot Have Confidence in Any Foreign General:

We need no American General and as Germans we won't subordinate ourselves to a General of any foreign power when we have capable men ourselves; why should we trust any foreign statesman? - we have enough capable men ourselves; because I am a German, how should I trust any General of a foreign power, that is really asking a bit too much; etc.

1% * * 2%

Because He Is Too Ambitious (Thinks Only of His Glory):

Because he is only concerned about his own glory and lives only for the satisfaction of his ambition; any man who is entrusted with such a task must not have the ambition to become President of America - as he wants to stand as a candidate, his interest in his present task cannot be very great; etc.

* 1 * -

Because He Doesn't Like to See Us Strong and Having Equal Rights:

Because he cannot very well have an interest in Germany, he'll morely watch that we don't get too strong again; I suppose he doesn't like our having equal rights; etc.

* * 1 -

Other Opinions:

You know my views - America knows nothing but her economic aims, creating market outlets; he promises much and doesn't keep anything; I have been through two world wars and no longer think anything of militarism; because I don't think much of the European army; etc.

1 1 * 3

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{1}{13}^{**}$ $\frac{*}{10\%}$ $\frac{*}{12\%^{**}}$ $\frac{1}{8\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WOULD EISENHOWER TREAT GERMANS AS EQUALS? ...

On the specific issue of whether General Eisenhower would treat Germans as equals - should they participate in a European army - favorable attitudes outweigh unfavorable by a large margin.

"If West Germany participated in a common West European defense army under the leadership of General Eisenhower, do you believe that Eisenhower would treat our troops as equal with the other West European troops or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Equal	47%	45%	52%	46%
Not equal	21	22	20	24
No opinion	32	33	29	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Obviously an appreciable "no opinion" must be expected in the above question as it was put to all respondents, a number of whom would know little or nothing about Eisenhower.

Again favorable judgments were most widespread among the more educated and higher statused population elements.

WEST GERMANY	Equal	Not equal	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	57%	26%	17% ... 100%	354
Women	39	18	43	441
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	44	21	35	646
Beyond elementary school	60	23	17	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	41	19	40	403
Middle and upper class	53	24	23	394
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	43	20	37	517
300 - 399 DM	52	24	24	166
400 DM and more	62	25	13	101
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	52	21	27	322
40 years and over	43	22	35	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	57	20	23	209
CDU/CSU	60	16	24	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	35	11	46
Other parties	39	34	27	70
No party	41	26	33	187
Don't know	28	10	62	128
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	72	20	8	25
Businessmen	46	35	19	107
White-collar workers	62	21	17	102
Skilled laborers	47	21	32	138
Semi-skilled laborers	44	19	37	89
Farmers	26	25	49	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	41	17	42	166
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	51	20	29	344
Protestants	45	21	34	420
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	47	23	30	612
Expellees, Refugees	48	15	37	183
<u>Voter Status:</u>				
Yes	59	27	14	196
No	57	24	19	158

II. WAR DANGER IN WESTERN MILITARY PREPARATIONS

The question has been raised as to what extent the large scale military build-up among Western nations may have engendered perturbations that the West rather than the East is the more serious threat to world peace.

DO WESTERN DEFENSE PREPARATIONS INCREASE DANGER OF WAR? ...

An initial question reveals that a sizable proportion of the West German populace (37%) believe that the defense preparations of the West increase the danger of war. Further questioning shows, however, that such judgments do not in each case connote disapproval of Western defense efforts. Six out of ten questioned express themselves as in favor of the defense preparations of the West. And, most pertinent in the present connection, half of the respondents who believe that Western defense efforts increase the danger of war are, notwithstanding, in favor of such measures. Tabulations follow:

"Do you believe that the danger of a new world war will increase or decrease as a result of the defense preparations of the West?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Increase	37%	35%	38%	44%
Decrease	27	26	31	24
No influence	13	14	12	11
No opinion	23	25	19	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"In general, are you for or against the defense preparations of the West?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
For	61%	62%	61%	55%
Against	24	22	23	31
No opinion/No answer	15	16	16	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you believe that the danger of a new world war will increase or decrease as a result of the defense preparations of the West?"

Increase Decrease No influence No opinion

"In general, are you for or against the defense preparations of the West?"

	Increase	Decrease	No influence	No opinion
For	50%	91%	74%	34%
Against	43	7	16	17
No opinion/No answer	7	2	10	49
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(279)	(217)	(100)	(181)

Both approval of Western defense measures and the judgment that such measures would decrease the danger of war are most widespread among the opinion leading elements of the population - the better educated and those of higher economic status. (See tables on next two pages.) Of interest also in the group comparisons are the indications that respondents under 40 years of age are somewhat more inclined than are their elders to fear that Western defense efforts increase the danger of war, as are, too, veterans when compared to non-veterans.

"Do you believe that the danger of a new world war will increase or decrease as a result of the defense preparations of the West?"

WEST GERMANY	Increase	Decrease	No influence	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	36%	35%	16%	11%...100%	354
Women	37	21	10	32	441
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	39	24	11	26	646
Beyond elementary school	30	42	17	11	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	35	24	10	31	403
Middle and upper class	40	31	15	14	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	35	24	12	29	517
300 - 399 DM	48	28	11	13	166
400 DM and more	31	42	19	8	101
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	45	26	12	17	322
40 years and over	32	28	13	27	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	42	33	11	14	209
CDU/CSU	32	34	12	22	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	30	20	9	46
Other parties	40	27	11	22	70
No party	43	24	14	19	187
Don't know	26	14	12	48	128
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	24	44	20	12	25
Businessmen	47	25	15	13	107
White-collar workers	37	36	17	10	102
Skilled laborers	45	30	7	18	138
Semi-skilled laborers	42	20	15	23	89
Farmers	36	18	7	39	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	26	25	11	38	166
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	37	30	14	19	344
Protestants	39	26	10	25	420
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	39	27	13	21	612
Expellees, Refugees	33	27	11	28	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	43	36	15	6	196
No	32	34	18	16	158

"In general, are you for or against the defense preparations of the West?"

WEST GERMANY	For	Against	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	71%	22%	7% ... 100%	354
Women	52	25	23	441
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	56	26	18	646
Beyond elementary school	81	15	4	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	54	27	18	403
Middle and upper class	67	20	13	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	56	25	19	517
300 - 399 DM	67	24	9	166
400 DM and more	73	21	6	101
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	58	29	13	322
40 years and over	63	20	17	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	63	28	9	209
CDU/CSU	66	20	14	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	89	11	-	46
Other parties	75	21	4	70
No party	57	28	15	187
Don't know	37	22	41	128
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	72	16	12	25
Businessmen	65	25	10	107
White-collar workers	72	22	6	102
Skilled laborers	52	33	15	138
Semi-skilled laborers	53	32	15	89
Farmers	50	18	32	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	62	19	19	166
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	63	23	14	344
Protestants	58	24	18	420
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	59	25	16	612
Expellees, Refugees	65	19	16	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	73	21	6	196
No	70	22	8	158

REASONS CITED FOR HOLDING THAT WAR DANGER INCREASED BY WESTERN DEFENSE PREPARATIONS ... 02885

The single most frequent point advanced by respondents who expressed the feeling that Western defense efforts increase the danger of war is that armaments lead to an armament race which eventually precipitates war. An appreciable proportion argue, too, that Western defense efforts are likely to have the effect of provoking the Russians into open hostilities.

"Do you believe that the danger of a new world war will increase or decrease as a result of the defense preparations of the West?"
If "Increase": "Why would the danger of a new world war increase?"

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

General Armament Leads to a Competition in Armaments and Finally to a War:

Because a war will break out more easily between highly armed nations than it does between nations with no arms; you need such preparations only if you mean to use them some time and that can mean nothing but war; logically such kind of preparations have to lead toward war - one who is occupied with warlike matters is thinking of war; if everybody arms, the danger of war breaking out is certainly greater; what do people arm for in the end? - any armament leads to war; they say "for defense" - and arm, that is bound to lead to war one day; it leads to a competition in armaments between America and Russia, and once anybody believes to be strong enough another world war will break out; once one of them starts arming, the other side does the same and finally it comes to a war; if we arm here, the other side too will carry on with arming and the result will be a war; because everybody arms and thereby they irritate each other; etc.

19% 18% 17% 26%

Russia Feels Provoked - Threatened - Wants to Anticipate the West:

Because the Russians are scared and therefore may attack; because the Russians won't take that; the Russians won't take that, it will come to a war between brothers because they feel threatened; they fear the Germans in alliance with the West, the Russians won't take it and one day they will surprise us; because the Russians still shall come, if people get weapons into their hands again; because you actually invite the Russians to attack us before we have finished setting up our defense; etc.

11 10 14 11

Because of Economic Reasons (the Capitalists Want to Make Money - the Arms Have to Be Sold and to Be Used:

Because militarism gets the upper hand, the capitalists are then working toward another war which enables them to make more profits; if everybody merely arms things are bound to happen, and the arms will have to be sold and to be used in war, they cannot be just stored and piled up; because it may lead to an economic collapse of the producing countries, to a deflation, it has always proved that the arms that were produced have also been used afterwards, unfortunately; I think that leads toward war - the weapons will have to be tried some time - they are too expensive to be used just for scrap; etc.

3 3 2 4

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Facts Between Nations Lead Toward War

If the countries unite, it will always lead to a war; because all nations will get involved in war because of their mutual pacts; etc.

1% 1% 1% 1%

Other Opinions:

Because I believe that also Americans and British favor another war; I compare the present time to the year 1938 and 1939, the situation was the same and it also came to war; two ideologies face each other, and it is no secret that world power is at stake, and one incites the other one's hatred; because we make ourselves more enemies thereby - if Hitler had made an end with the Russians, we would not have been knocked down as much as we are now; etc.

1 1 2 1

No Opinion / No Answer:

$\frac{3}{38\%}$ $\frac{2}{39\%}$ $\frac{2}{38\%}$ $\frac{2}{44\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IS AMERICA'S BEHAVIOR LIKELY TO PRECIPITATE A NEW WORLD WAR? ...

A further inquiry provides a more direct and probably more adequate measure of the extent to which West Germans have the feeling that America is pulling the world into war. The findings indicate that only 6 per cent feel that America is more likely to lead the world into war than is Russia. Forty-three per cent hold the contrary. However, 22 per cent hold that both are equally apt.

"Aside from whether both countries want a war or not - whose behavior is more likely to lead to a new world war, in your opinion, Russia's or America's?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
America's	6%	4%	8%	12%
Russia's	43	41	46	44
Both	22	21	22	24
None	2	2	2	1
Others	*	*	-	-
No opinion	27	32	22	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Aside you believe that the American behavior is very, or slightly, or not at all likely to lead to war?" (Asked of those respondents who mentioned Russia in the initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very likely	3%	3%	2%	3%
Slightly	23	22	26	20
Not at all	13	13	12	17
No opinion	4	3	6	4
	<u>43%</u>	<u>41%</u>	<u>46%</u>	<u>44%</u>

Taking the adverse judgments all together it may be seen that almost a third of the West German population must be reckoned as having serious apprehensions about America's behavior precipitating war. This is obviously a very appreciable proportion and suggests that efforts to counter such sentiments are distinctly indicated.

The opinion leading segments of the population - the better educated and better off - appear to be no less inclined to answer America or "both" to the question of whose behavior is more likely to lead to war. They are, however, also more inclined to name Russia, with their counterparts more often expressing no opinion in the matter. (See following page.)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"Aside from whether both countries want a war or not - whose behavior is more likely to lead to a new world war, in your opinion, Russia's or America's?"

02888

WEST GERMANY	America's	Russia's	Both	None and Others	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	9%	44%	27%	3%	17% ... 100%	354
Women	5	42	17	1	35	441
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	7	41	21	2	29	646
Beyond elementary school	5	54	22	2	17	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	6	38	21	1	34	403
Middle and upper class	7	48	22	3	20	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	7	41	20	1	31	517
300 - 399 DM	5	45	26	5	19	166
400 DM and more	6	53	23	1	17	101
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	7	47	23	2	21	322
40 years and over	6	41	20	3	30	461
<u>Party Preferences:</u>						
SPD	8	48	20	5	19	209
CDU/CSU	5	58	19	1	17	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	4	68	22	2	4	46
Other parties	5	46	26	-	23	70
No party	6	34	31	1	28	187
Don't know	6	21	12	2	59	128
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	8	44	16	4	28	25
Businessmen	6	51	28	3	12	107
White-collar workers	6	44	32	3	15	102
Skilled laborers	8	38	24	4	27	138
Semi-skilled laborers	7	41	22	-	30	89
Farmers	3	38	13	-	46	87
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	5	44	14	3	34	166
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	5	50	21	2	22	344
Protestants	7	38	21	2	32	420
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	7	41	24	3	25	612
Expellees, Refugees	4	49	13	2	32	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	9	44	32	2	13	196
No	8	46	21	4	21	158

III. SOME REACTIONS TO POSSIBLE GERMAN CONSCRIPTION AND TAXATION

02889

Also investigated in connection with military issues in the current survey were reactions to possible German conscription and defense taxation. With the question of German defense participation becoming ever more concrete these are the kind of issues which now need study and attention.

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS TO A CONSCRIPTION LAW ...

The returns from two earlier surveys suggest that (a) West Germans are preponderantly opposed to a conscription law, but (b) a majority is likely to go along with such a law if it were passed by the Federal government. Current checks on these attitudes are in progress.

"If not enough German men would volunteer for German contingents in the West European army, should the Federal government then have the right to draft German men or should it not have this right?"

(June 16-23, 1951)	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Should have the right	35%	36%	36%	30%	53%
Should not have the right	48	45	49	52	41
No opinion	17	19	15	18	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing West Germany would participate in the defense of West Europe and the Federal government would, in connection with it, pass a law according to which German men could be drafted for military service. What would be your opinion on that?" (CARD)

(Oct 1-10, 1951)	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
I would welcome this decision	17%	20%	16%	8%
I would accept the fact, even if I would not be enthusiastic about it	40	38	41	42
I would oppose the decision completely	35	33	36	42
No opinion / No answer	8	9	7	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Probably the most important group comparison on the present issue relates to an age breakdown of the returns - particularly among men. Despite the limited number of cases in various groupings, the trend seems evident in the tabulations below for opposition to conscription to bulk largest in the younger age groups.

	I would welcome this decision	I would accept the fact, even though I were not enthusiastic about it	I would oppose this decision completely.	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:
	<u>Men</u> <u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u> <u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u> <u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u> <u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u> <u>Women</u>
Age:					
18 - 24 years	14% 7%	43% 33%	43% 52%	4% 8%	51% 60%
25 - 34 years	14 13	42 37	44 41	- 9	55 92
35 - 44 years	24 11	39 41	33 37	4 11	79 96
45 - 54 years	22 10	47 37	30 35	1 18	79 82
55 - 64 years	31 18	45 37	22 34	2 11	54 56
65 years and over	33 15	38 40	21 19	8 26	48 47

* An earlier reporting of these returns (Report No. 88, Series No. 2 - CURRENT THINKING ON WEST GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION - With Projected Reactions to a Possible Bonn Agreement - dated July 6, 1951) inadvertently omitted the words "not enough" in the wording of the question. The correct wording is as presented - which of course lends the finding considerably greater significance.

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Other comparisons reveal that acceptance of a conscription law tends to run slightly higher among the opinion leading segments - men, better schooled, and better off - than among their counterpart groups. Notable too is the indication that opposition to conscription is more widespread among natives than among expellee-refugee elements, and among veterans as versus non-veterans.

"Supposing West Germany would participate in the defense of West Europe and the Federal government would, in connection with it, pass a law according to which German men could be drafted for military service. What would be your opinion on that?" (CARD)

WEST GERMANY	I would welcome this decision	I would accept the fact, even though I were not enthusiastic about it	I would oppose this decision completely	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	23%	42%	32%	3%...100%	366
Women	12	38	37	13	433
Education:					
Elementary school	16	39	36	9	645
Beyond elementary school	22	42	31	5	152
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	15	36	37	12	391
Middle and upper class	19	43	33	5	408
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 IM	16	40	34	10	521
300 - 399 IM	18	38	40	4	160
400 IM and more	21	44	29	6	116
Age:					
18 - 24 years	10	38	48	4	111
25 - 34 years	14	39	42	5	147
35 - 44 years	17	40	33	8	175
45 - 54 years	15	42	33	10	161
55 - 64 years	24	41	28	7	110
65 years and over	24	39	20	17	95
Party Preference:					
SPD	19	41	38	2	199
CDU/CSU	26	46	24	4	170
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	46	26	2	58
Other parties	21	35	35	9	63
No party	9	40	43	8	187
Don't know	8	29	36	27	114
Occupation:					
Professionals	19	50	19	12	36
Businessmen	23	41	29	7	80
White-collar workers	22	42	32	4	106
Skilled laborers	12	43	40	5	132
Semi-skilled laborers	12	42	37	9	101
Farmers	16	34	41	9	105
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	21	37	30	12	151
Religion:					
Catholics	18	42	32	8	381
Protestants	16	39	37	8	305
Origin:					
Natives	16	38	38	8	624
Expellees, Refugees	20	44	26	10	175
Veteran Status:					
Yes	20	40	38	2	207
No	27	46	24	3	156

WILL GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION LEAD TO CONSCRIPTION? ...

Whatever present attitudes may be toward conscription, the current study reveals that in any event there is a prevalent realism as to the likelihood of conscription coming to pass. Three-quarters of the respondents (74%) expressed the belief that if West Germany participated in the defense of West Europe it would lead to the establishment of military conscription. Only one in ten (12%) disagreed, with the remainder expressing no opinion.

"If West Germany participated in the defense of West Europe with troop contingents, do you believe that it would lead to the establishment of universal military conscription or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	74%	70%	77%	80%
No	12	13	12	12
No opinion	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%

Group differences were not marked on the present issue with conscription widely anticipated by all levels of the German population.

WEST GERMANY	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	80%	17%	3% ... 100%	354
Women	70	8	22	441
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	74	11	15	646
Beyond elementary school	75	19	6	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	69	12	19	493
Middle and upper class	79	13	8	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 IM	72	12	16	517
300 - 399 IM	79	12	9	166
400 IM and more	79	16	5	101
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	79	11	10	222
40 years and over	72	13	15	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	61	14	5	209
CDU/CSU	72	14	14	152
FDP/LDF/DVP/BDV	69	9	2	46
Other parties	76	16	8	70
No party	77	11	12	187
Don't know	57	9	34	128
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	72	24	4	25
Businessmen	78	13	9	107
White-collar workers	79	13	8	102
Skilled laborers	80	11	9	138
Semi-skilled laborers	66	13	19	89
Farmers	70	6	24	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	70	13	17	166
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	75	15	10	344
Protestants	73	10	17	420
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	74	13	13	612
Expellees, Refugees	74	10	16	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	83	16	1	196
No	76	18	6	158

WILL GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION LEAD TO INCREASED TAXATION ...

Equal realism was expressed about a possible increase in taxation as a consequence of German participation in European defense, with three out of four voicing such a likelihood.

"If West Germany participated militarily in the defense of West Europe - do you think that this would entail an increase in taxes or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Increase in taxes	75%	73%	75%	78%
No increase	12	12	13	10
No opinion	13	15	12	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Again group differences in opinion are few with large preponderances among all elements anticipating tax increases as a consequence of any defense participation.

WEST GERMANY	Increase in taxes	No increase	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	82%	13%	5%...100%	354
Women	69	11	20	441
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	74	11	15	646
Beyond elementary school	81	15	4	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	70	11	19	403
Middle and upper class	80	13	7	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	75	10	15	517
300 - 399 DM	76	14	10	166
400 DM and more	75	21	4	101
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	78	11	11	322
40 years and over	72	13	15	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	78	14	8	209
CDU/CSU	76	10	14	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	79	17	4	46
Other parties	84	13	3	70
No party	78	11	11	187
Don't know	56	10	34	128
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	64	16	20	25
Businessmen	79	15	6	107
White-collar workers	77	15	8	102
Skilled laborers	80	11	9	138
Semi-skilled laborers	70	10	20	89
Farmers	68	9	23	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	74	9	17	166
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	74	14	12	344
Protestants	75	10	15	420
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	75	12	13	612
Expellees, Refugees	74	12	14	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	85	13	2	196
No	79	13	8	158

SHOULD GERMANS PAY PROPORTIONATELY AS MUCH AS OTHER NATIONS? ...

Whatever increases in taxes Germans may or may not be resigned to, the feeling preponderates (four in ten) that they should pay a smaller proportion of their taxes for defense costs than other European nations. Almost as large a proportion (32%), however, feel that an equal proportion of taxes would be proper. Only two per cent argue that a larger proportion should be paid by Germany. An attempt will be made in further studies to get at the logic behind such sentiments.

"If West Germany did not have to pay occupation costs anymore, should we then pay the same proportion of taxes for defense costs as the other West European nations, should we pay a larger proportion or a smaller proportion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	
The same proportion	32%	32%	32%	32%	
Larger	2	2	1	1	
Smaller	40	38	45	39	
Nothing at all	2	2	1	4	
No opinion	24	26	21	22	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	

WEST GERMANY	The same proportion	Larger	Smaller	Nothing at all	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	38%	2%	45%	4%	11%	354
Women	28	1	37	1	33	441
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	30	1	40	2	27	646
Beyond elementary school	45	3	40	3	9	149
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	27	1	39	1	32	403
Middle and upper class	38	2	42	2	16	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	27	1	42	2	28	517
300 - 399 DM	43	2	37	1	17	166
400 DM and more	47	2	37	2	12	101
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	36	1	42	3	18	322
40 years and over	30	2	39	2	27	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	35	1	48	1	15	209
CDU/CSU	40	2	37	1	20	152
FDZ/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	2	42	-	2	46
Other parties	35	1	43	4	17	70
No party	28	2	41	4	25	187
Don't know	17	-	31	-	52	128
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	52	-	40	-	8	25
Businessmen	32	5	50	1	12	107
White-collar workers	41	1	40	4	14	102
Skilled laborers	35	1	39	4	21	138
Semi-skilled laborers	23	-	46	-	31	89
Farmers	30	-	28	-	42	87
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	29	1	39	1	30	166
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	33	2	41	1	23	344
Protestants	31	1	41	2	25	420
<u>Origins:</u>						
Natives	33	2	40	2	23	612
Expellees, Refugees	29	1	41	4	25	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	37	2	46	6	9	196
No	40	2	42	1	15	158

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ANXIETIES AND ASPIRATIONS
OF EAST ZONE YOUTH

A Study in Certain Morale Factors as
Reported During the Communist Youth Rally

January 12, 1952

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Report No. 121

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

The present report is the sixth in a series based on a program of surveys conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, among young East Zone Germans who crossed the sectoral borders into West Berlin during the Communist youth festival in East Berlin. The methodological considerations involved in this and other studies in the series have already been presented in a general introduction accompanying the initial report.

The present series of questions was designed with the view to obtaining some insight into the personal problems and fears, expectations and aspirations of these young East Germans.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The most important finding disclosed by this study is the following:

To the troubled and anxious youth of Germany's Soviet Zone, West Germany as part of the Western world is both the beacon of hope for deliverance and the model of the kind of society which they would like to see established in East Germany once the Soviet yoke is thrown off. This finding demonstrates anew what has been reported in previous surveys in this series, that the main key to whatever buoyancy and optimism East Zone youth still possess is their confidence that the Western world has not forgotten them. This interpretation is supported by the following detailed results:

- ... More than eight out of ten (85%) of the East Zone youth interviewed express the belief that the West German people are behind them and will not forget or desert them in their present difficulties. This opinion was bolstered by the reception given East Zone youth by West Berliners during the Communist youth festival.
- ... If they were given a voice in the "people's" government of East Germany, the young people assert that they would bring about drastic changes, which in sum add up to making the East Zone government conform to Western principles and methods of democracy.
- ... The relatively large group (46%) anticipating a turn for the better in their personal affairs base their optimism mainly on the prospect of living or working in the West or on changed conditions in East Germany, resulting from the overthrow of the present regime through revolution, war, or less violent means.
- ... Even when asked to give three wishes - however remote their fulfillment might be - political and economic problems again come to the fore, with 94 per cent of the wishes for refuge in the West or for freedom in the East Zone, and as many as 97 per cent for improved living conditions which implicitly, if not explicitly, indicate a desire to substitute the free economy of the West for the East Zone "planning."

Were it not for this Western-inspired optimism, the East Zone youth's lot apparently would be unbearably dreary. The atmosphere of pressure and compulsion prevailing in the East Zone has markedly influenced the desires and fears of the youth. Political and economic anxieties seem to dominate their thinking and there is little of the carefree attitude usually ascribed to youth as the following findings indicate:

- ... All but a very small fraction (6%) not only confess to having cares and worries, but half of them mention anxieties engendered by the political situation in the East Zone, and about as many speak of economic cares occasioned mainly by the political set-up.
- ... The large majority (88%) assess their personal situation at present as bad or only fair, again largely because of political and economic conditions in the Soviet Zone.
- ... A substantial minority of 34 per cent anticipate even darker days ahead, and 12 per cent foresee no change. As already stated, the 43 per cent predicting a change for the better look to the West for aid.

But these Eastern German youth have not yet buckled under the heavy load of oppression and compulsion.

- ... Their greatest pleasures in life continue to follow the pattern of all youth, with sports leading in frequency of mention as the thing they most enjoy. Concerts, the theater, etc., vie with studies and job satisfaction for second mention of the most enjoyable aspects of life.
- ... Almost without exception (89%) they continue to have aspirations. For the most part their personal goals are to be able to progress in their jobs or in their studies. Again, the possibility of achievement of these goals is by implication closely bound up with emigration or a change in the East Zone situation.

PERSONAL SITUATION SEEN AS "FAIR" TO "VERY BAD" ...

Contrary to the optimism usually ascribed to the young, two-fifths (40%) of the East Zone youth interviewed see their personal situation as "bad" or "very bad." Furthermore the bulk of the remainder view it as only fair, and only 12 per cent will go so far as to say it is good.

"And how would you consider your personal situation in general: good or bad?"

(If "Good": "Good" or "very good?" If "Bad": "Bad" or "very bad?")

Very good	1%
Good	11
Fair	48
Bad	22
Very bad	18
	<u>100%</u>

The primary bases on which they assess their situation as fair or bad are in terms of living conditions - housing, food, and so on. A second reason for this evaluation is that the political pressure to which they are subject in the East Zone precludes any sort of freedom or security in their daily lives. The reasons given for rating their situation as good vary from the practical arguments of lack of need to the philosophical position that "hard times are good teachers." Comments follow:

Reasons Why Situation Considered Bad

EAST ZONE

Bad conditions in regard to work - earnings - food - housing:

In regard to financial conditions and food; because one can't afford anything; as I've already said - I am worried about a stable job and I don't earn enough money - prices are too high; living conditions - because we have no work and no money; I live in a small barrack and it is a very long way to work; etc.

25%

No freedom - political persecutions and pressure in the East Zone:

Because one has no freedom in the East - especially not during the World Youth Festival; because we can't say what we want; because I was fired for political reasons and don't get any unemployment compensations; etc.

16

Family and personal worries:

Because both my parents are dead; I am not healthy; etc.

5

Lack of educational opportunities:

We don't get a good education; I am a refugee - I have to work in a mine in order to earn some money - I wasn't able to learn anything; etc.

2

Fear of punishment on return to the East Zone:

Because I don't know whether I'll be jailed when I get home because they took my participation card away from me and I beat up our group orderly; etc.

2

Miscellaneous reasons:

I don't know what to do - I am a refugee and they won't give me the status; etc.

2
52%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Reasons Why Situation Considered Fair

EAST ZONE

Living conditions are none too good - conditions for working, earnings - food - housing, etc.:

Our apartment is in poor condition - the roof is damaged - all of it is rotten, no painter will come, everything is dirty - our landlord has a big store but we won't get the repairs done; I have work, but no quota and therefore I don't earn enough; my scholarship is not enough - for months I haven't been able to afford any hot meals - there isn't enough money and I have to pay for rent, shoe repairs, meals, etc.; because food and clothing are poor, we earn enough not to starve but one can't buy anything; etc.

25%

We get along - it could be worse (general answers):

We can barely stand the life we have to lead - but it can't get worse; it just goes on - as a young person one doesn't take it so seriously; etc.

9

Because of the political situation - insecurity and pressure:

Our government and everything that is connected with it; one can never express one's opinion; etc.

8

Personal difficulties:

Because both my arms were broken; etc.

3

Miscellaneous reasons:

2

No complaints:

We still have a little land and therefore I am not badly off - I can't complain yet; etc.

4

No opinion / No answer:

3

54%*

Reasons Why Situation Considered Good

The personal situation of the respondent is satisfactory:

Because I have everything I need and my parents are still living and can support me; I live well with my parents - I have enough to eat and good clothes; I can go out as much as I want to - my parents never forbid me anything - I have a lot of free time and do as I please; etc.

8%

Respondent has no care / worries:

I have no worries, except that I am by myself - everything goes well - I just don't know what to say to this - I am just well off; etc.

2

Hard times are good teachers:

Because one learns a lot during periods of hardship and that is good; etc.

1

No opinion / No answer:

1

12%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

BUT HALF ANTICIPATE BRIGHTER FUTURE ...

Despite the apparently dismal view these young East Zone residents take of their present situation under their Soviet-inspired masters, youthful optimism still retains a relatively strong hold vis-a-vis the future - with almost half (46%) anticipating a brighter future either in the West or in an overhauled East Germany. But that such optimism is not held by all is also clear: a third (34%) take the view that things will get worse, and 12 per cent see no change ahead - for better or worse.

"Do you think that your personal situation will get better or worse in the future?"

Got better	46%
Got worse	34
Stay the same	12
No opinion	8
	<u>100%</u>

LOOK TO THE WEST FOR HOPE ...

It is evident from their comments that, for many of these young East Zoners, the West signifies freedom and opportunity and a liberation from the Communist yoke under which political pressure and economic tribulations have become their most pressing and immediate problems. The prospect of living or working in West Germany or West Berlin is the hope on which they very frequently base their optimism for the future. But just as many apparently anticipate an improvement of political and economic conditions in the East Zone - either through revolution, an East-West war, or through less violent means.

Those who see the future as blacker than the present foresee an increase rather than a decrease in political oppression and in their difficult financial situations, and have little hope that Communism - chief instigator of their problems - will be halted.

Reasons Why Improved Situation Anticipated

EAST ZONE

The prospect of living or working in the West (West Sector, West Germany):

I'll try to get a job in the glass-works in Zehlendorf (West Berlin) as soon as I have finished my apprenticeship; I believe that I could gain a firm footing in the West and there one can buy what one needs much more easily; etc.

14%

Improvement of living conditions in the East Zone:

The food situation has improved a bit already; there is more to eat now and sometimes one can even buy something; etc.

7

The political situation of the East Zone will change:

It surely will come to a revolution, then the Russians will pack up their trash and take off, and we will be better off; we strongly hope that a change will take place, that the Russians will withdraw and the Americans or English take over, then business will increase; by putting an end to our system, it can't go on like this forever; etc.

6

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EAST ZONE

Possibility of finding a better job when better educated or trained:

I would be better off if I could study later on; there are more possibilities once one has finished studying; I want to go to my grandparents in Saxony, I hope to find work there because there is more industry; I will earn more and be better off after I have finished my apprenticeship; etc.

6%

Because of the general political development:

Everything will improve and I can go back to my home country when we have a united Germany again; etc.

5

Because of general hopes that things eventually will grow better:

One must have hope, times can't be always as hard as they are now; etc.

3

Miscellaneous:

2

No opinion / No answer:4
47%Reasons Why Worse Situation AnticipatedThe political system, political force and pressure; restrictions on personal freedom:

Political reasons, one day they will catch up with me because I wear my heart on my sleeve; if it goes on for a few more years, we will be even more bothered by these politics; I believe that I will soon lose my job because I do not submit and don't take part in everything; because of my political opinion; there is no getting on under this regime; etc.

19%

The economic system:

Because for the time being I have no prospects of finding a job; because they are still increasing the work-norms; because the revenue office takes away the last penny, my father has to deliver so many sheep that he can't keep any for himself; the collective agreements - work will become still crazier if they enlarge upon the system; etc.

13

Russian influence and measures of the Russian occupation power:

We have been put back about 100 years; because Russia more and more extends her system to East Germany; the spreading out of Communism; etc.

3

The possibility of war:

Afterwards, one will play the role of a soldier again, that's what it looks like; etc.

2

Miscellaneous:

1

No opinion / No answer:1
39%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FOREMOST PROBLEMS OF YOUTH ARE POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL ...

The "cares and worries" listed by East Zone youth attest anew the all-pervasive atmosphere of pressure and compulsion that characterizes life in East Germany today. Political and economic hazards generally deriving from a police-state situation appear as the foremost problems in the minds of the youth, with an overwhelming majority of 93 per cent mentioning these two difficulties when asked to state their greatest cares and worries. Only 14 per cent cite problems of a non-political or non-economic nature and a slight 6 per cent mention no worries. Judging from their comments their most frequent problems seem to be in terms of professional progress, threat of or actual unemployment, and their general financial situation.

"What are your greatest cares and worries at the present time?"

ANXIETIES ENGENDERED BY THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE EAST ZONE

Fear of persecution, arrest - particularly after the visit to West Berlin:

EAST ZONE

I don't want to go back - by no means, several comrades were arrested when they tried to get to the Western Sectors; we were photographed by some Eastern people during the Schumacher demonstration, they wanted to arrest us on the Alexanderplatz; I cannot go back home - I was arrested by the GPU for 8 weeks and now I'm again warned to appear before the Military Court; my membership card has been taken away - I don't know whether I shall be arrested when I come home; etc. 17%

Unemployment and job difficulties due to political reasons:

My husband lost his job with the police for political reasons; I don't get work because I'm no longer a member of the FDJ; I'm out of work - the privately owned firm I have been working in was taken over by a peoples'-owned factory which uses only so-called "progressive" manpower; etc. 14

General political pressure and compulsion in the East:

We have no freedom, we cannot speak freely; I'm politically persecuted, they search my house and want to confiscate my apartment; I have to be very careful not to say anything that would get me into prison; Germany is full of borders and zones, you cannot travel where you like; that one cannot say anything, that one has to lie constantly; we are not even allowed to cross the borders here - you cannot call that freedom; etc. 10

Compulsory participation in political activities of the East Zone, membership of FDJ, etc.:

I have to participate in meetings that I don't like; it is more or less compulsory to take part in politics; indirect pressure upon the members of Protestant and Catholic youth congregations; you have to join the party - it is compulsory; etc. 6

Political difficulties in school and in studies:

I cannot study because I'm politically unreliable; political indoctrination is given priority and if we protest we are told that we will be dismissed from school; we are told that we have fellowships and therefore have to accept the courses as they are; etc. 3

Fear of another war:

Fear of a new war, new air bases are being built and everything indicates a new war; etc. 1

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EAST ZONE

ECONOMIC WORRIES (MOSTLY OCCASIONED BY EAST ZONE CONDITIONS)

Money is short, you cannot buy a thing, and what you buy is worth nothing; my father earns 145 IM a month and there are five in our family; I am a bricklayer and have to work for "output" and if I haven't fulfilled my quota I cannot earn much; the quotas are much too high; my father is independent, we have to pay very high taxes - difficulties of existence; I have no permanent job but get seasonal work; my work is unhealthy (in glass works); there is no getting on with professions in the East Zone; I have to stay on with the railways, I' like to quit but they won't let me; my father is a farmer owning 180 acres which is too much so we shall certainly be dispossessed, we fear that; the delivery quotas - they demand too much, we cannot comply with it - we don't harvest that much; etc.

42%

OTHER ANXIETIES (NO SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO EAST ZONE CONDITIONS)

Wish to move to the West or to remain in the West (without political motives)

The Labor Office says we can't get work - we wanted to stay here; whether I can stay here, get work and "Zuzug," my transport has left already and I have no possibility of getting back, no money; etc.

6

Family and personal worries:

My marriage is a failure - I am always quarreling with my wife about politics; I have no parents; etc.

5

Other non-political worries and difficulties:

Difficulties everywhere; that friends are so mean to each other; etc.

3

NO WORRIES6
113%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

But pressing and serious as their problems may be, the majority (64%) of the young people do not have to endure them alone, having someone in whom they can confide. But the remaining large minority (36%) has no one with whom to discuss their problems.

"Is there a person with whom you can discuss all your cares and worries

Yes (who is it?)	64%
No	36
	100%

Parents are their most frequently mentioned confidantes, with friends, acquaintances and colleagues taking second place, as the following list demonstrates:

Parents (including parents-in-law, grandparents)	42%
Friends, acquaintances, colleagues, etc.	10
Spouse	5
Person, teacher, town mayor, etc.	5
Brothers or sisters	3
Supervisors on job	2
Relatives (other than parents and siblings)	2
FDJ	1
	69%*

** Percentages add to more than the 64% who have someone with whom to discuss their problems because some respondents mentioned more than one person.

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MAJORITY WOULD CHANGE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FIRST ...

A further indication that the political system now prevailing in the Soviet Zone is the primary source of discontent for these young East Germans is found in their answers to the hypothetical question of what they would advocate if they had a voice in the East Zone government. The most frequently mentioned single measure they would take would be the abolition of the present system of political compulsion and lack of freedom. The second most urgently needed reform, according to these youths, is a relief of the low standard of living prevalent in East Germany today.

"Supposing you had a voice in the government of the DDR - what would you mainly advocate?"

EAST ZONE

The abolition of the present political system, and all it means:

That nobody be forced to join the party, that everything be voluntary; that pressure be ended; let people talk freely as they do here - that would change the whole situation; show that things are quite different from the way they are described by the Russians; show that the Russians have only their own advantage in mind - they don't care a bit about the welfare of Germany; for a true description of Western conditions; that not everything is passed unanimously; make sabotage - I would do everything to make the whole system collapse; that all the laws of the DDR are annulled - that would break down the whole state machinery; that all the unemployed would get decent work instead of being sent to jail; etc.

33%

The improvement of social and economic conditions:

A better social condition for the workers; improvement of daily life in respect to food and clothing; I would want everybody to have leather shoes; co-operatives (Konsum) could remain and the HO would have to cut the prices; try to help the people with housing and food; that reconstruction be boosted; increased welfare allowances, reduce the taxes to their former level, cut prices; that old age allowances and pensions be increased; etc.

27

The unification of Germany and free elections:

That free elections be held; the unification of Germany in a democratic kind of state, primarily free elections - no prohibited area between East and West Berlin would exist, that the FDJ be admitted to the West and no controls exist; etc.

18

School, sports, professional training, education of the youth:

For a good youth education; that something be done on behalf of the youth regarding professional and sports matters; that the youth is not educated according to Communist principles; I would oppose the system of the "Neulehrer" (new teachers); change the youth movement and improve youth education particularly; that all pupils really get apprenticeships instead of only being promised them; etc.

17

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

EAST ZONE

Peace, justice, and an international understanding:

For justice; everything would be changed and we too would obtain equal rights; peace would not merely be talked of but realized; all peace loving nations would hold together and no war propaganda would be made; for the good agreement between Germany and all the foreign countries; etc.

15

The elimination of the Russian influence, the withdrawal of the Russians:

That the Russians' methods be eliminated; that the Russians would disappear; that the Russians clear out; that the DDR liberates herself from Bolshevism; in the first instance that we no longer have to depend on the Russians; etc.

12

A change in the economic system and the abolition of certain economic measures:

I would abolish collectivism; the HO shops should be closed and the private business people could take over their shops again; to change the whole economic system - reduce it to its previous form; see that everyone keeps his business and that it cannot be nationalized - that the compulsion for delivery and proscribed cultivation of the fields ends; the pressure dominating our economic system would end; etc.

12

The release of the PW's and the return of the expellees:

That the "Umsiedler" could return to their homeland; that the men who have been long in Russian captivity of war can return back home; etc.

4

Withdrawal of the occupation powers (in general):

2

Miscellaneous:

2

144%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

PREPONDERANCE HAVE ACADEMIC OR PROFESSIONAL GOALS ...

That despair has not yet destroyed ambition is indicated by the fact that nine in ten of these young East Germans can name some specific goal which they hope someday to attain.

"Have you a goal in life which you would like to attain?"

Yes	89%
No	10
No opinion	1
	100%

The goals they mention are, for the most part, personal - the most frequently cited being professional or academic accomplishment and progress. Surprisingly enough, in the light of previous comments, only 7% specifically mention economic melioration, but it can probably be assumed that financial betterment would be implicit in professional advancement.

A fraction (7%) mention objectives outside their own immediate personal interests - 2 per cent aspiring toward world peace and freedom, and 5 per cent citing various other goals outside the personal realm. Ten per cent assert they either are without any ambition, feel it is hopeless, or have not yet decided.

"Have you a goal in life which you would like to attain?" (Which?)

EAST ZONE

PROFESSIONAL GOALS:Complete trade school and examination:

In order to get on with my profession, to pass the final examination for pastry cook; I'd like to pass the examination for title of a master electrician; technical designer; I'd like to become a streetcar conductor; a chauffeur; a railway engineer; to join the Airways; to go to sea again; to be a machine locksmith; a special worker; a great fashion designer; get into some good orchestra as an oboe soloist; etc.

29%

Complete academic and technical education:

To pass the high school examination in the West and then I'd like most to study German philology; I wanted to study law but can't get a fellowship because I have been a member of the Waffen SS; I'd like to go to college and become a technician; I wanted to go to the technical school and become an engineer; I'd like to go to an engineering school; I'd like to study in order to become an engineer; I'd like to go to the School of Architecture; I'd like to be a sports teacher; a technical designer; to study veterinary medicine and become a circus doctor in order to travel through the whole world; etc.

24

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

To gain professional independence and to progress, open a business of my own:

I'd like to become independent; to open a transport business; an undertaking of my own - a bakery; to get on in my profession; I don't want to remain a worker for ever; etc.

14%

GENERAL GOALS:

To go to the West, to emigrate:

I'd like to get to the West once; to go to the West together with my husband; to go to West Berlin - perhaps I can find a job in a household; I'd like to become a milk tester in the West again; I want to emigrate, travel through the world; etc.

12

To improve the financial or social situation:

To get a good job that enables me to live a decent life; that my wife gets a full time job so that we can live better; to get work soon; I wanted to get married and live a decent life; to make an effort to be better off; I'd like to work in peace; etc.

7

To live and to work for freedom and for peace:

If the situation changes I'd like to give active co-operation for freedom; I want to live in freedom; to give my whole strength for the prevention of war by promoting the all-European idea; etc.

2

Other goals (to reach goals outside of work):

To help mankind, to lead them toward God and make them happy by music; etc.

5
93%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

SPORTS PROVIDE GREATEST PLEASURE ...

Somewhat more typical of young people under normal conditions are the answers of these young East Germans to the question of their greatest enjoyment or pleasure in life. Ranking first on the pleasure list are sports - close to half (41%) mention athletic of some sort as "what I enjoy most in life." Professional and academic work vie with cultural entertainment (concerts, theater, etc.) for second place - a quarter (24%) citing each of these areas as most enjoyable.

"What do you enjoy most in life?"

EAST ZONE

Sports, hiking, travelling:

I like long hikes and sports; hiking; swimming; riding in a car and playing football; to be out in the open air; bicycle races; once I intended to become a teacher in sports; canoe sports; I am a football fanatic; outings; etc.

41%

Work; studies; profession:

The work, that's the only thing one has; the practical and theoretical work for the professional contest; medical studies; when I can walk in the fields and see things grow - and work being pushed forward; my profession - I didn't select it myself but I enjoy it; etc.

24

Cultural matters:

Music, theater, concerts, good exhibitions, good literature; a nice show; etc.

24

Social life:

Entertainments, amusements; when we go to entertainments with girl friends; when I work for 8 hours and can go out in the evening after the work is done; dancing; etc.

10

Children:

I take delight in my children and like to live with them peacefully; my daughters; etc.

6

Freedom and peace; lack of political pressure:

That I can be in West Berlin at the moment to visit my relatives; for example: if I may give my opinion freely - when I go to West Berlin; I would like to be free; a free life without political influence; etc.

5

Good earnings - sufficient means for livelihood (food, clothes, etc.):

Good income, good food; to receive my salary and take it home; etc.

4

Church work, religion:

Protestant youth work; the gospel and God; etc.

3

Nothing, because there is no pleasure in the East Zone:

Here - there is no joy, so to speak, nothing at all; etc.

3

Other answers:

I have no pleasure, I'm only glad that it can't go on like this forever - my father agrees to that; etc.

5

No opinion / No answer:2
12%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING STANDARD AND POLITICAL FREEDOM WISHES OF ALMOST ALL ...

When asked to mention three wishes - a query which could afford considerable opportunity for fanciful thinking - the serious problems of financial and political independence again come to the fore. An almost universal wish (97%) of the young residents of the Soviet Zone is for an improvement of the living standard. An equally large proportion (94%) also wish they could either live in West Germany or that the East Zone would allow them the political freedom and economic possibilities offered by the West. The sum total of wishes are as follows:

EAST ZONE

Improvement of living standard and special personal wishes:

A real family life and a steady income; that the food and clothing situation here in the East will improve; that I can buy everything I want and that I'll be able to live under orderly conditions; that I'll have enough to eat and no cares and worries; a nice dress; a bicycle; a second horse for my business; a nice and comfortable apartment; improvement of my financial situation; to buy things for my money; to live better; to live reasonably and like a human being; to get sports equipment; decent accommodation; one pair of good shoes; etc.

97%

The possibility of living, studying, or working in the West:

That I can break off my studies in the East and continue them in the West; permission to stay in West Germany; I want to go back to West Germany where I was in 1944; that both of us will find work in the West; I don't want to go back to the East; I'd like to get a job with the criminal police in the West; to get my mother over to the West; etc.

45

Further training; advancement in profession, study, etc.:

The opportunity to become an electrical engineer; that I can attend the university; that I will become a good musician; my own truck business; a job as a truckdriver; to finish my study without disturbance; chances for professional promotion; I should really like to become a foreign correspondent; to get into an independent position as soon as possible; to get work after I've finished my study; to own a factory; that I could finish my professional training as a baker; to become a streetcar conductor; etc.

39

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

EAST ZONE

Personal freedom, Western living conditions, no political pressure:

Freedom - here we're constantly asked to join the FDJ; I'd like to have the certainty that I could speak openly; that compulsion were replaced by free will; the kind of work I like to do - not what I am told to do; no politics anymore; stop political indoctrination in the classroom; I wish for peace and a free Europe - that includes everything else anyway; that all the misery will stop - that we might be able to live like the people in the West; that there will be a free government here that doesn't exploit people - that a happy relationship will be established between nations; etc.

35%

Reunification of Germany; end of zonal barriers:

That Germany will be united in a united Europe; that the zone borders be abolished; that conditions in Germany would allow anyone to travel where he likes; that the unification of Germany would be achieved soon; etc.

13

Emigration:

That I will have the opportunity to live well abroad with my family; I'd like to emigrate to Sweden; perhaps emigrating to England; etc.

9

Settled family conditions; news about missing family members:

That my family situation will turn out all right; that I can learn something about my missing father; etc.

5

Withdrawal of the Russians:

That the Russians would clear out soon; war, so that the Russians will be chased out of here; etc.

4

Others:

That the free peoples recognize the danger and support the Americans; that people learn to recognize God; that we'll be able to return to our homes (Silesia); I would like to return to the East Zone later in order to "settle up"; etc.

11

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

MAJORITY CONFIDENT OF WEST GERMAN SYMPATHY ...

But despite the general tenor of discouragement among these East Zone youth, hope has clearly not given way to despair. It is abundantly evident, from this and other studies in the series, that not only does their hope lie with the West, but that their confidence is with their Western countrymen and the people of the Western powers. The large majority feels sure of the support which is being given and will be given them by the West German people.

"Have you the feeling that the West German people are concerned about the fate of the East Zone, or don't they care?"

Are concerned	85%
Don't care	12
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

... Although the preponderance claims to have had this confidence in West German-support before their visit to West Berlin, a third of the young respondents say they only got the impression of West German support after being at the festival in Berlin.

"Did you already have this impression before you came to West Berlin or did you get it here?"

Had it before	52%
Got it here	33
	<u>85%</u>

Furthermore, confirmation of their confidence seems to be largely founded on personal experiences in the West Sector of Berlin, by the cordial welcome and the material help given them by the Western people. Only a minority have based their confidence on radio and newspaper reassurance from the West.

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

REASONS WHY WEST APPEARS TO TAKE AN INTEREST ...

EAST ZONE

The wonderful and friendly reception by the West Berliners:

We find a friendly reception here; because the West Berliners are so friendly toward us; if one judges by the reception here one could think that they feel really attached to us; if one comes to Berlin, they are really friendly; they are nice to us and I was cordially received during these days; the reception here in West Berlin was as friendly as the reception of the prodigal son; we could feel it in the West here, they were all friendly and interested in us; the way we were received here; we could see that here; the way they treated us here; because of the good reception here, we can see that - the reception of the FDJ was better than in the East Sector; etc.

35%

They have helped actively with gifts, free meals, etc.:

During the youth festival we got free meals; we could see that in Berlin - they all gave so much; because of the free meals here during the festival; they help us with money and food - we have seen that now; we could see that they gave presents to us; we are being aided here and they help us with money; the West Berliners gave money to the young comrades and took care of them; they gave something to the people who came here from the East; the youth hostels in West Berlin are a proof of that; etc.

27

Their general attitude of helpfulness:

We can tell, they do what they can; they too want us to have a better life; the program here in West Berlin shows us that; just in general: on the streets - they really like to help us; because they are helping us; otherwise they wouldn't take such care of the FDJ'ers; because of what happened here in West Berlin - the people are so concerned about us; etc.

16

Conversations with West Germans indicate it:

From talks with West Germans during visits to West Germany - I noticed it myself in conversations; we can tell from the conversations with West Germans; because they talk with us; etc.

7

Newspaper articles & radio broadcasts indicate it:

We can tell from the newspapers - they print the truth so we will be enlightened; through radio broadcasts; etc.

5

From their political attitude and their will for peace:

Through their attitude toward Eastern politics; they are in favor of a peace treaty too - and well, they hold meetings here; the Germans are interested in seeing Germany reunited; etc.

4

The way they received political refugees:

That they gave asylum to political refugees; etc.

1

Miscellaneous reasons:

2

No opinion/No answer:

4

101%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL EQUALITY
AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

— The German View —

Classification changed
January 31, 1952

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CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This report on West German people's assessment of their country's progress toward equality with other Western nations and their evaluation of their personal well-being at the year's end is based on findings obtained in a survey made December 14 - 22, 1951, with additional results from an earlier study made in early November, 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The samples used in both surveys were 800 case probability samples representative of the populations in the US, British, and French zones of West Germany.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt - und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

Gratification over the year's developments cannot be said to keynote West German thinking as the year 1951 drew to an end, judging from reactions to two comprehensive aspects of the political and economic situation. Two indices were used to measure reactions in these respects: in the political sphere, the estimate of West German progress toward equality with other nations; and in the economic, the assessment of personal well-being as compared with the previous year. Since the equality issue has impinged increasingly on German domestic politics as well as on foreign affairs, it offers a general yardstick of the political climate of opinion. The evaluation of personal well-being provides, in turn, a generalized measure of opinions on economic trends and policies.

... As to progress toward equality - the German people like some of their political leaders are far from convinced that the advance has been sufficiently great. Three in ten state there has been some progress, but divide on whether it has been "good" or only "fair." Another three in ten, assert, on the contrary, that there has been little or no progress, and the remaining four in ten apparently are too insufficiently informed to express an opinion.

The Allies and the West are generally held responsible for the inadequate gains by those who express dissatisfaction over the rate of progress manifested. Only a few attribute the alleged failure to the German government or people.

... Opinions divide on the relative status of economic well-being for 1951 as compared with 1950. On two separate measures, about half think they currently are at least as well-off as a year ago, and half assert their situation has remained bad or has deteriorated. A worsened situation is more frequently seen by the lower socio-economic strata - the low income, lesser educated, and lower social levels, as well as by laboring groups. High prices - or low purchasing power - high taxes and low pension rates are most frequently mentioned as the source of the economic pinch.

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PROGRESS TOWARD EQUALITY UNSATISFACTORY TO MANY ...

In line with the traditional stock-taking at the end of an old year and the beginning of a new, the West German public was asked late in December 1951, first: to evaluate the rate of their country's progress toward international equality, and second: to weigh their personal situation against that of the year previously.

West German officials and political leaders have shown keen interest in achieving equality ever since the doors were opened to West German adherence to the Western European system. The Allied position that West Germany's membership in the Council of Europe, projected participation in the Schuman plan and in the West European army, as well as membership in OEEC (with all the Marshall plan benefits received) signify important steps on the road to the full equality promised with the completion of the contractual agreement, is not entirely shared by the West Germans.

The German people, like many of their leaders, are far from convinced that the rate of progress has been sufficiently great. Only about three in ten (32%) are willing to acknowledge any advance worthy of the name, and they divide almost equally between the opinion that there has been good and only fairly good progress. Another three in ten (30%) estimate that West Germany has either not advanced at all or only a little on the road to equality. And a large minority (38%) apparently feel they lack a basis for judgment.

"What progress is West Germany making toward equality with other Western nations - good progress, or little progress? (Little or very little progress?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Good progress	15%	13%	16%	18%
Fairly good progress	17	16	17	17
Little progress	19	21	19	16
Very little progress	8	9	9	4
None at all	3	4	2	2
No opinion	38	37	37	43
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WESTERN ALLIES MAINLY HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR LACK OF PROGRESS ...

Major responsibility is placed on the Western Allies collectively or individually for West Germany's lack of progress by more than half of the 30 per cent who allege this to be the case. Typical allegations in this vein are: the Allies do not want Germany to recover (7%); the Germans are still too dependent on the occupying powers (4%); disagreement among the Allies (3%); the West still distrusts or hates Germany (3%), and the French oppose German equality (2%).

The German government or the domestic political situation are held responsible for West Germany's alleged failure to move more speedily to equality by a fraction (6%). The remainder give miscellaneous reasons for their position (4%) or no reasons at all (4%).

"For what reasons, do you think, has West Germany not made any better (little, very little) progress toward equality?"

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The Allies (the West) do not want German equality:

Well, do you think that those gentlemen in the USA and England want us to recover?; you can see that poverty increases - they just want to string us along so we can be used against Russia; because they don't want us to recover too quickly; the Allies are very stubborn and the leading government people are not the best ones either - they don't want us to recover yet; they don't want Germany to make military and economic progress because the others are afraid it might be disadvantageous for them - the foreign governments are to blame - they bar our way toward our independence and equality - not our own politicians; because they still blame us for the war - they are afraid that West Germany might recover too quickly and develop into a competitor in the world market; the other nations keep us down with occupation costs, coal export quotas, etc. because they don't want us to recover for economic reasons - fear of competition; the Western powers want to keep us down and dependent on them so they can exploit us to the fullest; etc.

7% 6% 6% 2%

West Germany is still too dependent on the occupation powers - (Allies):

Because the occupation powers through their High Commissions interfere too much in German affairs - they should be eliminated first - we always have to ask them if we want to do something; it's the fault of the Allies because they still issue the orders to our government; we are still too dependent on the occupation powers - they determine our politics; Germany lost the war and therefore is still without rights - we have to do everything the Allies want us to do; etc.

4 5 1 6

The German government gives in too easily (not independent enough):

Our government is not strong enough - they are but puppets; our leading politicians at Bonn are to blame - I believe they don't care about Germany or the German people; our government is no good; our government is no match for them, it does not have the gumption to contradict the Allies - it is always being taken in; our government makes too many concessions - they don't show much strength toward the Western powers; I believe they do as they please and don't ask the people - therefore we don't make any progress; etc.

3 3 4 2

(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The Allies can't agree among themselves:

The utter lack of understanding not by the people but by their respective governments - that is to blame for all of it; they get together all the time, yet they get nothing accomplished - it never ends; one conference after the other - we pay for it and nothing comes of it - the Ruhr Authority and the Schuman plan should be abolished - they are impediments; they never accomplish anything at these conferences - they talk much and do nothing; the other powers never reach an agreement - there are too many different opinions; general understanding among the European nations is not very good - the general impression is deceiving; etc.

3% 3% 3% 2%

The Allies (the West) still distrust and fear the Germans:

They are still distrustful of West Germany - they still believe that all Germans are half Nazi; they are still opposed to us in other countries - they still hate us; they have no confidence in us Germans - they hate us; they don't believe that we love peace as much as other nations; the other countries don't want to forget what happened during the war; etc.

3 2 5 5

France above all does not want West Germany's equality:

Because the French do everything to prevent our equality; the foreigners don't want what we want - they fear that Germany might get too strong, especially France; France still wants to suppress us - she is not interested in our recovery; because several nations are still opposed to it, especially France because of the last war - which is understandable - on the other side there is Russia which makes reunification between East and West Germany impossible; other nations, especially France are still afraid of us; etc.

2 1 2 2

Domestic party strife prevents it:

It is due to our domestic political situation - the parties hinder each other in their work - one of them does something good and the other one tears it down again - CDU-SPD; because the parties in Germany can't agree with each other - all of them seek their own advantages and don't think of the people; the government and the opposition should work hand in glove - that would have proved more successful in regard to foreign policies - Schuman plan and remilitarization; our government does not exert enough pressure - the government parties are splitting up with their eternal disagreements; party politics are a hindrance (Adenauer-Schumacher); etc.

2 1 2 2

The conditions are too demanding:

We have to accept conditions which we can't meet - we won't get equality for nothing, but we can't fulfill their demands; they expect too much of us and demand things that England doesn't want to do either; etc.

1 1 - -

Miscellaneous:

Because of the Hitler regime our reputation with the other countries has gone down and this can only slowly be built up again; our poverty impedes our development; it's due to the world situation; so far we can't notice very much yet - but perhaps in the near future through this contract; the goods we import from abroad are too expensive because of the high duty on them; the opportunities the Allies give us would not be very favorable - I remember the many dismantlings in West Germany; etc.

4 5 5 2
3% 3% 3% 2%

No opinion / No answer:

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Aside from widespread "no opinion" replies among certain groups, especially marked among women, the lesser educated, lower status and income elements, opinions among all population groups, when not beyond chance error, divide quite evenly between the view that some progress toward equality with other Western nations has been made by West Germany and the view that little or nothing has been accomplished in this direction. Higher status groups are more frequently than the public as a whole found in both the pro and con positions, largely because more of them have made up their minds on the matter.

"What progress is West Germany making toward equality with other Western nations - good progress, or little progress? (Little or very little progress?)"

	Good pro- gress	Fairly good progress	Little pro- gress	Very little progress	None at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY							
Sex:							
Men	23%	21%	25%	13%	4%	14%...100%	354
Women	8	13	15	5	2	57	441
Education:							
Elementary school	11	17	18	8	2	44	646
Beyond elementary school	31	16	24	10	4	15	149
Socio-Economic Status:							
Lower class	10	17	17	6	2	48	403
Middle and upper class	20	16	22	11	3	28	391
Income (per month):							
0 - 299 DM	11	16	16	8	3	46	517
300 - 399 DM	19	19	25	10	3	24	166
400 DM and more	25	19	27	9	3	17	101
Age:							
Under 40 years	16	15	21	7	3	38	322
40 years and over	13	18	19	9	3	38	461
Party Preference:							
SPD	18	19	24	12	-	27	209
CDU/CSU	22	16	16	4	1	41	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	26	22	6	2	20	46
Other parties	13	13	26	7	6	35	70
No party	9	17	20	12	7	35	187
Don't know	5	12	10	5	2	66	128
Occupation:							
Professionals	28	16	28	8	12	8	25
Businessmen	15	17	25	14	4	25	107
White-collar workers	21	25	23	7	2	22	102
Skilled laborers	14	15	22	11	3	35	138
Semi-skilled laborers	10	18	20	7	2	43	89
Farmers	11	6	9	6	1	67	87
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	11	17	17	9	1	45	166
Religion:							
Catholic	19	16	18	6	1	40	344
Protestants	11	18	21	9	3	38	420
Origin:							
Natives	14	17	20	9	3	37	612
Expellees, Refugees	16	15	18	8	3	40	183
Veteran Status:							
Yes	24	19	25	14	6	12	196
No	20	24	25	11	2	18	158

PERSONAL SITUATION OF HALF REMAINS GOOD, OTHER HALF FIND IT WORSE ...

To half of the West German people, their personal situation is either as good as it was in December 1950 (30%), or has improved (19%). The other half find themselves in a more unfortunate situation than previously (34%), or are as badly off (17%) as they were in late 1950. It will be noted that US Zone residents are more inclined (56%) to assess their present personal situation as relatively favorable than are those in the British Zone (47%) and the French Zone (40%).

"If you look back to your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Better today	19%	16%	23%	10%
Just as good	30	29	33	30
Worse today	34	37	26	41
Just as bad	17	16	18	16
No opinion	*	*	-	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

With few exceptions, economic difficulties are given as reasons for being worse off now than a year ago. Among the economic hardships mentioned, the rising cost of living leads by a wide margin.

An improvement in personal status is also almost entirely attributed to economic and material factors. A few mention better housing, but most ascribe their increased well-being to such things as a larger pay envelope, a better job (or a job, rather than no job as in 1950), more profits in business, better prices for products, and so on.

"In what respects are things better than a year ago?"
(Asked of those who said "Better today")

Higher income:

I earn more money today - whether one is well off or bad off always depends on money; our boy has finished his apprenticeship and has a good job as a baker, so that we are financially better off, although things are still very expensive, and since we are refugees we have to buy many things; I get a higher pension now; finally we are getting temporary relief money, so we are somewhat better off; the relief money for widows and orphans has been raised; my income is higher now; etc.

WEST GERMANY British US French
Zone Zone Zone Zone

7% 6% 8% 5%

My job situation has improved:

I am no longer unemployed and have a good job; things have become better in regard to my job, my personal affairs are in better shape and my efficiency has improved; because I have a chance now to make good professional progress; during the past year my husband had been unemployed but now we have something to live on again; then I was unemployed, now at least I earn a little more money; etc.

4 5 5 2

Economic and material (financial) circumstances have improved:

Economic circumstances have improved - my business returns have increased; as totally damaged people we were able to purchase many good in the past year; through good business connections abroad; farm prices stabilized somewhat, so that farmers can invest more money in their farms; etc.

4 4 5 2

The housing problem has improved:

For the last few months we have got a decent apartment, while till then we were crammed in one room with malicious people; now we have an apartment of our own; etc.

3 2 5 1

The state of health has improved:

During the last year I was in a hospital for three months; I don't need to work so hard as before; etc.

1 1 1 -

Others:

My daughter is married; my son has come back from prison camp; a year ago I was still living in the East Zone; etc.

1/20%* 1/19%* 2/26%* 1/11%*

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In what respect are things worse than a year ago?" (Asked of those who said "Worse")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>The cost of living has increased; prices are too high, wages are too low:</u>				
Everything has become more expensive; because prices went up one can barely make both ends meet, since our income has remained the same; the prices for food have gone up - our income is not high enough for clothing and other purchases; the prices are too high for us; prices for raw materials have gone up; a year ago I could buy more for my money - things grow worse every day; wages haven't kept up with price increases; etc.	20%	23%	15%	20%
<u>Unemployment:</u>				
My husband has no job, there is lack of money everywhere; I lost my job and now I have to look after the children, my wife practices her profession and so I'm dependent on her; my husband is unemployed, the costs of living are steadily increasing - one can't possibly manage with the unemployment relief pay; my husband might lose his job pretty soon; etc.	3	4	2	3
<u>General worsening of economic circumstances:</u>				
We are refugees with a business of our own and the purchasing power is flagging; mainly the business situation is worse, receipts are poor and expenses tremendously high; commissions of our business concern have decreased - due to the general political situation and to the great insecurity; commissions in our branch have decreased; etc.	3	4	2	2
<u>Taxes are too high:</u>				
We have to pay higher taxes; the tax burdens are too high; compared with income, taxes are too high, they ought rather to be levied on the rich people instead on poor people; etc.	3	3	3	5
<u>Pensions and the unemployment relief are too low:</u>				
My husband died in the war and my pension is only 35 DM - with that one cannot make both ends meet; if it weren't for my mother I would starve; unemployment relief has remained the same, but the prices have gone up; last year my husband died and now I have only a small widow's pension; my pension has been cut 20 per cent although the costs of living are steadily increasing; then my pension was somewhat higher - everything is so expensive, no matter how much one saves, one can't make both ends meet; the pension for disabled veterans has been generally reduced - we are paid less, even before things were bad for us, now I don't know how I shall make both ends meet; etc.	3	2	3	7
<u>Illness, old age, etc.:</u>				
I have no income because I'm sick, I only get sick pay; in regard to health; because of my heart disease; in regard to age - one can't keep pace with the young people because one isn't so efficient anymore; etc.	3	2	2	6
<u>Lack of money (general):</u>				
A year ago the economic situation was better - then people were able to spend more money; Germany hasn't enough money - my business suffers from that; the money my husband earns is not enough to make a living - I myself can't take a job anymore because I have a baby; etc.	1	2	2	2
<u>Others:</u>				
We have been building and are therefore in debt; the occupation costs have increased; there is not enough coal; the foot and mouth disease; etc.	$\frac{2}{36\%}$	$\frac{2}{41\%}$	$\frac{2}{31\%}$	$\frac{1}{46\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Corroborating the findings on the West German people's assessment of their personal circumstances at the year's end are the results of another query in a similar vein. Asked in early November if, all things considered, they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the way their economic affairs had gone during the past year, opinions again divided between satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic situation during the past year?"

If "Satisfied": "Very satisfied" or "moderately satisfied?"

If "Dissatisfied": "Very dissatisfied" or "dissatisfied?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very satisfied	4%	4%	4%	1%
Moderately satisfied	44	45	42	45
Dissatisfied	39	38	42	41
Very dissatisfied	12	12	11	12
No opinion	1	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

When the people who expressed dissatisfaction were further queried on what was to blame for their unsatisfactory economic situation, high prices - or the reverse, poor buying power - again was in the forefront (30%). The economic policy of the West German government also came in for considerable censure. The government or its officials were blamed for the high taxes, low pensions and other benefits and allowances (13%), or for mismanagement and extravagance (11%). Others attributed their failure to get ahead to general economic or social dislocations (14%), to personal difficulties (7%), or the war and especially the resultant refugee problem (8%). A few (3%) held the Allied powers responsible for their plight.

"And what is mainly to blame for the fact that your economic situation is not any better today?"

If "Very dissatisfied" or "dissatisfied."

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

High prices, low salaries and incomes, lack of purchasing power:

Prices, in relation to salaries, have gone up so much that they make the living standard go down; everything has got more expensive, but we don't get more for our products than before. The people have no money, no purchasing power; if I had about 5,000 DM capital I would be satisfied; the prices go up and the men don't earn enough money; I am a typist but I only get the salary of an apprentice; the prices always go up - the general economic situation - the population cannot buy anything; the prices go so high that the wage scale can't keep pace; the great price increase - I have the impression that the shortages are artificial; the high prices in comparison with the low income, the increase in railroad fares; etc. 30% 28% 32% 33%

Other economic and social difficulties:

The generally bad economic situation - the economic problem is the suppression of small and medium business concerns; the living conditions - I'm forced to move out of my apartment - that's my greatest worry, since I'll only get one room for my family of four; we still haven't got an apartment; one just doesn't see any possibilities to get ahead - I'm from a city while here the possibilities for professional progress are poor; my husband is unemployed; we have no organized market - one day the market is overstocked, the next day you can't buy anything - the weekly markets are the ruin of the retailers; my husband

(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

is unemployed on account of the general economic misery in Schleswig-Holstein - the industrial capacity is too small here; not enough possibilities for working places in town, cannot earn any money; if a laborer insists on his rights, he gets them through the trade unions - but the employer puts him on the black list and when workers are dismissed, he's the one who's fired; etc.

14% 14% 16% 10%

High taxes, small pensions and other allowances:

The paying of pensions is still delayed; the taxes are too high; too low pensions compared with the prices; the high taxes are to blame for the prices going up; the high taxes on farming, we can't make money; I'm a war widow and don't get a raise in my pension; the taxes are too high for our little household; I only get \$5 IM pension, no educational aid for the children; etc.

13 11 17 13

The government, the state officials:

The bad management of the Ministry of Economics; because those people in power are scoundrels, that's all I know; our people in Bonn spend too much money; the government with its economic policy; the bad management of the Bonn government; one can't call our government efficient, too many opinions; the government has no understanding of the refugees; the authorities delay too long in paying pensions; the housing office in Cologne raises difficulties about the house I rebuilt myself; the government isn't doing anything to revalue our savings; that an old man like me, who owns hardly anything, is forced by the government to pay social relief money; etc.

11 10 14 8

The war and its consequences; refugee status:

I'm a refugee, I don't own anything and have to buy everything - I have a seven year old child that I have to take care of and besides I'm unable to work; because we had to leave our homeland - the lost war, the Poles threw us out; the war is to blame for it, if it had not broken out, everything would be better; we are refugees, lost our farm, have nothing more; because I'm an expellee; because I'm bombed out; through expulsion - we lost our home - the war; that the refugees aren't considered enough; the war is to blame for everything; etc.

8 9 8 9

Personal and family cares and worries:

Lack of time - have been tied up too much by my examination to earn any money; my husband is ill; I'm ailing, I cannot do any housework and need household help; I don't have the right work - I'm a war invalid and am handicapped; because I can't get my residence permit back in Flensburg, why has that to be?; my husband had an accident, he had to have a four weeks rest; etc.

7 7 6 6

The measures and policies of the Allies:

Those people who are guilty of our expulsion are mostly to blame; the occupation costs too much; the currency reform; because I lost my job through the military laws; the lack of coal - the distribution of it, the Ruhr control board takes care of exports first of all; etc.

3 3 3 3

Other people are to blame:

The German people themselves, because they pay the farmers as much as they demand, the farmers are to blame; the farmers that raised the food prices enormously; etc.

$\frac{2}{88\%}$ $\frac{2}{84\%}$ $\frac{2}{96\%}$ $\frac{3}{85\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP BREAKDOWNS ...

The pattern of group estimates on relative well-being this year against last year gives statistical confirmation to an observation frequently made that certain elements of the West German population are increasingly feeling the economic pinch, despite the general remarkable recovery. Judgments of deteriorated or continued bad circumstances are most frequently found among the following groups, all of which are in the more populous, lower status segments of the population: people with only elementary schooling, in contrast to the better educated; those in the lower socio-economic levels as compared with those of higher status; those with small incomes as against the more affluent; and skilled and semi-skilled laborers, as well as pensioners and others living on fixed incomes as compared with those in professional, business, white-collar, and farming occupations.

But notwithstanding the preponderant tendency of these groups to give greater weight to deterioration, than to betterment in their personal situation, it is important to note that relatively large proportions within all segments assert their situation to be as good or better than formerly.

"If you look back to your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same? (Just as good, or just as bad?)"

WEST GERMANY	Better today	Just as good	Worse today	Just as bad	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	16%	28%	40%	16%	...100%	354
Women	21	32	29	17	1	441
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	17	28	35	19	1	646
Beyond elementary school	25	39	27	8	1	149
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	15	26	35	23	1	403
Middle and upper class	22	35	32	10	1	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	15	28	34	22	1	517
300 - 399 DM	22	29	41	8	-	166
400 DM and more	32	42	21	4	1	101
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	25	32	28	15	-	322
40 years and over	14	29	30	18	1	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	15	25	40	20	-	209
CDU/CSU	18	43	23	15	1	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	28	31	13	2	46
Other parties	21	24	36	19	-	70
No party	21	29	40	10	-	187
Don't know	17	27	29	25	2	128
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	20	64	12	4	-	25
Businessmen	23	26	42	8	1	107
White-collar workers	23	35	33	9	-	102
Skilled laborers	17	28	41	13	1	138
Semi-skilled laborers	19	26	30	24	1	89
Farmers	9	51	21	18	1	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	20	22	30	27	1	166
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	18	30	31	20	1	344
Protestants	19	30	35	15	1	420
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	16	33	36	15	-	612
Expellees, Refugees	27	21	28	22	2	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	16	22	48	14	-	196
No	17	33	32	18	-	158

Group differences on satisfaction/dissatisfaction with economic developments follow a pattern similar to those in relative improvement/deterioration in personal situations during the course of the year. Again, the lesser educated, lower socio-economic, and lower income groups tend more frequently than their counterparts to express dissatisfaction, as do laborers, both skilled and semi-skilled, and those on fixed incomes, e.g. pensioners, and the retired.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year?"
(If "Satisfied": "Very satisfied" or "moderately satisfied?"
If "Dissatisfied": "Very dissatisfied" or "dissatisfied?")

WEST GERMANY	Very satisfied and moderately satisfied	Dissatisfied and very dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	45%	55%	100%	587
Women	50	48	2	606
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	46	53	1	960
Beyond elementary school	55	44	1	230
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	44	54	2	560
Middle and upper class	51	40	1	633
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	44	55	1	791
300 - 399 DM	49	51	-	204
400 DM and more	62	36	2	196
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	51	47	2	511
40 years and over	45	54	1	674
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	43	57	-	279
CDU/CSU	50	42	-	219
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	47	-	79
Other parties	40	60	-	93
No party	43	56	1	233
Don't know	50	47	3	290
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	54	44	2	55
Businessmen	57	41	2	126
White-collar workers	50	49	1	148
Skilled laborers	44	55	1	223
Semi-skilled laborers	47	52	1	171
Farmers	59	39	2	144
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	43	56	1	209
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	46	53	1	540
Protestants	50	49	1	599
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	47	52	1	915
Expellees, Refugees	51	48	1	278
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	45	54	1	339
No	48	52	-	244

A NOTE ON WEST GERMAN REACTIONS
TO THE WEST'S DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS AT THE PARIS MEETING
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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R E S T R I C T E D

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OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

A NOTE ON WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE WEST'S DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS
AT THE PARIS MEETING OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Pursuant to its program of obtaining West German reactions to political issues and proposals as they arise, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, took a sounding of the impact on the West German public of the disarmament proposals laid before the Paris session of the United Nations, some five weeks after the United States had first introduced the issue.*

From the public relations point of view, the West's decision to propose disarmament at the Paris session of the United Nations was strategically sound, judging by West German reactions to the idea. Seven in ten of the West German public welcomed the West's making a disarmament proposal, when they had been informed during the course of the interview that the West had in fact introduced the issue at the Paris UN Assembly.

However, the impact of the idea can only be as extensive as its dissemination. In this respect, the Western move scored considerably less than a marked success among the West German public. While half of the public knew that the disarmament issue had been broached at Paris, only three in ten were aware of the fact that the West, not Russia alone, had a hand in the proposals. Moreover, only a very small fraction (5%) knew that the issue was first introduced at the Paris Assembly by the West. Thus any advantage inherent in being the first to propound the matter was lost because the public lacked information. The findings follow.

- * The findings as reported here were included in a larger survey made December 18 - 28, 1951, utilizing a probability sample of 800 cases representing the population of all West Germany.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

R E S T R I C T E D

ONLY HALF AWARE OF DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS ...

At the time of the survey more than five weeks after the West had first introduced the issue, less than half (48%) of the West German population had heard of the West's disarmament proposals and the Russian counter-proposals made before the United Nations Assembly in Paris.

Moreover, only three in ten were aware that the West, and not Russia alone, had proposed disarmament. And the fact that the issue had first been introduced by the West was known to only a small fraction (5%). The series of inquiries and the results follow;

"Have you perhaps heard whether any proposals for disarmament have been made?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	48%	46%	52%	51%
No	<u>52</u> 100%	<u>54</u> 100%	<u>48</u> 100%	<u>49</u> 100%

"And who made these disarmament proposals - the East or the West?"
(Asked of those respondents who knew such proposals had been made)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
East	13%	11%	16%	16%
West	17	17	19	14
Both	13	15	13	11
Others	1	1	*	-
No opinion	<u>4</u> 48%	<u>2</u> 46%	<u>4</u> 52%	<u>10</u> 51%

"And who made the disarmament proposals first?"
(Asked of those who said "Both")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
East	3%	3%	4%	3%
West	5	7	5	2
No opinion	<u>5</u> 13%	<u>5</u> 15%	<u>4</u> 13%	<u>6</u> 11%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

But among the usually better informed groups - the men, the better educated, the more affluent, and the higher socio-economic status groups - awareness of the proposals rises to an average of about 75 per cent. Almost twice as many in these groups as in their counterpart groups have heard of the proposals, and in the case of men vs women, the difference is even greater (74% to 28%).

On the question of who made the proposals, the upper status groups also more frequently than their opposites are aware that both the West and Russia proposed disarmament. These better informed groups, however, as frequently say "West" as they do "both." In general, all groups name the West more frequently than the East, and very few have no opinion.

Of those who said both the West and Russia made proposals for disarmament, the men, the better educated and the upper socio-economic and income groups are more inclined either to be correctly informed or to withhold opinions on the question of who first introduced the issue, while their counterparts more often tend to guess. But, in general, all groups name the West more frequently than the East as the originator of disarmament proposals. The tables are presented on the following pages.

"Have you perhaps heard whether any proposals for disarmament have been made?"

<u>Sex:</u>	Yes	No	No. of cases:
Men	74%	26%...100%	354
Women	28	72	441
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	42	58	646
Beyond elementary school	77	23	149
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Lower class	47	53	763
Middle and upper class	87	13	763
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 299 DM	42	58	517
300 - 399 DM	58	42	166
400 DM and more	70	30	101
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	48	52	322
40 years and over	49	51	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	46	54	209
CDU/CSU	50	50	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	67	33	46
Other parties	63	37	70
No party	59	41	187
Don't know	22	78	128
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	84	16	25
Businessmen	64	36	107
White-collar workers	61	39	102
Skilled laborers	48	52	138
Semi-skilled laborers	35	65	89
Farmers	39	61	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	42	58	166
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	49	51	344
Protestants	47	53	420
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	49	51	612
Expellees, Refugees	47	53	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>			
Yes	77	23	196
No	69	31	158

"And who made these disarmament proposals - the East or the West?"
(Asked of those respondents who answered "Yes" to original question)

	East	West	Both	Others	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	28%	34%	33%	1%	4%...100%	261
Women	26	37	17	2	18	127
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	27	35	25	2	11	273
Beyond elementary school	28	35	34	-	3	115
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	28	35	27	1	9	361
Middle and upper class	22	41	37	4	-	27
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	25	38	25	1	11	218
300 - 399 DM	25	34	33	-	8	97
400 DM and more	40	28	28	1	3	71
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	29	41	20	1	9	154
40 years and over	26	31	33	1	9	228
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	28	42	26	-	4	96
CDU/CSU	33	30	29	1	7	76
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	45	13	35	-	7	31
Other parties	21	43	25	2	9	44
No party	19	38	31	2	10	111
Don't know	32	29	14	-	25	28
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	14	43	43	-	-	21
Businessmen	25	35	32	-	8	65
White-collar workers	40	26	27	2	5	62
Skilled laborers	26	36	26	-	12	66
Semi-skilled laborers	32	39	10	-	19	31
Farmers	29	38	24	-	9	34
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	19	31	39	3	8	70
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	32	32	25	1	10	169
Protestants	25	38	28	1	8	200
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	28	34	27	1	10	302
Expellees, Refugees	25	39	30	-	6	86
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	30	35	31	1	3	152
No	24	35	35	1	5	109

"And who made the disarmament proposals first?"
(Asked of those who said "both" to previous question)

	East	West	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	22%	41%	37%...100%	86
Women	32	41	27	22
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	26	39	35	69
Beyond elementary school	20	44	36	39
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	25	41	34	98
Middle and upper class	10	40	50	10
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	24	36	40	55
300 - 399 DM	28	47	25	32
400 DM and more	19	43	38	21
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	23	42	35	31
40 years and over	26	39	35	74
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	28	44	28	25
CDU/CSU	23	45	32	22
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	36	55	9	11
Other parties	37	18	45	11
No party	17	40	43	35
Don't know	-	25	75	4
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	22	22	56	9
Businessmen	14	57	29	21
White-collar workers	24	41	35	17
Skilled laborers	24	29	47	17
Semi-skilled laborers	33	67	-	3
Farmers	25	25	50	8
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	30	44	26	27
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	26	41	33	42
Protestants	21	41	38	56
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	26	39	35	82
Expellees, Refugees	19	46	35	26
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	21	43	36	47
No	24	37	39	38

BUT MAJORITY WELCOMES WEST'S PROPOSALS ...

However, the Western move to discuss disarmament is welcomed by a majority of the West German public. Seven in ten declared they approved of the West's making disarmament proposals when they were informed during the interview that the Western powers and Russia had in fact made such proposals before the UN. Only 12 per cent were opposed and 19 per cent had no opinion.

"As matters are now, do you welcome the Western powers making these disarmament proposals or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Welcome	69%	65%	70%	76%
Not welcome	12	14	10	9
No opinion	19	21	20	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Prevention of another war, or more affirmatively, preservation of the peace is the most compelling justification of the West's proposal for disarmament, to the 69 per cent who said they welcomed the proposals. This theme - or some variation of it - underlies virtually all the comments given by this group, with the slight remainder giving no reason for their approval, but merely thinking it was a good idea. Typical comments are:

"So that there will be peace in the world - as long as there is armament going on, real peace cannot be achieved."

"Armament will lead to war in any event - no country arms without intending to use these arms."

"By doing that the destruction of human beings can be avoided."

"If a war can be avoided by it - even if the war danger is averted - it can only be for the good of all concerned."

"Then one can relax in the knowledge that it won't steer toward war."

"The danger of war would decrease if such proposals were accepted."

SKEPTICISM UNDERLIES ARGUMENTS AGAINST PROPOSALS ...

Skepticism in the sincerity of both East and West in proposing disarmament is the prevailing tone among the small group judging the proposals unwelcome. The Russian intent is particularly doubted - with five per cent (or almost half of those who oppose the proposals) voicing such sentiments as "... the Russians will never disarm, even if they promise it ten times;" "... The Russians are bluffing again - they can only be checked through military force." Another small fraction (4%) do not distinguish between East and West in their accusations, doubting the sincerity of both, and stating for example, that "it's all a big show, nothing else;" "I consider every disarmament proposal nonsense and hypocrisy;" etc. A very few seem not so much to doubt the sincerity of the West's proposals, but rather to fear the results of disarmament on the part of the West, as increasing the danger of Russian aggression.

RESTRICTED

"As matters are now, do you welcome the Western powers making these disarmament proposals or not?"

If: "Not welcome": "Why do you not welcome this?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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The Russians are not honest in their proposals - they are just bluffing:

Such proposals are senseless, they can't trust the Russians - they just sell them a line, even if they promise to disarm they can't be believed in; because the Russians will never disarm - even if they promise it ten times; they are just taken in again by the Russians, and yet the Russians are arming as never before - they don't even dream of disarming; because the Russians are bluffing again - they can only be checked through military force; because the Russians won't disarm and will attack us even when the West has disarmed; etc.

5%	5%	4%	6%
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The proposals are not honest - just a show - they continue arming in secret:

None of them is honest about it, and nobody will disarm - they will never agree on this point - it's just a waste of time even to dispute this question; it's all a big show, nothing else; I consider every disarmament proposal nonsense and hypocrisy; it's all nonsense - the conferences come to deadlocks and are a waste of money - nobody seriously believes in their success; it's just a cat- and mouse- game - they postpone the war, that's all; it will only lead to the secret continuation of armament and then no supervision is possible; etc.

4	4	5	1
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The danger of Russian aggression would increase:

I just think that the Russians will then come here easily; because in case of disarmament the danger of aggression would increase; because of fear of the Russians - the Russians will remain the stronger power and the others will be the stupid ones; etc.

1	2	1	-
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Other opinions:

The nations want to keep too many of their rights to themselves and don't want to be subdued - one watches out for the other, so it doesn't hold too much power; that's a double-edged sword; the Russians might think that some things are not going right in the West - the West might thus admit that she is not strong enough; it's of no use, because the Russians are impenetrable; etc.

$\frac{2}{12\%}$	$\frac{3}{14\%}$	$\frac{1}{11\%}$	$\frac{2}{9\%}$
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group breakdowns on attitudes toward the West's disarmament proposals show the usual pattern of the upper status groups more frequently expressing opinions - both pro and con - than their counterpart groups. All groups, however, are far more favorable toward the proposals than they are opposed, and in only one case does opposition rise to 20 per cent.

"As matters are now - do you welcome the Western powers making these disarmament proposals or not?"

	Welcome	Not welcome	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	76%	15%	9%...100%	354
Women	63	9	28	441
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	67	11	22	646
Beyond elementary school	73	16	6	149
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	68	12	20	763
Middle and upper class	87	10	3	31
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	67	10	23	517
300 - 399 DM	70	16	14	166
400 DM and more	78	15	7	101
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	70	13	17	322
40 years and over	68	11	21	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	75	12	13	209
CDU/CSU	66	16	18	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	78	20	2	46
Other parties	76	11	13	70
No party	69	13	18	187
Don't know	54	3	43	128
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	80	16	4	25
Businessmen	78	11	11	107
White-collar workers	70	17	13	102
Skilled laborers	73	12	15	138
Semi-skilled laborers	70	10	20	89
Farmers	55	12	33	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	64	10	26	166
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	70	13	17	344
Protestants	68	10	22	420
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	67	13	20	612
Expellees, Refugees	73	8	19	183
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	77	17	6	196
No	76	12	12	158

REPERCUSSIONS IN WEST GERMANY OF THE
FRENCH AMBASSADORIAL APPOINTMENT TO THE SAAR

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OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

At the height of the press and political storm in West Germany that followed the French appointment of an ambassador to the disputed Saar area, Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs went into the field with a rapid small sample survey designed to assess the scope and intensity of rank and file repercussions of the French action.

Results are based upon a West German probability sampling of 400 cases obtained between the 6th and 11th of February 1952. The limited sample size is large enough for useful general conclusions, but must of course be used with caution for any comparative analysis of sentiments among constituent population groups.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung" m.b.H.), Frankfurt, Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Contrary to press and political intimations, as of the time of the present survey the majority of the West German people proved to be unaware of the flareup in the Saar controversy precipitated by the recent French action in appointing an ambassador to the disputed area.

But among the approximately one third of the population aware of the recent turn of events in the Saar - preponderantly higher status elements - the French ambassadorial appointment has clearly engendered strong resentment. Adverse reactions are not only evidenced in acrimonious comment on the French action, but also in seriously lessened interest in pursuing a policy of German-French cooperation and in indications of losses of support specifically for German defense participation and the Schuman Plan.

The width of general German-French differences on the Saar is evident from the finding that two thirds of the West German population assert that the area is now controlled by France, with a like proportion insisting that it should be controlled by Germany. But despite this discrepancy, and despite the exacerbations now occasioned by the French ambassadorial appointment, general German orientations on the Saar do not appear to be such as to make solution of the problem wholly impossible.

Firstly, contrary to intimations by some German political leaders not every West German appears to believe that the Saar should necessarily be incorporated into West Germany.

Secondly, in view of the fact that only one in four West Germans believe that West Germany will in fact get the Saar in any final solution of the problem, many Germans must be at least resigned to not having the Saar as part of Germany.

Finally and most importantly, a large proportion of the West Germans who feel that the Saar should belong to West Germany indicate in the present survey that they are prepared to accept international control as a compromise if France is unalterably opposed to returning the region to Germany. Only approximately one in five in the West German population appear to be diehard proponents of German control of the Saar.

- a -

R E S T R I C T E D

I. AWARENESS AND REACTIONS TO LATEST SAAR CONTRETEMPS

EXTENT OF AWARENESS AMONG GERMAN RANK AND FILE ...

From the general furor in the press and in political circles the impression has been created that, as of the time of the present survey, the Saar problem and France's latest act in appointing an ambassador to the disputed area, was nothing less than dinner time conversation at every German table. That such a conception of public consciousness of the current Saar contretemps is something less than accurate, was the initial finding of the present study.

Measured in the midst of the press and political commotion, the majority of the German public (60%) answered in the negative when asked if they had heard recently of any political happenings in the Saar. Varying degrees of awareness of the current controversy were exhibited by the remaining four in ten - with 31 per cent indicating specific knowledge of the fact that the French had appointed a new ambassador to the Saar area.

That approximately a third of the German populace are aware of France's latest demarche in the Saar is of course in no sense a negligible proportion. In assessing repercussions this breadth of awareness should not be minimized. But neither should it be exaggerated, and there is more danger of the latter in uncautiously equating press and political attention to the Saar issue with public preoccupation.

"Have you heard recently of any political events in the Saar District?"

WEST
GERMANY

Appointment of a French ambassador to the Saar:

31%

Differences of opinion between France and the West German government - West Germany demands the return of the Saar District:

The quarrel between France and the West German government about the future and the treatment of the Saar District; the French are probably supposed to return it - it's connected with the Schuman Plan - the Bundestag wants it; Adenauer demands the return of the Saar and made speeches about it; Adenauer got together with the French government about the Saar; America wants it to be returned to Germany; etc.

4

Claims of France to the Saar District: That the French want it; that the French want to keep the Saar District to themselves; that France wants to get the upper hand there - it was discussed at the UN that Germany doesn't deserve the Saar after all; etc.

2

Demand for plebiscite in the Saar District:

They shall have a plebiscite there - they shall become independent; etc.

1

Demand for agreement between France and West Germany on the Saar issue:

The Germans and the French should agree on who should get the Saar; etc.

1

Other statements:

Prime Minister Hoffman pleaded the case of the Saar in Paris; the Saar District shall become autonomous; the independence of the Saar is the bone of contention - it wants to become independent; the founding of a CDU party - the strike of the miners for higher wages; prohibition of parties in the Saar District - the French want the Saar to be returned to Germany - anyway that's what I understood from the newspaper; prohibition of the Saarland party; etc.

3

Haven't heard / No answer:

60
102%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Group differences are typical of information issues in the present instance with awareness of the appointment of the new French ambassador considerably more widespread among the men, the better educated, and the better paid than among their counterpart groups. In no population sector, however - with the possible exception of Germans with more than elementary school education (a small minority of the population) -, does awareness of the latest Saar development attain majority status.

"Have you heard recently of any political events in the Saar District? (Which?)"

	Appointment of French ambassador	Other answers	Haven't heard	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	45%	13%	42% ... 100%	194
Women	17	8	75	212
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23	12	65	330
Beyond elementary school	62	8	30	76
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	14	7	79	106
150 - 299 DM	24	15	61	141
300 - 399 DM	42	11	47	83
400 DM and more	54	5	41	73
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	26	14	60	98
30 - 49 years	31	10	59	187
50 years and over	34	7	59	119
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	34	11	55	107
CDU/CSU	27	17	56	89
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	44	12	44	27
Other parties	30	7	63	27
No party	32	4	64	93
Don't know	19	11	70	63
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	32	9	59	184
Protestants	28	11	61	207
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	30	11	59	338
Expellees, Refugees	31	12	57	68

REACTIONS TO APPOINTMENT OF FRENCH AMBASSADOR ...

Among the 31 per cent of the German populace aware of the recent appointment of a French ambassador to the Saar, there is little evidence of other than distinctly negative reactions to the event. No German questioned appeared in any way inclined to propound the French thesis that the new appointment was merely routine and marks no departure from the status quo on the Saar issue.

"Have you heard recently of any political events in the Saar District? (Which?)"

If "Appointment of French ambassador to the Saar": "What do you think - for what reasons has France done this?"

WEST
GERMANY

In order to incorporate the Saar District politically into France - in order to prevent the return of the Saar to West Germany:

So the Saar won't be incorporated into Germany again - this man is to prevent it - France wants the Saar for herself; with that they want to "buy" the Saar and the Saar government for France; France wants to prevent the Saar District from being returned to Germany; France did it in order to secure possession of the Saar in the future; they just wanted to get the better of the Federal Government in this respect and present it with an accomplished fact; in order to get stronger political influence in the Saar; etc.

18%

In order to exploit the Saar economically - for their own advantages:

Because they don't want to leave the Saar District to us anymore and want to exploit it for their own purposes; in order to have the Saar District as a pawn in their hands; in order to be able to exploit the Saar more; they want to secure their advantages to a greater extent; I have the feeling that it is solely an economic matter - France wants to get hold of the Saar industries; etc.

6

In order to prevent rearmament of West Germany or to postpone it:

In order to deal Germany a diplomatic blow before her participation in the West European army on an equal status; under the sponsorship of Vyshinsky who wants to undermine the plans for German rearmament through France; so as to prevent or postpone the remilitarization of West Germany; etc.

1

It is connected with the Schuman Plan:

Since the Schuman Plan was accepted they begin to "think European" in their own way and pocket everything that might be useful to them; in connection with the Schuman Plan - so as to diminish the German claims for the Saar; so he supervises the Schuman Plan - I am not a great light, but I think that; etc.

1

From the old feeling of hatred:

It is still the old hatred - the French don't like to see the Germans beside them but rather under them; they want to grab everything and they can't get over their feeling of hatred and their desire for exploitation; etc.

1

In order to undermine understanding:

They want to thwart understanding since they don't put any stock in it; that's high politics - that I don't know either - they want to annoy us with it; etc.

1

For imperialistic reasons:

They want to establish the Rhine as the border again; that is customary - as it was under Hitler - one takes over the control in an occupied territory - they called it a protectorate in the past; etc.

1

Other opinions:

11

No opinion / No answer:

2

32%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IS THE SAAR ISSUE RECEIVING TOO MUCH ATTENTION? ...

Further demonstration that the West German citizens aware of the latest Saar development are distinctly exercised about the French action lies in the finding that few express the belief that the very considerable Bundestag attention that was being devoted to the matter at the time of the survey was overly great.

"Do you have the impression that our government pays too much, just enough, or not enough attention to the Saar issue at the present?" (Asked of those who knew about appointment of French ambassador to the Saar)

Too much	2%
Just enough	16
Not enough	11
No opinion	2
	<u>31%</u>

	Too much	Just enough	Not enough	No opinion	Unaware of French appointment	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	2%	27%	16%	2%	53%	183
Women	1	7	7	2	83	212
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	1	11	10	2	76	325
Beyond elementary school	4	40	15	4	37	75
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 149 DM	-	8	6	-	86	106
150 DM - 299 DM	1	11	11	1	76	138
300 DM - 399 DM	1	25	13	4	57	81
400 DM and more	-	33	-	-	67	3
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	1	13	11	1	74	96
30 - 49 years	2	19	9	1	69	183
50 years and more	1	15	14	4	66	119
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	2	11	21	1	65	105
CDU/CSU	2	21	3	1	73	87
FDP/LDP/DVP/IDV	4	26	15	-	55	27
Other parties	4	11	11	4	70	27
No party	-	18	10	4	68	93
Don't know	-	13	5	2	80	61
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	2	20	9	1	68	184
Protestants	1	14	11	2	72	201
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	1	17	10	2	70	333
Expellees, Refugees	3	12	15	1	69	67

Additional indication that the breadth of adverse impact of the latest Saar controversy has been of the order of magnitude of approximately a third of the West German people, emerges from a more broadly framed inquiry as to whether German-French relations have improved or deteriorated over recent weeks. Thirty-five per cent held that they had deteriorated in the past four weeks as a consequence of French actions in the Saar. It is to be noted too, that an additional 14 per cent, for a total of approximately half the population, also spoke of recently worsened French-German relations emanating from considerations other than the Saar issue.

"Do you find that the relationship between the West German government and the French government has improved during the past four weeks or grown worse?"

Improved	7%
Grown worse	49
Neither/Nor	11
No opinion	33
	100%

If "Grown worse": "In your opinion, what is the reason that it has grown worse?"

WEST
GERMANY

The Saar issue and France's attitude toward it:

Think of the Saar - we can't say "thank you" to that - that French government doesn't have the right to act this way and disturb our cooperation; because the French want the Saar to themselves and we have to look on how they exploit the Saar coal resources; because of the Saar issue - one should put an end to all that commotion - France starts it because of revengeful feelings and thus creates wrath among the population; the Saar matter which France wanted to settle diplomatically to her own advantage; the Saar question - France wants the sole right to the Saar mines; the appointment of Grandval as French ambassador to the Saar - with this France wants to create a Saar autonomy; etc.

35%

France is opposed to our equality and remilitarization:

France fears our equality and seeks to prevent it; distrust of us Germans - especially our discussions about remilitarization - the French press us onto the international stage - they fear that we might get too strong; because the French didn't admit Adenauer to some conference - I can't say it for sure though; France is under Communist influence and wants to prevent the remilitarization; France is mighty afraid if Germany has soldiers again; because the French still don't trust us - they don't want us to have arms; because they can't agree on the German defense contribution; because the French blocked our plans - they disturbed our whole rearmament program; etc.

8

France is too much concerned with her own political and economic advantages: France depends too much on her victory - considers herself Almighty and won't let anybody get ahead; Schuman shows an attitude now which deviates from his former will to understanding - the French have turned their course in order to get national advantages for themselves; they want our coal and our steel - they want the whole Ruhr territory - that seems to be the development; they promised us many facilitations but now they backtrack all of them - in the industry etc.; etc.

4

Schuman Plan entails disadvantages for us and contributes to differences of opinion between France and Germany:

Since we are at their mercy under the Schuman Plan they do with us as they please; they can't agree on the Schuman Plan; in regard to the Schuman Plan - one can see already today that it is only of disadvantage to Germany - Adenauer deserves only criticism in regard to his politics; etc.

2

The West German government shows its teeth:

Because of the restored self-confidence of our government - it doesn't make unconditional concessions to France anymore; because of the direct demands by the West German government in spite of the fact that we don't have a peace treaty yet; etc.

1

Other opinions: They don't want to go along in liberating the East - they tell us to do it alone - but "ohne uns"; I don't know that - but Adenauer said over the radio that France intrigued against us; etc.

2

No opinion / No answer:

2
54%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- 5 -

R E S T R I C T E D

Judgments that German-French relations have recently grown worse - both on the score of the Saar and for other reasons - rise to a maximum of well over majority status among the more educated and informed sectors of the populations - the men, the better schooled, and the better paid.

"Do you find that the relationship between the West German government and the French government has improved during the past four weeks or grown worse?"

	Improved	Grown worse	Neither/ Nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	9%	63%	14%	14%	188
Women	6	36	8	50	212
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	7	43	12	38	325
Beyond elementary school	8	73	8	11	75
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	4	32	10	54	106
150 - 299 DM	9	46	12	33	138
300 - 399 DM	7	60	14	19	81
400 DM and more	7	68	8	17	72
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	7	51	12	30	96
30 - 49 years	8	48	11	33	183
50 years and over	5	49	12	34	119
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	6	51	12	31	105
ODU/CSU	13	55	9	23	87
FDP/LDP/DVP/DDV	11	67	-	22	27
Other parties	7	59	4	30	27
No party	6	40	19	35	93
Don't know	-	38	8	54	61
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	11	48	10	31	184
Protestants	4	49	11	36	201
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	8	49	11	32	333
Expellees, Refugees	5	48	10	37	67

II. REPERCUSSIONS OF FRENCH SAAR APPOINTMENT ON GERMAN ATTITUDES

EFFECT OF APPOINTMENT ON GERMAN-FRENCH COOPERATION ...

Whatever may be the extent of German receptivity to compromise on the Saar issue, it has unquestionably been appreciably lessened by the French appointment of an ambassador to the area. This has already been indicated in the number of West German citizens who see worsened French-German relations as a consequence of the action. More direct evidence lies in the contrast of returns below. The size of the difference makes it clear - despite the limited number of cases - that West German inclination to pursue a policy of cooperation with France has been distinctly reduced among individuals aware of the French ambassadorial appointment.

"In your opinion, what should the West German government do, if France continues with her present Saar policy? (CARD)

Which of the two opinions comes closest to your own?"

	Allege present French control of Saar <u>but not</u> aware of ambassa- dor appointment	Allege present French control of Saar <u>and</u> <u>aware</u> of ambassa- dor appointment
A - West Germany should not continue to cooperate with France and the other West European nations until the Saar issue has been solved	29%	44%
B - West Germany should continue to cooperate with France and the other West European nations in order to come to an amicable agreement on the Saar issue	65	55
No opinion	$\frac{6}{100\%}$	$\frac{1}{100\%}$
Number of cases:	154	112

The remarks of those who know about the latest French action make it clear that the general admonition is that West Germany take a firm stand against French control of the Saar.

"And how should our government act toward France in the Saar issue?"

WEST
GERMANY

Should take a firm attitude (without specifically mentioning German claim):

Should take a firm stand towards France; should maintain its rights and make conditions; I don't know whether our government can do anything in this matter, but Adenauer should show them that he is not going to take everything; stubbornly - we don't sign any contract until things are settled; they shouldn't be so yielding, should make conditions; should take an unyielding attitude, not make compromises; etc. 10%

Should demand return of the Saar District to Germany:

They should again and again emphasize that the Saar District has always been, is, and should remain a German land; should demand it firmly, because we need the Saar District and its coal - it belongs to Germany; one should endeavor, without any concessions, to make the Saar District purely German again; should remain completely unyielding in regard to the German claim; we should insist on the Saar remaining German - should aspire to a referendum among the Saar people; on no account should we cede anything, because they only want to enrich themselves with us, we are to be impoverished; should break off our relations to the Western powers until they grant us our democratic rights on our land; etc. 8

Should endeavor to negotiate:

They must make efforts to appease the French and come to an agreement; we have to be cautious and can't hurry this matter through, Adenauer himself is shrewd enough to find the right solution and the correct attitude, it's a question of tact; as far as I know the government endeavors strongly to reach a fair settlement through negotiations, I consider that proper; should give in and negotiate; should go on negotiating; etc. 4

Should make consent to defense contribution dependent on solution of the Saar issue:

In any case should the government make defense contribution dependent on the solution of the Saar issue; to the Western powers, Adenauer might as well make participation in a European army dependent on it - to take a positive or a negative attitude toward France, serves no purpose; they should stop remilitarization, they should tell openly that the Saar District is German land and that the way France is proceeding, comes close to stealing a country; the Federal government should not make any defense contribution as long as France doesn't release the Saar District; etc. 1

Other opinions:

It makes no difference to me, because in a future Pan-Europe the claims of single nations won't be important enough; Germany should remain completely passive until France endeavors to change her own attitude; I don't think the time has come yet when we can play our trump-card and can take an attitude we consider proper; they should delay participation in the Schuman Plan as long as France has not established normal conditions in the Saar District, i.e. has recalled the French ambassador; etc. 4

No opinion / No answer:

4
31%

EFFECT OF APPOINTMENT ON GERMAN ORIENTATIONS TOWARD DEFENSE PARTICIPATION
AND THE SCHUMAN PLAN ...

More specific examination of the possible adverse repercussions of the French Saar action suggests that it has occasioned some loss of German support for defense participation and the Schuman Plan - two major current projects involving German-French cooperation.

"Has anything happened recently which has influenced your attitude toward the Schuman Plan, or has your attitude toward the Schuman Plan remained the same?" (Asked of respondents who indicated having heard of the Schuman Plan - 79% of sample)

Influenced	10%
Remained the same	46
No opinion	23
	<u>79%</u>

If "Influenced": "Has your attitude been thereby more favorably or more unfavorably influenced toward our participation in the Schuman Plan?"

More favorably	2%
More unfavorably	8
No opinion	*
	<u>10%</u>

If "Unfavorably influenced": "And which event has influenced your attitude toward the Schuman Plan?"

Saar issue	7%
Other	1
No opinion	*
	<u>8%</u>

"Has anything happened recently which has influenced your attitude toward our participation in a general West European army, or has your attitude toward it remained the same?"

Influenced	7%
Remained the same	77
No opinion	16
	<u>100%</u>

If "Influenced": "Has your attitude thereby been more favorably or more unfavorably influenced toward our participation in a West European defense army?"

More favorably	1%
More unfavorably	6
	<u>7%</u>

If "Unfavorably influenced": "And which event has influenced your attitude?"

Saar issue	3%
Other	3
No opinion	-
	<u>6%</u>

The above figures cannot be taken to be precise estimates of population trends in view of the rather limited sampling in the present survey. But if the losses in support among the German population are of the magnitude indicated, they cannot be dismissed as insignificant. With either project far from sold to the German populace any loss in support is serious. But more pertinent in the present connection, it should be remembered that only about a third of the German population were aware of the latest dispute about the Saar and hence in a position to be adversely influenced. While the three and seven per cent indicated losses are relatively small fractions of the total population, they are appreciable fractions of a third; and thus attest to the serious adverse effect that the French action in the Saar has had - among those aware of it - in engendering loss of support for two major elements of American policy in Europe.

WHO CONTROLS AND WHO SHOULD CONTROL THE SAAR? ...

When scrutiny is finally directed to general German attitudes on the basic issue of control of the Saar, it is evident that (a) a majority of West Germans contend that the Saar is at present under French control and (b) an equally large proportion hold that the Saar District should be under German control.

"Could you tell me what the present position of the Saar District is - is it under the control of the West German government, or is it under the control of the French government, or is it independent?"

Control of West Germany	19
Control of France	66
Independent	4
Others	3
No opinion	26
	<u>100%</u>

"The following proposals have been made toward the solution of the Saar issue - which of these proposals should be realized in your opinion?" (CARD)

A - The Saar District should become a completely independent state	7%
B - The Saar District should be incorporated into West Germany	68
C - The Saar District should come under the control of France	-
D - The Saar District should come under international control until a West European Federation has been established, to which the Saar District would also belong	14
E - Others	1
No opinion	10
	<u>100%</u>

Obviously there is ample fuel in the above discrepancy between German perceptions and German aspirations as to control of the Saar to inflame France-German relations. But further considerations point to a number of relieving elements in the picture. Firstly, contrary to frequent intimations by German political leaders, it is to be observed in the above returns that not every West German appears to have the feeling that the Saar should belong to Germany.

WILL GERMANY REGAIN THE SAAR IN THE FINAL SOLUTION? ...

Secondly, the results to the inquiry tabulated below suggest that many West Germans must be resigned to not having the Saar as part of Germany. Only a minority express the conviction that Germany will get the Saar in a final solution of the problem.

"Which of these possibilities will be, in your opinion, the final solution to the Saar issue?" (CARD)

A - The Saar District will become a completely independent state	10%
B - The Saar District will be incorporated into West Germany	23
C - The Saar District will come under the control of France	15
D - The Saar District will come under international control until a West European Federation has been established, to which the Saar District will also belong	24
Others	2
No opinion	26
	<u>100%</u>

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IS INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE SAAR ACCEPTABLE TO GERMANS? ...

Finally, the most direct evidence of considerable possibility of German conciliation on the Saar issue, lies in the finding below that a large proportion of the West Germans who feel that the Saar should belong to Germany, are prepared to accept international control as a compromise if France is unalterably opposed to restoring the Saarland to Germany. All in all it would appear that only about one in five in the West German population are diehard proponents of German control of the Saar.

"Supposing France would be opposed to point B (The Saar District will be incorporated into West Germany), would you agree to point D (The Saar District will come under international control until a West European Federation has been established, to which the Saar District will also belong), in order to settle the dispute over the Saar amicably?"

Agree	38%
Not agree	21
No opinion	9
	68%

WHERE DOES AMERICA STAND ON THE SAAR ISSUE IN GERMAN OPINION? ...

Receptivity to compromise on the Saar issue among West Germans - it may be finally noted - may be to some extent influenced by judgments as to American thinking on the matter. The preponderant opinion in this connection is that America espouses international control of the Saar as a step toward membership in an eventual West European Federation. Only a relatively small minority advance the opinion that America would support German claims to the Saar. It is also interesting that so few take the position that America would favor giving the Saar to France.

"And which of these possibilities would America like to see realized in your opinion?" (CARD)

America would like to see realized:

A - The Saar District should become a completely independent state	13%
B - The Saar District should be incorporated into West Germany	14
C - The Saar District should come under the control of France	5
D - The Saar District should come under international control until a West European Federation has been established, to which the Saar District would also belong	35
E - Others	1
No opinion	32
	100%

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Taking the results all together the general pattern for the opinion leading strata (men, better educated, better paid) is to:

More widely contend that at present the Saar is under French control.

More widely express the opinion that the Saar should be internationalized (though German control is the majority choice in all groups).

More widely express the judgment that the Saar will be internationalized in the final solution.

And finally, more widely express the belief that America favors international control of the Saar over other possible solutions.

R E S T R I C T E D

"And could you tell me what the present position of the Saar District is - is it under the control of the West German government, or is it under the control of the French government, or is it independent?"

	Control of West Germany	Control of France	Inde- pendent	Others	No opinion	No. of cases;
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	24	81%	3%	3%	11%.100%	188
Women	1	54	5	1	39	212
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	2	62	4	2	30	325
Beyond elementary school	-	84	5	3	8	75
<u>Income(per month):</u>						
0 - 149 DM	4	43	11	-	42	106
150 - 299 DM	-	70	3	4	23	138
300 - 399 DM	1	79	-	3	17	81
400 DM and more	1	81	-	3	15	72
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	2	68	2	5	23	96
30 - 39 years	1	68	5	2	24	183
50 years and over	2	64	4	-	30	119
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	2	71	2	6	19	105
CDU/CSU	1	75	5	2	17	87
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	-	71	7	-	22	27
Other parties	-	74	4	-	22	27
No party	3	66	6	-	25	93
Don't know	-	42	2	2	54	61
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	1	67	4	3	25	184
Protestants	2	65	5	1	27	201
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	2	69	2	2	25	333
Expellees, Refugees	1	55	12	2	30	67

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"Following proposals were made toward the solution of the Saar issue - which of these proposals should be realized in your opinion?" (Alternatives presented to respondent on a card)

	Inde- pendent	Control of West Germany	Control of France	Inter- national control	Others	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	5%	73%	4%	16%	3%	3%	188
Women	9	64	-	11	-	16	212
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	7	68	-	11	2	12	325
Beyond elementary school	7	66	-	23	3	1	75
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 149 DM	3	70	-	6	-	21	106
150 - 299 DM	8	68	-	14	2	8	138
300 - 399 DM	10	68	-	15	5	2	81
400 DM and more	7	69	-	21	-	3	72
<u>Age:</u>							
Up to 29 years	9	67	-	18	-	6	96
30 - 49 years	6	68	-	14	4	8	183
50 years and over	5	70	-	9	-	16	119
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	8	67	-	18	1	6	105
CDU/CSU	8	67	-	21	1	3	87
FDP/LDP/DVP/BLV	7	71	-	22	-	-	27
Other parties	11	74	-	4	4	7	27
No party	6	70	-	9	4	11	93
Don't know	2	66	-	3	-	29	61
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	8	65	-	16	2	9	184
Protestants	6	69	-	12	2	11	201
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	7	71	-	12	2	8	333
Expellees, Refugees	7	55	-	19	2	17	67

R E S T R I C T E D

"Supposing France would be opposed to solution B (The Saar District should be incorporated into West Germany), would you then agree to solution D (The Saar District should come under international control until a West European Federation has been established, to which the Saar district would also belong), in order to settle the dispute over the Saar amicably?" (Asked of those who said "The Saar District should be incorporated into West Germany")

	Agree	Not agree	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	39%	29%	5%	27%	188
Women	38	14	12	36	212
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	37	21	10	32	325
Beyond elementary school	43	23	1	33	75
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	35	20	15	30	106
150 - 299 DM	37	21	10	32	138
300 - 399 DM	47	19	2	32	81
400 DM and more	36	29	4	31	72
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	35	20	11	34	96
30 - 49 years	40	22	6	32	183
50 years and over	37	22	11	30	119
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	38	27	3	32	105
CDU/CSU	52	7	8	33	87
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	45	26	-	29	27
Other parties	45	22	7	26	27
No party	30	29	11	30	93
Don't know	25	20	21	34	61
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	41	17	8	34	184
Protestants	33	26	10	31	201
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	40	22	9	29	333
Expellees, Refugees	30	16	9	45	67

"and which of these possibilities will be, in your opinion, the final solution to the Saar issue?" (CARD)

	Saar completely independent	Saar in- corporated into West Germany	Saar under control of France	Saar under inter- national control	Others	No op- in- ion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	12%	24%	15%	29%	2%	18%..	188
Women	9	22	15	20	-	34	212
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	11	23	15	20	1	30	325
Beyond elementary school	8	23	15	43	1	10	75
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 149 DM	6	23	9	18	-	44	106
150 - 299 DM	14	29	14	17	1	25	138
300 - 399 DM	16	14	22	35	2	11	81
400 DM and more	4	24	14	37	3	18	72
<u>Age:</u>							
Up to 29 years	10	22	19	27	-	22	96
30 - 49 years	10	22	18	27	2	21	183
50 years and over	11	26	7	18	1	37	119
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	11	25	21	25	2	16	105
CDU/CSu	15	24	11	30	1	19	87
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	7	30	11	30	-	22	27
Other parties	11	33	15	19	-	22	27
No party	10	17	16	24	3	30	93
Don't know	3	20	8	16	-	53	61
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	11	19	14	24	3	29	184
Protestants	10	25	14	25	1	25	201
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	10	23	15	26	1	25	333
Expellees, Refugees	10	24	12	18	1	35	67

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"And which of these possibilities would America like to see realized in your opinion?"

	Saar completely independent	Saar in- corporated into West Germany	Saar under control of France	Saar under inter- national control	Others	No op- in- ion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	14%	17%	6%	43%	1%	17%..	188
Women	11	11	3	26	-	47	212
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	12	15	5	31	1	36	325
Beyond elementary school	15	9	5	55	1	15	75
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 149 DM	9	15	2	22	1	51	106
150 - 299 DM	15	17	9	29	-	30	138
300 - 399 DM	11	7	5	51	-	26	81
400 DM and more	14	12	4	50	3	17	72
<u>Age:</u>							
Up to 29 years	16	8	8	36	2	30	96
30 - 49 years	33	16	5	37	-	29	183
50 years and over	10	15	4	31	1	39	119
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	13	18	6	40	-	23	105
CDU/CSU	8	10	9	44	2	27	87
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	11	7	4	52	-	26	27
Other parties	19	22	-	22	-	37	27
No party	15	12	6	32	1	34	93
Don't know	11	13	1	17	-	58	61
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	13	12	7	37	1	30	184
Protestants	13	14	4	32	1	36	201
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	12	14	6	36	1	31	333
Expellees, Refugees	15	14	1	30	1	39	67

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THE CURRENT STATE OF WEST BERLIN MORALE

Report No. 125

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OFFICE OF THE U.S. ARMY COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REAGIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

INTRODUCTION

This report on the current mood of the West Berlin public is based on an extensive survey made during December 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. A probability sample of 600 cases representing the populations in the three Western sectors of Berlin was used.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The qualities of endurance and courageous perseverance which West Berlin citizens have shown whenever the Eastern pressure on them has intensified have become almost the model for what may be termed crisis-morale. The question has arisen as to whether West Berliners can maintain this steadfastness under circumstances which though less dramatic are the more trying because they are routine and prolonged. The answer offered by this study made in December 1951, when the West Berlin front was relatively quiet is in the affirmative. By the indices used here to measure morale, it can be stated that the morale of the West Berliners remains, on the whole, good. A summary of the findings follows.

MORALE AS MEASURED BY CIVIC LOYALTY AND CONFIDENCE IN WEST BERLIN REMAINS HIGH.

- ... Almost all West Berliners continue to recognize their city's key role in the East-West conflict. It is seen by them as an island symbolic of the struggle, a listening-post for the West, the last rampart of the free world and an example to it. Only 6 per cent say that Berlin lacks particular significance, that its importance derives only from being part of Germany which they grant has significance in the present world situation.
- ... The West Berliners themselves ascribe their good morale to their unique spirit, their first-hand knowledge of the Russians, and their faith in the future. That in the self-estimate of the Berlin people morale is good, is revealed not only by their articulateness in explaining it, but in the fact that only 2 per cent say an explanation is pointless because their morale is not good.
- ... If reluctance to leave Berlin is a measure of morale, West Berliners are also remaining steadfast. Now as formerly the large preponderance (77% in this survey) would not leave Berlin for good if they were given the opportunity. (When they are presented with very attractive prospects, a job and housing in West Germany, however, somewhat fewer (53%) hold to their decision to stay in Berlin.)
- ... The general confidence West Berlin residents have in themselves and their city is also extended to their municipal government. Two thirds assert their satisfaction with the West Berlin Senate and three quarters say it is doing all it can to ease Berlin's difficulties.
- ... The realism with which West Berliners tend to appraise their situation is demonstrated by their speculation on the possibility of improving Berlin's economic position without a change in the political situation. The preponderance (61%) is of the opinion that economic betterment must await a political change.

R E S T R I C T E D

... But West Berliners are optimistic about the prospects of a political change for the better. Six in ten expect that within the decade a decisive change for the better will occur. The prospects for political improvement rest largely, according to the Berliners, on two expectations: the withdrawal of the Russians and the reunification of Germany.

THE EXIGENCIES OF ECONOMIC LIFE IN WEST BERLIN ARE REFLECTED IN BERLINERS' EVALUATION OF THEIR SITUATION, BUT THEY DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE SERIOUSLY REDUCED MORALE.

- ... Though the preponderance of West Berliners consider their personal situation to be at least as good as it was a year ago, the proportion noting a definite improvement has declined since 1950, and is now lower than at any time during the past two years as indicated by trend figures. That this may largely result from a factual appraisal of the situation and not as such an indication of lowered morale is suggested by comparing the West Berlin figures with those obtained in West Germany. There is little basis in fact to believe that the material situation in West Germany is more depressed than in Berlin, or that the West German economy, if it has slumped at all during the past year, has slumped more than the Berlin economy. Nevertheless, West Germans more frequently than West Berliners state that they are personally worse off now than a year ago. Comparatively, then, Berlin morale as measured by this yardstick remains good, though not as good as formerly.
- ... West Berliners divide in their assessment of the public mood. About half say the present state of mind in Berlin is as good as it was a year ago, and half think it has deteriorated or remained equally bad. Though there is a close correspondence between evaluation of the public mood and personal sense of well-being, it is noteworthy that fewer people see an improvement in the collective state of mind than in their own situation.
- ... The economic situation is largely blamed for the deterioration in the public mood and in the personal situation by those who express this viewpoint. Very few ascribe these conditions to the political situation. It is therefore not surprising that economic difficulties loom large when the Berliners are asked to name Berlin's most pressing problem. Almost seven in ten (67%) name an economic problem, with unemployment being the one most frequently mentioned. In contrast, 27 per cent name various political problems as the most pressing.
- ... A paradoxical finding is that, despite their emphasis on adverse economic conditions, for the first time since currency reform the preponderance of West Berliners claim their family incomes are sufficient to cover necessary expenses. An explanation, demonstrated by cross-analysis, is that buying in the cheaper East Berlin market has enabled some West Berliners to stretch their incomes to the point of adequacy. Thus whatever the politics or ethics of East Berlin shopping, it appears to contribute to heightened economic morale, contrary to the intentions or hopes of the Communists. (A forthcoming report will deal with East Berlin buying in greater detail.)

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

CONFIDENCE IN THE WESTERN POWERS REMAINS HIGH, BUT MANY DOUBT THE INTENTIONS OR INTEREST OF WEST GERMANY.

- ... To the extent that hope and confidence in outside support are measures of morale, that of the West Berliners is high as far as it relates to the Western world. Seven in ten state that the Western world pays enough attention to the Berlin situation, and the large preponderance continues to believe that the Western powers are doing all they can to help West Berlin. Increased economic aid is most frequently suggested by those who think the West could do more. Few suggest a stiffer attitude toward Russia.
- ... The picture is quite different vis-a-vis the West Germans. Over half feel that the West German people are indifferent to the fate of West Berlin, ten per cent going so far as to say their Western compatriots have written off Berlin.
- ... Moreover, half say that the Bonn government is not doing all it can to aid Berlin. Forty-five per cent, contrasted with 62 per cent expressing confidence in the Western powers, say Bonn is doing everything possible.
- ... Notwithstanding their reservations regarding the Federal Republic's interest in Berlin, a larger proportion of Berliners than of West Germans state their satisfaction with the activities of the Federal government. Their comments suggest, however, that this appraisal is based on the government's record at home, as distinct from its Berlin policies.
- ... Considerable pessimism prevails among West Berliners over the likelihood of the incorporation of West Berlin in the Federal Republic and in the Federal Republic's intentions in this regard. Thirty-six per cent believe that Berlin will not be made the twelfth state, and 41 per cent are of the opinion that Bonn does not want to make Berlin a federal state. In contrast, 43 per cent and 47 per cent, respectively take an affirmative stand on both issues. That these attitudes reflect a basic disappointment is suggested by a previous finding that 99 per cent of West Berliners thought their city should join the Republic.

THE MORALE OF THE UNEMPLOYED, AS MEASURED IN THIS STUDY, IS AS GOOD ON THE WHOLE AS THAT OF OTHER WEST BERLINERS.

- ... As revealed in this study, the West Berlin unemployed (16% of the sample) appear to embrace a fairly representative cross-section of the West Berlin population. Attitudinally they do not differ markedly from their fellow-townsmen, though as would be expected, they feel the economic pinch more than others do. The conclusion to be drawn is that whatever problems the West Berlin unemployment situation poses, a specific problem of morale among the unemployed as distinct from the general Berlin mood does not appear to be indicated.

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

I. CIVIC LOYALTY AND CONFIDENCE IN BERLIN AS
MORALE FACTORS

The close identification of Berlin residents with their city is traditional and well known. The esprit de corps engendered by their awareness of themselves as Berliners has been a weighty factor in their steadfastness whenever the cold war has blown warm on the Berlin front. Part and parcel of this spirit is also their understanding of the unique role Berlin plays in the East-West struggle. Accordingly, the best point of departure for the evaluation of the Berliners' morale is to assess the extent to which they currently identify with their city and are aware of its part in the East-West conflict.

BERLIN'S KEY ROLE IN THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT RECOGNIZED

Most West Berliners are agreed that Berlin remains a vital center in the present world situation. Two-thirds say that its special significance lies in its relation to the East-West conflict; it is seen as an island symbolic of the struggle, as a listening post, the last rampart of the free world and an example to it. Berlin, they say, "is the last outpost of freedom in the middle of the 'Red Sea'"; or, "we are the bulwark, the dam, for the Western powers - if we fall Europe falls too"; or "Berlin represents the decision between Communism and democracy"; or "the determination of Berliners spurs the West to hold out against the East."

Other comments though not specifically relating Berlin to its role in the Cold War suggest the relationship by reference to the fact that it was and will remain Germany's capital (11%), to its quadrupartite situation (6%) and to its international character. (2%).

Only 6 per cent assert that Berlin in itself does not have any particular significance, but that whatever importance it has derives from its being part of Germany which this group grants does have significance in the present world situation. Fourteen per cent are unable to come up with any replies to the question, which is given below together with detailed replies.

"In your personal opinion, what is the significance of Berlin in the present world situation?"

Berlin symbolizes the East-West Struggle, is an outpost of freedom, sets an example to the West:

We are the outpost for freedom and democracy; a symbol of freedom; symbol of democracy; an advanced base of the free world - an extremely important one; the center of the fight for freedom; the last outpost of freedom in the middle of the "Red Sea"; Berlin is the last outpost where freedom still prevails - it must be maintained; Berlin is the ally of the free world; Berlin is the rallying point for all people dissatisfied with the East - everybody who is for the free world comes here; Berlin is an important outpost for the Americans - they get a small glimpse of Russia here - they see what the Russians do here and how they act; Berlin prevents Communism from flooding West Germany and the Western nations; we are the bulwark - the dam for the Western powers - if we fall, Europe will fall too; the Western powers want to hold Berlin - if Berlin falls it would be a stepping stone for Russian politics; Berlin is the center of it all, because it is like an island that makes its stand and can't and mustn't be abandoned - otherwise the Russians would get a better military position; it's the bulwark against the East; Berlin the "bridge post" against the Russians and their satellites; it's a kind of military fort - the eyes and ears of the West - the last stop before hell; the conflict between Communism and the free world for Europe takes place in Berlin; Berlin represents the decision between Communism and democracy; it's the devil's kitchen - here the war could start eventually; Berlin is the buffer between East and West;

(cont'd on next page)

the Western powers want to hold Berlin and the Russians want to likewise - both consider Berlin the stepping stone for the pursuit of their political goals; it's the place for measuring their strength - the East as well as the West are trying out how far they dare to go; it's the maneuver ground for all powers - if the Americans abandon Berlin, their prestige will be lost; Berlin is from a political viewpoint the trial ground for the politics of the Western world; it's a free island against the East; it's a mediator between the Eastern and the Western powers (Germany, America and Russia); it's the essential nerve-center; that we will be free and have free trade; it's a mediator for all of Germany; all-German elections will take place here; because the Berliners have shown in their attitude that they won't voluntarily join with the Russians, by doing that they boosted Western morale; the determination of the Berliners spurs the West to hold out against the East; Berlin held out and sided with freedom - through that it won the respect of the world; there is great solidarity in Berlin - even the East sector Berliners stick to the West; they all admire us because we are so determined - we built something out of nothing - we are making a comeback and everybody sees that; we Berliners are industrious people; because Berlin maintains the best order and has the best government - after the collapse that is really something to be admired; etc.

66%

Berlin was and remains the capital of Germany:

Berlin was the capital and has a good name in the world - one can't do without Berlin; Berlin still represents Germany's capital; Berlin has always been the capital and will remain so; Berlin was Germany's capital and will be so again; etc.

11%

Berlin's division represents a difficult challenge:

Berlin is one of the most important problems - if Berlin gets reunited, the rest of Germany will be soon, too; because Berlin is divided; because of the four sectors; we have directed the attention of the world to us because of the four sectors; etc.

6

The meaning of Berlin in itself:

It's an international city; it's a city that has significance in the world; the meaning of Berlin as an industrial city; etc.

2

No special significance:

Berlin has no special significance; Berlin cannot have any significance in the world situation - maybe in Germany, but not in the world - Germany is of significance in the world - not Berlin - nobody is interested or concerned about Berlin - Berlin is a lost outpost; Berlin stepped into the background because of the Korean war - Berlin does not have any significance in the world today; etc.

6

No opinion/No answer:

14
105%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

BERLINERS' SPIRIT, FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF RUSSIANS, AND FAITH IN FUTURE
EXPLAIN THEIR GOOD MORALE ...

West Berliners apparently take a great deal of collective pride in their reputation for steadfastness and courage. Asked to account for the factors that contribute to their reputation for high morale in the face of many difficulties, it is noteworthy that scarcely anyone (2%) asserts the Berliners do not deserve this reputation since their morale is not good. The bulk of the population have ready, and in view of their record, what may be considered modestly honest, explanations for their inner strength. They ascribe their good morale largely to three characteristics: the first (26%), the basic qualities of the true Berliner - a sense of humor, political sophistication, toughness, and general aplomb; the second (24%) the Berliners' awareness and understanding of the Russian threat gained through personal experience; and the third (19%), the spirit of optimism and hope which is not only inherent to Berliners but is fed by Western support. Others attribute the condition to such factors as awareness of Western support (7%), stoicism (7%), love of Berlin (5%), and their relatively good living standard (3%).

"The question is frequently asked abroad how the West Berlin people manage to keep up their morale in their difficult situation. How do you explain that the Berliners keep up their morale?"

The basic qualities of Berliners: toughness, constancy, sense of humor, reasonableness, political sense, their stubbornness, determination and self confidence; sturdiness, hardiness, intelligence:

The Berliner himself - he has experienced all dangers, and now anything can happen and he won't be as afraid as the West Germans; that's their stubbornness, they are just that way, they can't be anything else; because we have gone through so much - nothing can really shake us anymore; the Berliner has a sturdy heart; that is the mentality of the Berliners, their sense of humor; the Berliners have always maintained good attitudes - the Berliners have political sense - self-confidence of the Berliners - they want to show the world that they won't be forced into submission; because most of them are very industrious and always pull themselves out of a rut - they show courage and determination; he is always a decent person - the Berliner always looks out for himself; that's the pride of the Berliners - they won't be subdued by anything - not even under the most difficult circumstances; because we stand by our convictions and know that the good will win in the end; etc.

264

Their experience with the Russians (East), dictatorships, proximity of the East, their will to be free:

Their daily education because they are neighbors of the Russians; we experienced the Russians in 1945 - we don't want them - we'd rather suffer everything else; they know the Russians too well and hate them; the Berliners have gone through so much with the Russians they are completely opposed to them and want to remain on the Western side; we have to hold out - we know what's at stake - we don't want Communism here; Communism is hated so much, we can't take another course - we have to resist, if we want to remain free; the fierce desire for freedom by the Berliners; because they have their free opinion and want to keep it; etc.

34

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

Their optimism, their faith and hope in help and improvement:

Because the people want to live decently again - want to have their own home again - they hope that things will grow better; the firm belief of the Berliners that conditions will improve in favor of Berlin - that keeps up the morale of the Berliners, even during the most difficult tests; most people think that Berlin will make a comeback again and they want to have part in it; we always have hope - the Western Allies have always helped us and we are hoping for further help - we have the certain feeling that we won't be abandoned; because they hope that the Ami will help them; because everybody hopes that the Russians will retreat one of these days; because we always have the hope that Germany will be reunited - that keeps up our morale; etc.

19%

The material and morale aid of the West - the feeling of solidarity with the West:

The Berliners rely on the West Berlin occupation powers, because they think that they get support from them; the chances that things might improve with Allied help still exist; that's because of our occupation - they provide for order and quiet and therefore the Berliners have such high morale; because they see a good future in the West - that's been proved during the air lift; they know the Americans are behind them; etc.

7

Their stoicism - what else can they do?:

Everybody accepts the situation as it is - nobody really thinks about it; because everybody says that we have to hold out - nothing can be changed by force anyway; the Berliners just take things in their stride - "anyway it comes it's be eaten;" what else can we do? - we can't all emigrate or cause a revolution; etc.

7

Their love for Berlin and their home:

Everybody gets attached to Berlin who has once gotten to know it - therefore the good attitude; the Berliner loves his city and does everything to keep it; that's due to the Berliner - he is attached to his city and wants to help rebuild it; the Berliners love Berlin and do everything for it; etc.

5

Their relatively good economic and material situation:

The West Berliners aren't badly off - why shouldn't they retain good morale then?; because they are better provided for with goods than the population in the East; etc.

3

Other reasons:

Because they are Berliners - perhaps they have to make good in the world for the past - the center of the Nazi government was right here in Berlin; they are still subdued by the effects of National Socialism and the Russian invasion - because they are reticent; because the largest part of them are Social Democrats and they don't drop out of their role; they are genuine democrats so to speak; because they can buy in the "democratic" sector and therefore they can make an easier living; because of fear of their own police - if they rioted they would be clubbed into submission again - they want to make a good impression on the world; etc.

2

Their morale is not so good - nothing special:

Their morale is not so good - they want to take everything away from each other - they begrudge each other; do we have such a good morale? - I am not so convinced of that; every German should do that - not only the Berliners; etc.

2

No opinion:

2

107%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

PREPONDERANCE WOULD NOT LEAVE BERLIN ...

Further evidence of the West Berliners' attachment to their city is their disinclination to live anywhere else. Offered the plain alternative of yes or no to leaving Berlin for good, 77 per cent vote no and 23 per cent say yes. When conditions for leaving are more favorable, stated - a job and adequate housing in West Germany - 53 per cent adhere to their initial refusal, 8 per cent give qualified assent, and 14 per cent say they would leave.

"Would you leave Berlin for good, if you had the opportunity?"

Yes	23%
No	77
	<u>100%</u>

"If you or the head of the family, were offered work and housing in West Germany, would you then leave West Berlin?" (Asked of respondents who answered "No")

Yes	14%
No	53
Qualified replies	8
No opinion	2
	<u>77%</u>

If reluctance to leave Berlin measures the state of morale, West Berliner are currently holding fast as the comparison with trend figures reveals. In October 1948, facing the unknown perils of the first winter of the blockade, 30 per cent stated their readiness to leave Berlin. In May of 1949, when West Berliners had successfully weathered the blockade, morale was high, and only 17 per cent said they would leave if they could. By April 1950, the figure had risen to 27 per cent. Thus the current figure of 23 per cent obtained on the general question strikes about the average for readiness to leave Berlin.

"Would you leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?"

	<u>Oct '48</u>	<u>May '49</u>	<u>Aug '49</u>	<u>Apr '50</u>	<u>Dec '51</u>
Yes	30%	17%	23%	27%	23%
No	70	83	77	73	77
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
No. of cases:	399	300	301	510	600

RESTRICTED

ATTACHMENT TO THE CITY MAIN REASON FOR STAYING ...

The most frequently stated reason for not leaving Berlin is attachment to the city they regard as home (47%). Related to this reasoning are such expressions of opinion as unwillingness to leave relatives or friends (5%) or to give up homes, jobs, business or pensions (9%). More specific expressions of loyalty to Berlin come from the 3 per cent who state their belief in Berlin's future and the 2 per cent who say it would harm Berlin if her citizens should desert her.

"Why would you not leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?"

Attachment to Berlin - liking for Berlin - Berlin is home (general):

I grew up in Berlin; I am a native Berliner - they only cook with water in other places; I was born here - I've weathered other storms too; I couldn't get used to another place - I have been in other places frequently; I was born here, I like it; I am a Berliner and I am satisfied here; I lived here during all the bad times - I want to live through the good ones too; I like it in Berlin - I have been to West Germany, but Berlin is the best place; I like it here in Berlin - I stayed here too through all the bombardments; because after long years of wanderings I finally returned to my home and I like it here best; we have lived here for 40 years - one doesn't desert ones flag - I belong to Berlin and I won't leave it; never - I'll stay true to Berlin; etc.

47%

Refusal to give up home, job, pensions, etc.:

Where one has work and bread one stays - I don't like it every place; we have our shop here - I'll stay here and make an honest living; I got everything I own right here and my job too; because I can make a living here; not for good - perhaps for a few years only - I got everything I need here; because I have the chance here to finish my training - purely selfish reasons; I have lived in Berlin for 50 years - if I move away I'll lose all my rights here including my pension; etc.

9

Old age - health reasons:

I am too old - I'm a disabled veteran; I would be too old to do that; because I have been here for 45 years and I won't leave Berlin anymore at my age; I don't want to be transplanted - I am too old; because I am sick - if I were healthy I would emigrate - at the moment this is impossible for me; etc.

7

Refusal to leave friends and relatives:

I have relatives here and would stay here, because I know the people - it would be difficult to grow roots somewhere else; I grew up here and so I don't want to leave - it's my second home now; because all my relatives and children are here; my husband is buried here and I don't want to leave him; etc.

5

No cause to leave Berlin - conditions aren't any better elsewhere:

Conditions aren't any better in West Germany either; it isn't any better in other places - they have a housing shortage too; I am well off here, I stayed here during the war years and I wouldn't know of any reason why I should leave Berlin today; I feel as safe here as anywhere else; I have no reason to leave; etc.

4

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Belief in the future of Berlin - hope and expectation for better times:

Because we expect things to get better - we would have to start from the bottom somewhere else; because I am a Berliner and besides I believe that the economic future is rooted in Berlin; I believe in Berlin - better judgment will finally win in the end; I want to stay on here and wait for better times to come; I believe that Berlin will work her way back to the top; etc.

3%

The spirit of Berlin and her people are liked:

Berlin is international - one always feels at home; the whole manner of living in Berlin is so fresh and impulsive in contrast to the listless and boring West; because Berlin is an interesting city; my home is Riga (Lettland) but I like it here - I have been here since 1928. I couldn't speak a word of German but everybody helped me, nobody told me to go back where I came from; I am a refugee from the East and found my second home here - I like the atmosphere in Berlin - the Berliners are broadminded and openminded; I came here a year ago - and in spite of the bad situation I like it better; because I like it here now - the atmosphere is not as smug as in the West - it's more vital - the people in the West are too well off; I returned to Berlin, though I am from West Germany - the Berlin freedom is the best; the general manner of the Berliners appeals to me - Berlin is extremely openminded which is a pleasure to see; etc.

3

Would mean harm to Berlin:

If everybody would go who should do the reconstruction work then?; home is always the best - it would be useless if everybody left because then things would come to a standstill here; aside from the fact that I was born here - the situation must clear up - if we left Berlin it would be easy for the Russians to occupy Berlin - we want Berlin to be the capital again; etc.

2

Other opinions:

Because I have hopes that I might be able to return home one of these days - there will be an agreement between East and West Germany; no only in an emergency; I am from Silesia, if I left Berlin it would mean that I personally gave up the Eastern territories; etc.

1
81%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

R E S T R I C T E D

ECONOMIC SITUATION AND FEAR OF RUSSIA AMONG REASONS FOR WANTING TO LEAVE ...

The quarter who say they would leave Berlin for good if they had the chance to do so give a variety of reasons. (This group, it should be noted, does not include those who say they would go if jobs and housing in West Germany were promised them.) Berlin's poor economic situation is given as a reason by 11 per cent, and 4 per cent cite fear of the Russians. Other arguments suggest that the speakers do not fall into the category of real or native Berliners - they wish to leave because they do not like the city life, they originally came from West Germany, or they wish to return to their homeland, i.e. are refugees.

"Why would you leave Berlin for good, if you had the opportunity?"

To improve one's economic situation:

Because we are so bad off, one can't act only from idealism, we endured quite a lot during the blockade, but now we have enough; because I would be better off financially; because of the unemployment in Berlin, there are better job opportunities in West Germany; my husband is a painter, I'm a fashion designer, it's difficult here to have any success; I would have the chance to lead a decent human life somewhere else; the main thing is to make a better living, I don't care where I live; if I had a chance to get ahead in my profession as an architect; etc.

11%

To escape the Russians and the general uncertainty:

My life is very precious to me - in case the Russians should occupy all of Berlin, I don't want to be here; only if I knew that the Russians would not come into Berlin, I take a dim view, I'm afraid they will; on account of the children, so their future will be secured - Berlin is too insecure because of the Russians; for political security, I've been jailed by the Russians; Berlin is too dangerous a place, but I would only go across the Ocean; etc.

4

To get away from a large city:

Because everything is so expensive here, in the country things are cheaper; I would rather like to live in a nice place in the country; I would like to live in a small place - I don't like the life of a large city - would go to the country any time; I was born in the country; I feel better in the country, besides one is financially better off; etc.

2

To improve one's future prospects:

Abroad the prospects would be better; so as the have better opportunities for the future; etc.

1

Because I lived in the West previously:

I lived in West Germany and liked it better there; because I'm from the West and feel at home there; etc.

1

If I could return to my homeland:

If I had the possibility to return to my homeland I would naturally go there; I would return to my home in Stettin - here I'm only a guest; etc.

1

Others:

We have to, because we shall be transferred to a refugees' camp in West Germany; my husband was persecuted for his race and we want to save our children from the sufferings we went through; I have a sister in Buenos Aires and would like to join her, then I would be better off, after what I have gone through for four and a half years in Russian concentration camps, - I'm no more eager to fight for anything; I want to join my husband in America - otherwise I would stay in Berlin; I went through such terrible sufferings in Berlin, I would easily leave Berlin for good; etc.

3
23

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON WILLINGNESS TO LEAVE BERLIN ...

Refugees are, not unexpectedly, more willing to leave Berlin than are native Berliners. Among the more permanent residents, least inclined relatively to leave Berlin under any circumstances are the lesser educated, lower socio-economic levels, people living on pensions or savings as compared with other occupation groups, and older persons in contrast to younger people. In other words, those who are willing to go are more frequently found among the population elements who by virtue of education, income, or age could feel themselves more ready to cope with strange or new conditions. It is to be noted, however, that among all population segments, only minorities state they are ready to go without any future guarantees.

"Would you leave Berlin for good, if you had the opportunity?"

"If you or the head of the family were offered work and housing in West Germany, would you then leave West Berlin?" (Asked of those who said they would not leave Berlin in initial question.)

	Yes	Yes, if job	Qualified yes	No (under no conditions)	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	24%	12%	11%	52%	1%..100%	275
Women	23	15	7	53	2	325
Education:						
Elementary school	21	14	8	56	1	445
Beyond elementary school	30	12	12	44	2	155
Socio-economic Status:						
Lower class	20	15	8	56	1	406
Middle and upper class	31	10	12	46	1	194
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	22	14	8	55	1	415
300 - 399 DM	30	12	13	44	1	91
400 DM and more	28	12	9	48	3	75
Age:						
Up to 29 years	31	12	13	42	2	103
30 - 39 years	34	15	14	36	1	111
40 - 49 years	23	19	9	49	-	150
50 - 59 years	17	10	9	63	1	114
60 years and over	13	11	1	73	2	122
Party Preference:						
SPD	19	12	9	59	1	262
CDU/CSU	27	21	11	40	1	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	27	9	10	54	-	68
Other parties	21	21	12	46	-	24
No party	32	8	10	48	2	83
Don't know	26	15	-	57	2	54
Occupation:						
Professionals	30	10	17	43	-	30
Businessmen	33	5	5	57	-	37
White-collar workers	30	7	13	50	-	60
Skilled laborers	22	8	19	50	1	64
Semi-skilled laborers	17	21	7	55	-	71
Housewives	24	21	5	48	2	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	16	10	3	69	2	116
Religion:						
Catholics	34	14	8	44	-	77
Protestants	22	13	9	54	2	407
None	22	13	9	56	-	116
Origin:						
Natives	21	13	10	55	1	517
Refugees	42	18	4	36	-	83

R E S T R I C T E D

MAJORITY SATISFIED WITH WEST BERLIN CITY GOVERNMENT ...

The general confidence West Berlin residents have in themselves and in their city is also extended in large measure to their city government. Two-thirds state their satisfaction with the activities of the West Berlin Senate, and three-quarters assert the Senate is doing everything possible to ease the difficult Berlin situation.

That this represents not only a vote of confidence in the local government but also further indicates the cohesiveness so characteristic of West Berliners is suggested by the fact, which will be subsequently elaborated, that they applaud their Senate's efforts more frequently than they do those of the Western powers and the West German government on behalf of Berlin.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate. (Satisfied or very satisfied?) (Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)?"

Very satisfied	9%
Satisfied	57
Dissatisfied	28
Very dissatisfied	2
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

"And do you think the West Berlin Senate is doing everyting possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

Doing everyting possible	73%
Could do more	24
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

GENERALIZED REASONS FOR DISSATISFACTION WITH WEST BERLIN SENATE ACTIONS ...

The minority (30%) expressing dissatisfaction with what their city parliament has done expressed generalized criticisms with no specific points of complaint predominating. Thus, 14 per cent assert that the Senate works too slowly, does not fulfill its promises and so on. The charge made by 9 per cent is that it ignores the plight of certain hard-pressed groups, e.g. pensioners, the unemployed and refugees; five per cent allege that it fails to control prices and costs, and 4 per cent complain of the high taxes. The remaining complaints made by no more than one or two per cent are that the Senate fails to deal adequately with the housing situation, the Russian coal problem or school reform.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate?"

If "Dissatisfied" and "Very dissatisfied": "What are the reasons?"

It has no fixed plan:

They aren't farsighted enough, they are too concerned with party politics; they haven't fulfilled their promises of 1948 and 1950 - shortly before the election they made promises in order to lobby, and then they didn't keep them; there are too many people in the Senate who don't understand anything, while qualified people are unemployed - now the Senate could easily employ qualified people and release the unqualified ones; the housing office is too unfair, only people with money get apartments - the people in the housing office are too young and don't understand the general misery; etc.

14%

The Senate disregards plight of certain groups:

They don't pay enough attention to returned PW's, they should at least get their back pay, as prisoners of war they're entitled to it; because I don't get all my pension; they don't do enough for either the old people or for former professional soldiers; they should see to it that not only the officials get a pay raise but also the laborers; etc..

9

Its economic policy is poor:

The people in the Senate don't know enough about economics - all commissions should be given to Berlin firms, providing the manufacturing can be done in Berlin; they don't do anything to make the prices go down; because of the high prices for food, clothing and furniture; the Senate should find a way so that people can buy more; there is no constructive economic program, they should prohibit the exchange offices; etc.

5

The Senate is extravagant:

Too much money is lavishly spent for administrative machinery, road-building is not done expertly, it's makeshift and not made to last; the money from the state budget isn't always spent appropriately; they are too extravagant - naturally Berlin should be represented but if there is no money, the Senate should also make both ends meet; just as we do; the Senate wastes too much energy on inflating its administrative machinery; etc.

4

The Senate lacks firmness against the Russians:

The Russians simply should not be permitted to occupy a part of West Berlin (Steintuecken) - the Senate should be strong enough to keep the Russians from trying to do this; etc.

1

(cont'd on next page)

Housing program is inadequate:

They should promote building, particularly of houses; encourage house building; etc.

24

It does not solve the coal problem:

They should have seen to it that we get enough coal; they don't provide for coal; etc.

1

It does not solve school reform:

They discuss and haggle about the school regulations and don't agree on anything, so that I pity the children; I don't agree with their policy regarding schools, I want the Gymnasium, etc.

1

Others:

The political refugees are favored too much; they don't represent our situation properly to Western Germany; they should watch that the youngsters aren't spoiled by trashy literature - the state seems to rear its criminals itself; our church matters aren't looked after satisfactorily; our "leader" Router, and also Herz, are strangers, now they just want to have something to say and one day they will clear out again - they are not good Germans; the people in the Senate are mostly SPD big-wigs; because they suppress all people who are for peace; etc.

2
39%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

MEASURES RECOMMENDED FOR THE SENATE ...

The quarter who believe the West Berlin Senate could do more to meet the city's problems than it is currently doing recommend such measures as increased promotion of West Berlin industry and trade (9%); improvement of social conditions - increased pensions, sick fund, etc. -(7%); increased reconstruction and rebuilding efforts (4%); and more activity in general (4%).

"And do you think the West Berlin Senate is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"
If "Could do more": "What else could it do for instance?"

The Senate should improve its economic program:

Decrease the number of unemployed - ask West Germany to put more funds at our disposal; funds should be used reasonably, especially credits; they could save a lot of money in administration and invest money; give orders that are placed here to Berlin firms, insofar as the orders can be filled here; should stop all the many West German goods on our market here, - even now the many West newspapers are superfluous; etc.

9%

It should seek to improve social conditions here:

Pensions and the social relief grants should be increased, the Senate should concern itself with the injustices in the Berlin sick fund; I lost everything during the war and haven't got any compensation the Senate should do something about that; shouldn't only support the refugees and the Jews but the pensioners too - that's not done yet; should be more just - public servants got a 15% increase in their salaries, that is unnecessary - they can get along without it - the unemployed don't get 15% more and they really need it; should provide for more kindergardens, because many women have to work and don't know where to leave their children; etc.

7

The Senate should promote housing construction and other construction:

Should give active support to the construction program - that is our key industry and would boost the whole economy; should give credit to the house ners and get the credit back through the rents of the finished houses; the people themselves should contribute to financing construction by participating in loans; should build houses - clear up the ruins; the housing problem should be solved - more houses should be built instead of stadiums - they always talk over the radio about how much money they put into housing - but there are no homes for us; the emergency program is unproductive - they should boost the construction business - parks are pretty nice, but productive work would be better; no theaters, parks, cultural activities, but housing construction; etc.

4

Prevent buying in the East:

Should either bring a unified currency about or keep the prices at a level so nobody is forced to buy in the East sector - shouldn't take the bread away from the poor - we are free Berliners and can do as we please; eliminate the currency exchange booths; etc.

1

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

The Senate should show more general activity:

Should not only waste its strength with petty party politics but show more foresight and broadmindedness; they could agree more among each other - the disunity among the parties lets everything else drag and important problems are being forgotten; they only think about themselves and those who are members of the SPD - should be there for everybody - not only pursue party politics; should not talk and quarrel so much but make a united stand for the unity of Germany, should pressure the West German government even more so that the West German parliament comes to Berlin; etc.

4%

Other opinions:

Should be less highhat toward the public; should not make things so difficult for us with their orders and red tape; should let the West Berliners have the opportunity to work in the "democratic sector"; should throw all people who favor the East out of Berlin; should cooperate with the East; etc.

 $\frac{2}{21\%}$

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON WEST BERLIN SENATE ...

Dissatisfaction with the activities of the Senate is more frequently expressed by the better educated, upper socio-economic levels, those in the higher income brackets, than by their opposites. More likely to be satisfied are adherents of the Social Democratic Party, which heads the Berlin government, as compared with the Christian Democrats; Protestants in contrast to Catholics, and laboring groups as compared with other occupational groups. However, among all population elements the tendency is toward satisfaction rather than dissatisfaction.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate?" (Satisfied or very satisfied?)(Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Dis- satisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	8%	58%	33%	1% ...100%	275
Women	9	56	29	6	325
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	9	60	27	4	445
Beyond elementary school	7	47	43	3	155
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	9	62	24	5	406
Middle and upper class	7	46	45	2	194
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	10	58	28	4	415
300 - 399 DM	3	66	30	1	91
400 DM and more	4	41	52	3	75
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	4	59	32	5	103
30 - 39 years	7	50	42	1	111
40 - 49 years	7	58	32	3	150
50 - 59 years	11	61	26	2	114
60 years and over	12	56	24	8	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	12	69	17	2	262
CDU/CSU	6	40	48	6	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	6	51	41	2	68
Other parties	-	46	50	4	24
No party	4	44	47	5	83
Don't know	11	59	19	11	54
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	-	44	53	3	30
Businessmen	5	41	54	-	37
White-collar workers	2	55	38	5	60
Skilled laborers	9	66	23	2	64
Semi-skilled laborers	7	65	28	-	71
Housewives	6	58	32	4	94
Unemployed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	12	64	15	9	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	12	43	41	4	77
Protestants	9	59	28	4	407
None	4	58	35	3	116
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	9	57	30	4	517
Refugees	8	53	39	-	83

On the issue of whether or not the West Berlin Senate is doing everything possible to ease Berlin's difficulties, there are few group differences that are reliably beyond chance. The large preponderance in all segments takes the affirmative view.

"And do you think the West Berlin Senate is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

	Doing everything possible	Could do more	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	73%	27%	*% ... 100%	275
Women	72	23	5	325
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	74	23	3	445
Beyond elementary school	70	28	2	155
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	71	25	4	406
Middle and upper class	77	23	-	193
<u>Income: (per month)</u>				
0 - 299 DM	72	24	4	415
300 - 399 DM	73	26	1	91
400 DM and more	73	27	-	75
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	69	27	4	103
30 - 39 years	69	29	2	111
40 - 49 years	73	25	2	150
50 - 59 years	76	23	1	114
60 years and over	74	20	6	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	80	19	1	262
CDU/CSU	68	28	4	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	72	28	-	68
Other parties	46	50	4	24
No party	61	35	4	83
Don't know	80	9	11	54
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	73	23	4	30
Businessmen	67	30	3	37
White-collar workers	78	22	-	60
Skilled laborers	73	24	3	64
Semi-skilled laborers	76	23	1	71
Housewives	70	26	4	94
Unemployed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	76	19	5	116
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	71	26	3	77
Protestants	74	23	3	407
None	70	29	1	116
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	72	25	3	517
Refugees	75	24	1	83

R E S T R I C T E D

IMPROVED ECONOMY IMPOSSIBLE IN PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION ...

The realism with which West Berliners tend to appraise their situation is further demonstrated when they are asked to speculate on the possibility of improving Berlin's economic position without a change in the political situation. The large preponderance (61%) is of the opinion that this is impossible, that economic betterment must wait on political change. Fourteen per cent are sufficiently sanguine to believe that a slight economic improvement can occur prior to an altered political situation, and as many (15%) are optimistic enough to assert that a decisive improvement is possible even if political conditions remain as they are.

"Do you think it possible to improve the economic situation of West Berlin in spite of the political situation, or is a change in the political situation necessary for that? (A decisive, or a small improvement?)"

Decisive improvement in spite of the political situation	15%
Small improvement in spite of the political situation	14
Improvement only after a change in the political situation	61
No opinion	10
	<hr/> 100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON POSSIBILITY OF ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT ...

On the question of whether or not economic betterment can precede a political change, no marked group differences in the direction of opinions are apparent. In all segments, the preponderance believes that economic improvement is contingent on a change in the political realm. Young people (Under 30), and men are more inclined to hold this opinion than are their counterparts. (See table on the following page).

R E S T R I C T E D

"Do you think it possible to improve the economic situation of West Berlin in spite of the political situation, or is a change in the political situation necessary for that? (A decisive, or a small improvement?)"

	Decisive improve- ment in spite of the political situation	Small im- provement in spite of the political situation	Improve- ment after a change in the political situation	No opin- ion:	No. of ca- seq.
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	16%	14%	67%	3%	275
Women	14	14	57	15	325
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	14	14	61	11	445
Beyond elementary school	17	15	63	5	155
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	14	13	61	12	406
Middle and upper class	16	17	64	3	194
<u>Income: (per month)</u>					
0 - 299 DM	14	13	62	11	415
300 - 399 DM	16	13	63	8	91
400 DM and more	19	17	64	-	75
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	10	10	75	5	103
30 - 39 years	17	18	60	5	111
40 - 49 years	13	13	67	7	150
50 - 59 years	21	14	53	12	114
60 years and over	12	17	53	18	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	16	12	63	9	262
CDU/CSU	14	21	59	6	105
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	19	16	60	5	68
Other parties	25	17	58	-	24
No party	11	7	73	9	83
Don't know	9	15	44	32	54
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	27	17	53	3	30
Businessmen	19	16	62	3	37
White-collar workers	12	16	70	2	60
Skilled laborers	9	16	70	5	64
Semi-skilled laborers	14	7	73	6	71
Housewives	12	18	57	13	94
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	18	15	50	17	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	22	12	56	10	77
Protestants	14	14	62	10	407
None	13	15	65	7	116
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	15	15	60	10	517
Refugees	14	10	69	7	83

IMPROVEMENT IN POLITICAL SITUATION FOREIGNERS ...

But almost all West Berliners anticipate that within ten years the political situation in Berlin will undergo a change. The majority expects this change will be for the better, most of them saying decisively for the better. Only six per cent anticipate the expected change to be for the worse, but 12 per cent refuse to speculate on the direction of the change, though they expect it will come. Only nine per cent expect Berlin's political situation to remain as it is; and ten per cent are unprepared to volunteer any estimates.

"Aside from your personal wishes, do you suppose that within the next ten years a decisive change in the political situation of West Berlin will take place or not? (Will it improve or grow worse?) Will this be a decisive change for the better (for the worse) or only an unimportant change?"

Decisive change for the better	59%
Unimportant change for the better	4
Change for the worse	6
Change (direction not specified)	12
No change	9
No opinion	10
	<u>100%</u>

The preponderance of those anticipating an alteration in Berlin's political situation do not think they will have to wait ten years for it to occur, though few see it happening in the very immediate future. The best guess of the preponderance is that the change will occur anywhere from a year to five years hence.

"When will this change occur?"

In one to six months	*%
In seven to twelve months	5
In one to two years	24
In three to five years	26
More than five years	6
Other	3
No opinion	17
	<u>81%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

HOW THE CHANGE WILL COME ABOUT ...

An improvement in Berlin's political situation will occur because the Russians will leave, according to many who predict the change will be for the better, but they differ as to why the Russians will leave. Some (9%) say the Allies will use pressure short of war to drive them out; others (9%) predict the Russians will be forced out as a result of a war; and some (6%) foresee the Russians' leaving of their own accord because they know the situation is hopeless. A relatively large fraction (16%) anticipate the improvement will come about as a result of German reunification. Another group (9%) anticipates a general settlement of international differences. A few (4%) see it resulting from the withdrawal of all the occupying powers, or from West Berlin's incorporation into West Germany (1%). Comments follow below.

The few who foresee a deterioration in Berlin's political situation divide between contributing this future development to the result of a war and to the belief that Russia will swallow all of Berlin.

"How will this change for the better come about in your opinion?
What will really happen?)"

If "Decisive change or unimportant for the better:" "What are the reasons for it?"

Unification of Berlin or of all Germany will occur:

It's coming to a head - within one or one-and-a-half years we will have a united Germany; everything will come out well in the end with the unity of Germany etc., then there will be a common currency again and everything will be easier for us; the borders will be abolished and then one can go or travel where one pleases; Germany will be united and the Eastern territories will be ours again, the Germans will agree among each other and thus East and West Berlin will be reunited in a peaceful way; Berlin will be united again; the borders within Berlin will be abolished and Berlin will be the capital again; etc. 16%

The Russians (Communism) will be forced by the Western powers to give in or to give up Germany (without war):

There will be no war, the Western powers will, if they have grown stronger, show the Soviet leaders how far they can dare to go; the Soviet sphere of influence will be pushed back to the Weichsel river in a peaceful way, because the Western powers have stronger defense forces; the Russians will give in because the Western powers rearm and they'll force them into submission without war; the Russians will leave if the Amis prod them good and hard; the Amis will influence the Russians with their decency - and then the Russians will finally realize that they can't get anywhere with their meanness; they will show the Russians just how far they can go and force them to give in - I don't believe that there will be a third World War; etc. 9%

A war will improve the situation (reunification of Germany - withdrawal of the Russians):

The Western powers will fight the Russians, and then the Russians will finally leave Germany; the Americans will liberate Berlin - they will chase the Russians to the devil; there will be war and Russia will lose; there will be a revolution and all the Russians and the Communists will be chased out; war between East and West - that will bring the improvement; it can only be done by a war; it won't be the easy way - the resentment toward the East is too great; we should be a sovereign "Grossdeutschland" again - we won't be able to avoid the war; etc. 9

(cont'd on next page)

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

International differences will be settled, peace will prevail:

The European nations will realize that wars have always made the situation worse and that only understanding for each other can lead to true peace - a conflict between East and West must be dominated by reason, so the destruction of present values will be prevented; I don't believe that there will be a war - the nations will agree among each other - one can see already that even the nations of the Eastern block are opposed to Russian politics, not everything is going right in Rumania and Korea - not everything is right in China either; agreement will come and peace be made everywhere; the Western powers will reach an agreement with the Russians - then everything will be better for all of Germany; all of the Allies could reach an agreement and give in a little - then peace will come; they will all make peace with each other - the four occupation powers - things can't go on as they are now; etc.

9%

The Russians (Communism) will lose power and influence - will leave Germany of their own accord:

The Russians will finally realize that they can't suppress the people so much and that they can't play with the patience of the Allies forever; the poor organization of the East will break down in itself - the Russians will exploit East Germany to the full and then sell it out cheaply; the East, including Russia, will collapse, so that they'll leave of their own accord; the Russians will withdraw after they have realized that all their efforts were useless; Russia will sacrifice the SED one of these days and give up the East Zone; etc.

6

All four occupation powers will leave Germany:

Through the withdrawal of the occupation powers - only a commission will remain here; then, when the occupation powers withdraw and leave us alone - then we'll recover again; etc.

4

West Berlin will be incorporated into the Federal Republic or the European Federation:

We will be incorporated into the West German republic as the 12th state - that will mean great support to us; West Berlin will be part of the European federation and we will have free entrance to the West; the incorporation with the West Zone will take place - the problem of unemployment will be on a wider basis than and almost solved; etc.

1

Economic prosperity will prevail:

Economically things will improve - elimination of unemployment through introduction of a labor service; unemployment will vanish - there'll be enough work if they rebuild Berlin; there is more construction going on and therefore more work - improvement of the economic situation by that; etc.

1

Other opinions:

When Germany is in her greatest predicament a man will come who'll bring Germany back again - it mustn't be a person like Hitler - only somebody who grasps everything with a strong hand, then we'll come up again through our work; etc.

3

No opinion / No answer:2
60%

R E S T R I C T E D

II. WEST BERLINERS' EVALUATION OF THEIR PERSONAL SITUATION

The findings so far reported suggest that the morale of the West Berlin people, as measured by loyalty to their city and confidence in its future, remains high. The strength of their allegiance is the more notable because it does not appear to derive from a generalized, unreal, or easy optimism. Rather it persists in spite of the exigencies of their daily existence of which they are inescapably aware. Life in West Berlin is difficult as the West Berliners well know. Their assessment of the current state of their individual well-being is reported in this section.

MANY CONSIDER THEMSELVES WORSE OFF THAN A YEAR AGO ...

More than a third (36%) declare that their personal situation is now worse than it was the year previously. Counterbalancing this group are 34 per cent who consider themselves better off now than before. An additional number (22%) say that while things have not definitely improved, they remain as good as they were a year ago. With another fraction (8%) conditions have remained bad, but have not definitely worsened.

Thus for West Berliners as a whole the gain in personal well-being registered by one group is cancelled out by the deterioration suffered by another. In sum, however, the proportion stating they are at least as well off as formerly outweighs (56%) that of those who are either worse or no better off than before (44%).

"If you look back to your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good, just as bad?)

Better today	34%
Just as good	22
Worse today	36
Just as bad	8
	<u>100%</u>

TREND SHOWS DECLINE ...

Examination of the trend of opinions as measured during the past two years shows a decline in a sense of well-being among West Berliners. As compared with previous findings, proportionately more people assert that their personal situation has definitely deteriorated during the year, with a corresponding drop in the proportion noting a definite improvement.

Personal Situation Now as Compared With a Year Ago

	Jan '49	July '49	Nov '50	Dec '51 *
Better	55%	57%	56%	34%
Worse	23	17	22	36
Same (as good as)	22	26	22	30
Same (as bad as)				
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Considered as a yardstick of morale, and not simply as a factual assessment of economic conditions, the above trend suggests some deterioration. Particularly is this so, if it can be assumed that material conditions in Berlin at the time of the first point in the trend, recorded during the bleak winter of the blockade, were at least no better than they had been the previous year when there was no blockade. Subjective judgments undoubtedly enter into any evaluation of personal well-being. Further evidence of the element of subjectivity in such evaluations is found when the account rendered by the West Berliners of their debit and credit balance for 1951 as against 1950 is compared with the West German accounting for the same period.

*The question used in the most recent survey provided those who said their situation remained the same to specify whether or not this meant it was as good as or as bad as formerly. This provision was not made in previous surveys.

R E S T R I C T E D

BERLINERS MORE SANGUINE THAN WEST GERMANS ...

Proportionately almost twice as many Berliners (34%) as West Germans (19%) have noted a definite improvement in their personal situation during the course of a year. And West Germans more frequently than the Berliners consider themselves as badly off as ever, though equal proportions in both places assert a definite deterioration.

	West Germany Sept '51	West Berlin Dec '51
<u>Personal Situation Now as</u> <u>Compared With a Year Ago</u>		
Better	19%	34%
Just as good	30	22
Worse	34	36
Just as bad	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%

In sum, 56 per cent of the West Berliners in contrast to 49 per cent of their West German compatriots state their present situation to be at least as good as last year's; whereas 44 per cent in Berlin as against 51 per cent in the West say they personally are worse or as badly off as ever. Thus, though more West Berliners now than previously acknowledge a deterioration in their personal situation, the preponderance appears to find it at least fairly satisfactory. They certainly appear to be more contented with their lot than are their countrymen in West Germany, though it is safe to say that the material conditions in West Germany as a whole are better than those in West Berlin. Nor does it appear possible to assume that if the West German economy has in fact slumped during the year, the decline has been correspondingly greater than in Berlin. This would be the implication if the above results were interpreted as merely reflecting economic facts.

Comparatively then, West Berlin morale as measured by this second yardstick remains relatively good, though not as good as it has been.

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS FOR IMPROVED OR DETERIORATED SITUATION ...

Those who consider their personal situation to have deteriorated during the course of the year tend largely to ascribe the decline to the general economic situation and less frequently to personal affairs. Thus the reason most frequently given for being worse off (24%) is the rising cost of living or its obverse, low wages.

On the other hand, those persons whose situation has improved tend to cite personal changes: they have a job or a better job or business has improved (18%) or they are making more money (11%), the husband or breadwinner has returned home, they have moved from the East, and so on.

"In what respect are things worse today than a year ago?"

Rise of costs of living, prices too high, wages too low, high taxes:

We are worse off because of the rising costs of living while wages didn't rise; everything became more expensive - food, electricity, coal, and also my clothes are more in rags than a year ago, I cannot even buy shoes; living has grown more expensive and wages haven't kept pace; I cannot make ends meet with the present wages, because the prices have risen so much for everything; because wages are poorer, and so are the living conditions; living has grown almost twice as expensive; a year ago I could afford more than today - even the price for coal has gone up and I cannot afford meat at all; the rising costs of living, my husband was unemployed for 1½ years and now it is 8 weeks since he got work, we owe the rent for three months; my pension has remained the same but the prices rise constantly and I am worse off today; etc.

24%

Unemployment (part-time work, emergency work):

Because I am unemployed, last year I had a good job; a year ago I had a regular job, a secure existence, but today I haven't; now I work only for a few days a week, there is no work available; I work part-time, can be on the street anytime; etc.

5

General deterioration in economic conditions:

Chances to sell goods to the West grow worse and worse and prices grow higher and higher; it is connected with my business - at that time you could sell more than you can today; etc.

3

Scarcity of money (general):

The whole economic situation has grown worse, the money shortage today is so great that, being an independent businessman, you don't dare to use any money for private purposes so that you may keep your business going; people have no money; etc.

2

Business is poor because of East Berlin competition:

We sell coal and potatoes, but most people buy both articles in the East, therefore our business is poor; turnover in our business went down because many people buy in the East sector; financially we are worse off, the turnover in my business has gone down because of the East-West bargains (I have a bakery); etc.

1

Other reasons:

My health is worse, I cannot do my work as I'd like to do it; because my husband died this year and I lost my breadwinner; a year ago I have been in the West and had a "Zusugenehmigung" (residence permit), there I felt like a human being, here I am a nobody, so-to-say; now I get no money from the East anymore, a year ago I still got some; because now I have only got a kitchen room; etc.

3
38%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In what respect are things better today than a year ago?"

Economic and employment conditions have improved:

I'm married now, naturally I'm better off in every respect; a year ago my wife had no job, now she also works and we are doing quite well; since I work in the textile trade and people need clothes and the like, we are better off - textiles have boomed a little; one needn't worry about food, one can buy anything and needn't have any stock on hand; a year ago I had just returned from prison camp, then I owned nothing but one coat and a pair of shoes - in the meantime I was able to buy things; a year ago I was in a West German home where I was badly off - food was scarce, I was always hungry at work; through my employment, I have the opportunity to work at another place too, that betters the financial situation considerably; a year ago my husband was still working in the East sector and in the meantime he found a job in the West sector; working conditions have improved, even if I have to change my job often; my husband has had a job for a year and so we could pay part of our debts; because my husband and I have a job at present - a year ago I attempted suicide and was helped then; etc.

10%

Income has increased (wages, pensions, relief payments):

Financially - my husband has a job at the Shell plant and gets a better salary; I have more money now; I have more work and therefore more money; I got a higher pension - I am satisfied and have enough to eat; I got more money from the bank my husband used to work for; now my mother gets a somewhat higher temporary relief payment; my salary has been raised; I'm a retired railroader and now get my pension exchanged almost one to one into West D-marks and additional temporary relief payment; a year ago I had a job in the East Zone and had only 60 West D-marks and my husband nothing at all; today I got two pensions, a year ago only one; etc.

11

Personal situation has improved by leaving the East:

A year ago we were still in the East, here we are free; a year ago I was in an East Zone concentration camp, while I am free today; a year ago my husband was still in the East studying; a year ago I was still in the East Zone, now I have a job, earn money, and needn't fear anything; etc.

2

Housing situation has bettered:

A year ago I had no apartment of my own, now I have one; because my apartment has been repaired by the landlord; today I have a room of my own and don't have to live with my mother; etc.

1

Health has improved:

A year ago my health was not so good, my pension is the same; first of all in regard to health - my father is healthy and able to gather wood; etc.

1

Other reasons:

I don't take such a dim view anymore concerning the future - I don't think war will come in the near future; I have the chance to go to America; etc.

$\frac{1}{34\%}$

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON STATE OF PERSONAL WELL-BEING ...

More frequently describing their personal situation as worse or as bad as ever are the low income group, those in the lower socio-economic levels, and persons between 40 - 59 years of age. Indicative, however, of the subjective relativity of these judgments is the fact that even among the highest income groups fairly large proportions note a worsened situation.

"If you look back to your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good, just as bad?)

	Better today	Worse today	Just as good	Just as bad	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	32%	40%	22%	6%...100%	275
Women	35	33	21	11	325
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	33	38	22	7	445
Beyond elementary school	37	31	21	11	155
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	31	39	20	10	406
Middle and upper class	39	32	24	5	194
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	31	30	19	12	415
300 - 399 DM	39	36	23	2	91
400 DM and more	40	35	24	1	75
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	45	32	18	5	103
30 - 39 years	44	30	20	6	111
40 - 49 years	25	40	27	8	150
50 - 59 years	19	45	21	15	114
60 years and over	39	34	19	8	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	35	34	21	10	262
CDU/CSU	37	38	20	5	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	35	29	27	9	60
Other parties	17	63	12	8	24
No party	24	47	21	8	83
Don't know	41	28	22	9	54
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	43	23	34	-	30
Businessmen	27	49	19	5	37
White-collar workers	37	37	23	3	60
Skilled laborers	33	47	17	3	64
Semi-skilled laborers	41	33	22	4	71
Housewives	32	36	22	10	94
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired; etc.	41	24	20	15	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	30	43	20	7	77
Protestants	37	32	22	9	407
None	24	47	21	8	116
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	32	37	22	9	517
Expellees, Refugees	45	31	19	5	83

R E S T R I C T E D

FOUR IN TEN SAY WEST BERLINERS ARE BECOMING MORE PESSIMISTIC ...

As to the current mood of the West Berlin populace, the overall judgment between good and poor follows somewhat the same pattern as the evaluation on the personal situation, with about half (47%) stating the present temper of their fellow-townsmen to be at least as good as a year ago. But while 32 per cent consider that the public's mood is as good as formerly, only 15 per cent assert that it has definitely improved. (In comparison, 34% note an improved personal situation.)

Conversely, almost as many take a negative view with 42 per cent judging the collective state of mind to be worse than a year ago, and 3 per cent saying it is as bad as ever. Thus, though in the total judgment, optimism balances pessimism, the specific view that the Berliner's mood is now worse than a year ago outweighs the estimate that it has improved by almost three to one.

"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: is it better than a year ago, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good, just as bad?)

Better today	15%
Just as good	32
Worse today	42
Just as bad	3
No opinion	0
	<u>100%</u>

There is a close relationship between favorable and adverse estimations of what the present mood of the West Berlin populace is and individual Berliners' evaluation of their own situation. This relationship is particularly marked as between two groups - the one judging the current Berlin mood to be better and the other judging it to be worse. Half of the former assert their personal situation has improved during the year, half of the latter say their situation has worsened.

Mood of the Berlin People Today
as Compared With a Year Ago:

Personal Situation Now as Compared With a Year Ago:	Better	Worse	As good as	As bad as
Better	50%	20%	33%	19%
Worse	16	50	31	30
As good as	23	14	20	24
As bad as	11	0	0	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Clearly there is considerable interplay between estimates of one's personal situation and interpretations of the public frame of mind. To whatever extent the latter is a projection of the former cannot be definitely determined by the data, but obviously the two are connected.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ARE LARGELY CITED AS EVIDENCE BY BOTH PRO AND CON GROUPS ...

Much the same reasons are given by those who have noted a deterioration in mood among Berliners as are given for worsened personal situation. The depressed state of mind is largely attributed to deteriorated economic and social conditions (32%). A fraction (7%) ascribes it to increased distrust and disappointment with the Western powers and the Bonn government. Only a very few (3%) say that the East-West issue causes the strain.

Improved economic conditions are mentioned as a reason for greater optimism by 9 per cent of the group which so assesses the current mood of the West Berliners. Scattered mentions are also made of increased confidence in the West, and the improved international situation. Comments of both groups are listed below.

"Why is the mood today worse than a year ago?"

Deterioration of economic and social conditions (price increases, unemployment, high taxes, low wages):

Through the bad economic situation caused by price increases; the little businessmen have to pay more taxes; high prices - people are angry; the wage increases are of no use as they result only in price increases, there is no end to it; people are angry - food prices have gone up, the prices for fish have also gone up; through the increased costs of living; because the prices have gone up but the wages, salaries, and pensions have remained the same; the prices for gas and electricity have gone up again and the rents are to be raised; through the price increase - wages aren't raised, everybody is embittered; because of the distressed condition of most people - people can't buy anything except food; unemployment is increasing, more and more plants shut down; people are desperate because of unemployment and because there is no hope that things will improve; etc.

32%

Lack of trust in and disappointment with the West (Western powers, Federal government, Sonate):

Because of the lax attitude of the Bonn government and the Western powers, the situation becomes more uncertain every day; people are dissatisfied because no progress is made to reunite Germany; people are angry about the officials and the bureaucracy - they see that the Bonn government isn't doing enough for them; because they aren't satisfied with the West Berlin Magistrate and the Federal government - resolutions made for the benefit of the people take too long to come through - but taxes have to be paid promptly; people who voted for the Social Democrats are bickering and say it's the same as before 1933 before Hitler came to power; etc.

7

The strained political situation (East-West, danger of war):

Fear of war; fear of war has very much increased; the political situation has deteriorated; people are more pessimistic and are afraid of war - the East tells lies and the West tells lies, they also want war as they've established an army; people are playing politics and war mongering more than a year ago; etc.

3

Generally bad situation and great difficulties:

They envy the West because there things go ahead, while here the difficulties remain the same; the difficulties always remain the same - the people don't see any success; they become indifferent again because they see that they don't get ahead, difficulties are too great; etc.

2

Coal shortage:

There is no coal, the broad masses are very upset; people are in bad spirits because of lack of coal; etc.

2

Other reasons:

The increase in crime; the needy people of Berlin are worse off than the political refugees from the East Zone because many of the latter take advantage of the situation; people are very mad at the people earning double incomes, who are very strongly represented and furthered in SPD circles; etc.

1
47%

* Some people gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Why is the mood better today than a year ago?"

Because of the improvement in economic and social situation:

Every Berliner can afford a pair of shoes today, even if he has to save a long time for them - in general things are looking better; perhaps we have more money - one sees so many people buying things; a year ago we couldn't get many things on the market; the economic life of Berlin has improved due to aid from the West - that influences the mood of the people; because unemployment has decreased; one can buy more - there are no social relief payments anymore, but the people all get their pensions; etc.

9%

Because of the hope that the political situation will ease - because of the growing strength of the West:

The people are more hopeful because the international situation has improved - Germany is well respected in the world; the people are more optimistic - one year ago the fear of a new war was greater - the FDJ meeting set the people's mind at rest - we could see how well our police worked; because the whole political situation looks more stable - we are getting more independence - the others don't interfere so much in our affairs anymore; hope for a common currency has increased; the front against the East has increased in strength - people are more united - that boosts the morale; etc.

3

Because of the general optimism:

People suppose that things will improve soon; they know that time is in our favor - they have a higher morale; the people are happy again and hopeful - they start going to movies and to plays - they have enough to eat and see that things are getting better; etc.

1

Because of confidence in the West:

Because they have great confidence in the West - the feeling that Berlin belongs to the West has grown - the West looks at the situation of Berlin with different eyes than a year ago; etc.

1

No opinion/No answer:

 $\frac{1}{15\%}$

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON EVALUATION OF MOOD OF WEST BERLINERS ...

No marked differences in views are apparent among the various status groups - the educational, socio-economic, and income groups, or men versus women. More inclined to estimate the current mood as worse or no better than a year ago are affiliates of SPD and FDP as compared with CDU followers, and those in their thirties, especially as compared with those under 29.

"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: is it better than a year ago, or worse, or just the same?"
(Just as good, just as bad?)

	Better	As good as	Worse	As bad as	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	18%	31%	42%	3%	6%...100%	275
Women	12	34	41	4	9	325
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	15	32	42	3	8	445
Beyond elementary school	15	32	39	6	8	155
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	16	30	44	2	8	406
Middle and upper class	13	35	30	6	8	194
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	16	32	41	3	8	415
300 - 399 DM	15	37	41	6	1	91
400 DM and more	11	20	47	5	9	75
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	17	31	33	5	14	103
30 - 39 years	11	32	50	3	4	111
40 - 49 years	13	34	43	5	5	150
50 - 59 years	14	34	42	4	6	114
60 years and over	19	29	39	1	12	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	15	33	43	3	6	262
CDU/CSU	19	39	30	5	7	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	19	27	45	6	3	60
Other parties	13	12	58	-	17	24
No party	6	31	51	5	7	83
Don't know	13	33	30	2	22	54
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	3	47	33	7	10	30
Businessmen	16	25	49	5	5	37
White-collar workers	5	31	50	7	7	60
Skilled laborers	14	20	53	2	3	64
Semi-skilled laborers	20	20	45	4	3	71
Housewives	11	31	46	4	8	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	22	33	31	1	13	116
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	14	39	35	4	8	77
Protestants	17	32	39	3	9	407
None	6	30	53	5	6	116
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	15	31	43	4	7	517
Expellees, Refugees	13	34	34	2	17	83

RESTRICTED

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS LOOM LARGE ...

As was reflected in the comments made by West Berliners regarding the public mood, economic difficulties appear to weigh more heavily on them than the political aspects of life in that city. Not unexpectedly, therefore, the dominant problems facing the city are considered by West Berliners as economic rather than political in nature. Asked to specify West Berlin's most pressing problems, economic problems outweigh the political by a preponderance of more than two to one. The one single problem most frequently mentioned is unemployment, cited by 39 per cent. Other problems of an economic kind are financial (rising costs, money scarcity) named by 13 per cent, the economic situation in general (7%), dual currency (5%), and the coal shortage (3%). Among those naming political problems as most pressing in West Berlin, the isolation of Berlin in the East Zone and its division is the most frequently named (17%), followed by the dangers inherent in the East-West tension (0%) and the refugee problem (2%).

"In your opinion, what is the most difficult problem in West Berlin at the present time?"

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

67%

Unemployment and difficulties in labor supply:

Unemployment; labor situation, many unemployed people; to procure the funds for work - because there is enough work available; to find work for the unemployed; etc.

39%

Scarcity of money, prices are too high (financial situation):

Everybody is short of money; food prices are too high; the cost of living, the struggle for daily bread, because you cannot make ends meet; the constant rise of prices without an adequate increase of the wages; clothing - it is too expensive; the mad increase of living costs that certainly has not reached its climax yet; etc.

13

Difficulties of economy and reconstruction:

The whole economic situation; no money for reconstruction; our industry is not in full swing, it is dependent on the economic situation, no exports; the East-West relations, particularly in regard to trade; if it were not for the bad trade relations with the East the whole situation would be better here; the housing shortage; etc.

7

Dual currency-system:

Two currencies which fact harms our whole economy, because we need the trade with the East; the two currencies that induce people to shop in the East and makes our Western economy collapse; the East-West bargain, that many people go to do their shopping in the East; etc.

5

Coal shortage:

Coal shortage; the coal problem; coal supply; etc.

3

(cont'd on next page)

POLITICAL PROBLEMS

27%

The partition (isolation) of Berlin:

The transport problem of interzonal trade; the political situation, the partition of Berlin; that we are separated from East Berlin which makes us unable to help people over there; no unity between East and West Berlin; the Russians who keep the goods from arriving here, which keeps us in a state of need; the connection with the Federal Republic; Berlin is stillborn because of its insular position within the East Zone; the Soviets strangle Berlin, they don't let enough trains pass; etc.

17%

The political insecurity because of the East-West tensions, the Russian threat:

The danger of the Russians invading the whole of Berlin; East-West problems; the agreement with the East is most important; the constant threat of the East, the fear that the Russians might overrun Berlin one day; we have to face war constantly and are scared, the Russians are very near; etc.

8

Refugee problem:

The refugee problem, we got no work because Berlin has enough unemployed herself; the refugee problem is the most difficult problem, more and more people arrive, where shall they stay - they cannot remain over there; etc.

2

OTHER PROBLEMS:

The general aimlessness - nobody has the courage to improve the difficult situation through a new spiritual attitude, people don't look beneath the surface; egotism is so great within the community, there is no real helpfulness, people don't help each other enough anymore; etc.

3

No opinion / No answer:

5
102%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY STATES FAMILY INCOMES ARE ADEQUATE !!!

Contrary to what may have been expected from their frequent references to adverse economic conditions, the majority of West Berlin residents report that their family income is now sufficient to make ends meet. This finding is all the more noteworthy because for the first time since currency reform, the proportion stating their incomes cover their daily needs reaches a majority. Hitherto the reverse has been true, as reference to the trend figures below reveals.

"Is your total family income sufficient to take care of necessary expenses?"

	Aug '48	July '49	Nov '50	Dec '51
Yes	34%	40%	40%	57%
No	<u>66</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>43</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

In an effort to account for this finding which appears rather anomalous in view of the West Berliners' reiteration of their economic plight which they largely ascribe to the rising cost of living, the possibility was examined that one explanation of the recorded shift was an actual rise in the real incomes of some because they had found a place where they could buy more cheaply than heretofore. Since East Berlin represents a relatively good buyers' market for those with West Marks in their pockets, a cross analysis was made of opinions on sufficiency of family income with admissions and denials of buying in East Berlin, with the following results: *

	Buy frequently or occasionally in East Berlin	Do not buy in East Berlin
Income sufficient	24%	43%
Income not sufficient	<u>76</u>	<u>57</u>
	100%	100%

Not unexpectedly, the people who say they do not earn enough to make ends meet, more frequently report shopping in East Berlin than those with adequate incomes.

What is of interest here is the 24 per cent who say their incomes are adequate but still shop in East Berlin. If this group is subtracted from the total group with sufficient incomes and transferred into the inadequate income group, a division considerably more in line with the previous trend emerges. It would appear, therefore, that a reasonable explanation for the shift in the trend is that a certain proportion of West Berlin residents now consider their family incomes adequate because they are able to stretch them by buying in the cheaper East Berlin market. The adjusted figures are as follows:

Total family income sufficient	45%
Total family income not sufficient	<u>55%</u>
	100%

* A forthcoming report will analyze East Berlin buying among West Berliners.

R E S T R I C T E D

Until further studies on this point are made this must remain an hypothesis. It appears to be a reasonable one, however. For one thing, the present survey is the first to include the income question since East Berlin shops became sufficiently stocked to attract thrifty West Berlin customers. Therefore this explanation would not apply to previous studies. *

Secondly, the facts of the West Berlin situation make it highly speculative that within a year's time, 17 per cent of the population should actually have otherwise increased their real incomes - bearing in mind the concomittant rise in living costs about which the West Berliners are so articulate. If this is an explanation of the shift in the trend, it results in a somewhat paradoxical situation. For, regardless of the economic and political aspects of buying in the East Berlin market, such buying apparently tends to raise, not lower, the morale of the West Berliners, contrary to the intentions and claims of the Communists.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

As would be expected, those in the higher income groups and the upper socio-economic levels state much more frequently than the low income and lower socio-economic groups, that their incomes are sufficient to meet daily needs. More interesting, particularly in view of the above interpretation, is the finding, that almost half both among people with family incomes of under 300 DM monthly and those in the lower socio-economic levels say they can make ends meet with their present incomes. (See table on following page).

- * A somewhat similar situation prevailed both in West Berlin and West Germany prior to currency reform, when the preponderance tended to say their incomes were adequate, the reason being then that people customarily supplemented their cash income by barter and other similar means.

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

"Is the joint income of your family sufficient to take care of the necessary expenses?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	59%	41% ...100%	275
Women	54	46	325
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	55	45	445
Beyond elementary school	61	39	155
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Lower class	48	52	406
Middle and upper class	74	26	194
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 299 DM	46	54	415
300 - 399 DM	74	26	91
400 DM and more	89	11	75
<u>Age:</u>			
Up to 29 years	60	40	103
30 - 39 years	56	44	111
40 - 49 years	54	46	150
50 - 59 years	58	42	114
60 years and over	56	44	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	59	41	262
CDU/CSU	58	42	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	62	38	68
Other parties	37	63	24
No party	53	47	83
Don't know	48	52	54
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	73	27	30
Businessmen	68	32	37
White-collar workers	72	28	60
Skilled laborers	72	28	64
Semi-skilled laborers	55	45	71
Housewives	69	31	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	44	56	116
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	51	49	77
Protestants	58	42	407
None	54	46	116
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	57	43	517
Expellees, Refugees	54	46	83

RESTRICTED

III. CONFIDENCE IN THE WESTERN ALLIES AND THE WEST GERMANS AS A MORALE FACTOR

SATISFACTION WITH EFFORTS OF WESTERN POWERS PREVAILS ...

The plight of West Berlin is not being ignored by the West in general, according to the majority of the West Berlin citizens. Seven in ten are of the opinion that the Western world as a whole pays enough attention to the West Berlin situation.

"Do you have the feeling that the Western world pays enough attention to the West Berlin situation or not?"

Pays enough attention	70%
Not enough attention	25
No opinion	5
	<u>100%</u>

On a more specific test, - the sufficiency of the Western powers' aid to Berlin - a considerable proportion is also satisfied (62%), but a large minority (35%) assert that the West could do more to ease West Berlin's difficulties.

But, though it remains the majority opinion that the Western powers are doing enough for West Berlin, somewhat fewer now hold this view than at any time since October 1948, when West Berliners were faced with the unknown hazards of a blockade winter. The high point of satisfaction was recorded in May 1949, when efforts to blockade Berlin had been thwarted. However, the fact that satisfaction declined again in December 1949, only to rise in April 1950, suggests that the fluctuations may be seasonal in nature rather than related to particular political or economic developments.

"Do you think the Western powers are doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could they do more?"

	Oct '48	May '49	Dec '49	Apr '50	Dec '51
Doing everything possible	65%	70%	67%	73%	62%
Could do more	34	22	32	27	35
No opinion	1	-	1	-	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
No. of cases:	399	300	327	510	600

WESTERN POWERS COULD GIVE MORE ECONOMIC AID ...

The suggestion most frequently made by the minority believing the West does not do enough for West Berlin is that more economic aid could be given (17%). Relatively few (7%) recommend a stiffer attitude toward the Russians, and a handful (3%) suggest reducing occupation costs, or bringing about the reunification of Germany (3%).

Comments follow on the next page.

"What else could they do for instance?"

(Asked of those who said Western powers could do more)

Give Berlin more or better economic and financial aid:

Provide more finances to cut unemployment, and make better provisions for pensioners and sick people; allot more ERP funds to boost our economy; support industry with orders, possibly indirect orders for armament; improve the economic situation by extending the building schemes, build inexpensive apartments - they have the moral obligation because of the terrible destruction they did in the air raids; give more orders to our industry - it means more earnings for them and a better living for us; as the first priority they should give orders to Berlin instead of West Germany; they should not send so many ready-made products to Berlin, we need raw materials to be able to produce more ourselves; take firm steps to reduce prices - this would be a help to all of us; etc.

17%

The Western powers should show a more determined attitude toward the Russians and instill the Berliners with a stronger feeling of security:

To show greater energy toward the Russians in the regulation of the transport difficulties at the border; they should create a free road to Berlin; rebuke the Russians, for instance when they do tricks at the border. These things tighten Berlin's situation - this needs to change; the Americans ought to act with more vigor, in some respects their attitude toward the Russians is too slack, for instance in Korea and in Staakon; show a more energetic reaction to Russian chicanery, it would strengthen the Berliners' confidence, like the incident of Steinstuecken; free people of the fear that the Russians might pocket Berlin some day, do everything possible in this respect; they ought to create a corridor approaching Berlin; etc.

7

Cut occupation costs: Berliners would be helped much if they had to pay less occupation costs; they should forget about their business interests and help us out of a humane feeling - for instance cut the occupation costs down; etc.

4

Bring about the re-unification of Germany:

Perhaps they should concern themselves with the re-unification of Germany; they might cooperate more and better with the Federal Republic - see that the Zone borders are abolished; etc.

3

Solve the German coal problem:

Restrict coal exports; they should not be allowed to take so much coal away, many of our own factories are unable to work and the population is left to freeze; they might provide coal, these people are not a bit interested in us; they should not raise the prices for coal as much - they are responsible for that; etc.

2

The Western powers should give us more freedom; make a peace treaty:

They should lift the restrictions that hamper our government, particularly regarding economic questions; after five years' time they should leave us more economic freedom, we ought to decide ourselves what to do. They should not all the while keep a tight rein on us; make a proper peace treaty with Germany; etc.

2

Equal rights for Berlin, union with West Germany as the twelfth Federal state: They should recognize Berlin as the twelfth Federal state, we'd know then for sure where we belong; etc.

1

Withdrawal of all four occupation powers: They all (including the Russians) should pack up and clear out; we will go ahead by ourselves - leave it up to them whether they'd like to control us permanently about re-armament; etc.

1

Others: I don't think the Western powers are very straightforward, they should be more honest; the West has an interest fighting against Communism, consequently they ought to try by all means to win us over to their side in order to build a bulwark against Communism, because either the Western democracies or Communism is at stake - this is the point of the struggle; etc.

2

No opinion / No answer:

2

41%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON WESTERN AID ...

The large preponderance of all segments of the West Berlin population say that the West pays enough attention to the Berlin situation.

"Do you have the feeling that the Western world pays enough attention to the West Berlin situation or not?"

	Pays enough attention	Not enough attention	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	74%	25%	1% ... 100%	275
Women	66	27	7	325
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	71	23	6	445
Beyond elementary school	65	33	2	155
<u>Socio-economic status:</u>				
Lower class	71	23	6	406
Middle and upper class	66	32	2	193
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	69	25	6	415
300 - 599 DM	66	31	3	91
600 DM and more	76	24	-	75
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	73	24	3	103
30 - 39 years	71	26	3	111
40 - 49 years	71	26	3	150
50 - 59 years	66	27	7	114
60 years and over	66	26	8	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	70	25	5	262
CDU/CSU	75	21	4	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	64	35	1	68
Other parties	62	38	-	24
No party	61	34	5	83
Don't know	74	13	13	54
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	74	23	3	30
Businessmen	67	30	3	37
White-collar workers	73	27	-	60
Skilled laborers	69	30	1	64
Semi-skilled laborers	69	30	1	71
Housewives	63	29	8	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, apprentices, etc.	75	17	8	116
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	69	25	6	77
Protestants	69	27	4	407
None	70	23	7	116
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	69	27	4	517
Expellees, Refugees	74	19	7	85

R E S T R I C T E D

That the Western powers are doing everything possible to aid West Berlin is the prevailing view among all demographic groups, with no marked differences that are reliably beyond chance.

"Do you think the Western powers are doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could they do more?"

	Doing every- thing possible	Could do more	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	57%	42%	1% ... 100%	275
Women	66	30	4	325
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	62	36	2	445
Beyond elementary school	61	35	4	155
<u>Socio-economic status:</u>				
Lower class	64	33	3	406
Middle and upper class	56	41	3	193
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	63	35	2	415
300 - 399 DM	57	39	4	91
400 DM and more	61	36	3	75
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	52	46	2	103
30 - 39 years	58	38	4	111
40 - 49 years	62	37	1	150
50 - 59 years	67	30	3	114
60 years and over	68	28	4	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	61	37	2	262
CDU/CSU	68	28	4	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	58	38	4	68
Other parties	62	38	-	24
No party	53	45	2	83
Don't know	72	22	6	54
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	56	37	7	30
Businessmen	62	35	3	37
White-collar workers	45	55	-	60
Skilled laborers	58	40	2	64
Semi-skilled laborers	60	37	3	71
Housewives	71	26	3	24
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	64	30	6	116
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	65	34	1	77
Protestants	63	35	2	407
None	55	40	5	116
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	61	36	3	517
Expellees, Refugees	66	33	1	83

R E S T R I C T E D

MANY DISSATISFIED WITH EFFORTS OF WEST GERMANS ...

Confidence in the interest of the West German people in Berlin and in the efforts of the Federal Republic on behalf of Berlin is much less widespread than in the Western powers' interest and efforts.

... Over half feel that the West German people are indifferent to the fate of West Berlin, ten per cent going so far as to say that their Western compatriots have "written off" Berlin.

"Do you have the feeling that the West German people are concerned about the fate of West Berlin or are they indifferent? (If INDIFFERENT: in your opinion, have the West German people already written off West Berlin or not?)"

Concerned	38%
Indifferent (not written off)	45
Written off	10
No opinion	7
	<u>100%</u>

... Moreover, half (50%) say that the Bonn government is not doing all it could to ease West Berlin's difficulties. Forty-five per cent, in contrast to sixty-two per cent in the case of the Western powers, state that the Federal Republic is doing everything possible.

"And do you think the West German government is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

Doing everything possible	45%
Could do more	50
No opinion	5
	<u>100%</u>

MORE ECONOMIC AID AND TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT OFFICES TO BERLIN
ARE LEADING RECOMMENDATIONS ...

The areas in which the West German government could do more for West Berliners according to the view of the group dissatisfied with its efforts are: increased economic aid, e.g. create jobs, financial assistance and other measures to improve the economic situation (30%); the transfer of some administrative offices to West Berlin (a few propose making Berlin the capital of the Federal Republic), (12%); establishment of West Berlin as the twelfth state (4%); higher pensions and more aid to Eastern refugees (4%), and so on. (Comments are listed on the following page.)

R E S T R I C T E D

"And do you think the West German government is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

If "Could do more": "What else could it do for instance?"

Special help to Berlin's economy: Provide jobs and financial support; boost trade, lower prices; they should help Berlin economically, we want jobs, not charity; provide more money for Berlin, since it is an emergency area; should help Berlin by establishing a program to remove unemployment, not only in the Federal Republic but also in Berlin; should place manufacturing orders in Berlin instead of providing Berlin with manufactured goods; the unemployed people in Berlin should have money for building purposes; should give more credits to Berlin, to prevent the transfer of West Berlin industries; should pass a law firing all double earners; they should point out to the Western businessmen the importance of trade with Berlin, so that trade is boosted; they should see to it that cheap potatoes are imported into Berlin, so that people don't run into the East sector - Berlin is an emergency area, therefore the Federal Government should reduce cost of shipping; etc.

30%

Move Federal administrative offices to West Berlin, make it the capital; they should do more for re-unification: They should transfer the sessions of the Bundestag to Berlin for prestige reasons, Berlin ought to become the capital; they should make Berlin the seat of government, that would be to the benefit of Berlin, politically as well as economically; they should transfer the Federal Government to Berlin and acknowledge Berlin formally as the capital - such initiative by the West would have positive results in regard to re-unification and the whole international situation; they should choose Berlin as the capital again, then the difficult situation in Berlin would ease up; they should transfer more administrative offices to Berlin, this would boost economy in Berlin, many unemployed white-collar workers would find jobs, and all other branches would profit by it too; they should transfer the big administrative offices of the government and of the insurance companies back to Berlin, so that many employees would find a job again - Berlin used to be an administrative city; etc.

12

The Federal Government should take more interest in West Berlin: They should intercede for the Berliners instead of travelling abroad; they should intensify their interest in Berlin, are too uninterested; should do much more for us; etc.

4

They should incorporate Berlin as the twelfth Federal state: They should see to it that we become a full-fledged twelfth federal state with equal rights; they should incorporate us completely into the Federal Republic; they should acknowledge Berlin as the twelfth federal state; too many empty promises - important matters are always postponed to the next agenda, it could be much more helped, particularly if Berlin were incorporated as a federal state; etc.

4

They should do more to improve socio-economic conditions in Berlin (raising pensions, raising compensations and wages, equalization of burdens): They should see to it that the little pensioners are better off, should not only raise the salaries of the officials who don't have to struggle to earn a living anyhow; should give extra compensation for the old unemployed people and for the refugees from the East; equalization of burdens (Lastenausgleich) should be carried out and the expellees should be helped; for instance, pensions should be the same as in the Federal Republic; the equalization of the Berlin sick fund to West Germany is more disadvantageous to Berlin than it was before, and it's the same with other laws passed meanwhile - Berlin's difficult situation is not taken into account; etc.

4

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

The Federal Government should be more firm toward the East, especially in re. trade: They should take decisive counter-measures towards any chicanery on the part of the East, so that Berlin can be better provided; should establish a "corridor" (transit) for Berlin; should be more determined towards the East, for instance in regard to interzonal trade; they don't act determined enough against the chicanery of the East Zone government - one can't repay unscrupulousness with kindness - I'm thinking of difficulties in traffic and of the road taxes; be more firm towards the East regarding interzonal trade; should make efforts to make an agreement with the Russians on using a sort of corridor to West Berlin; should make an end to illegal trading with the East, then the East Zone government would easily agree to interzonal trade; etc.

3%

Others: They should not live so extravagantly; shouldn't oppose accepting refugees; should establish a ministry of education for the whole of Germany; should do more in regard to the cultural life, give the youth new ideals; they waste their words, shouldn't always reproach us with what they are doing; for us with their Berlin emergency tax, but should do it with love; first of all, they should end Berlin's coal shortage; etc.

 $\frac{2}{59\%}$

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

ALL POPULATION GROUPS STRESS INDIFFERENCE OF WEST GERMANS ...

The predominant position of most population groups is that West Germany is indifferent to, or has written off, West Berlin. More frequently of this view than their counterparts are the men, the better educated, the upper and middle classes, the higher income groups, affiliates of FDP, and the 30 - 39 year old group.

"Do you have the feeling that the West German people are concerned about the fate of West Berlin, or are they indifferent? (If INDIFFERENT: in your opinion, have the West German people already written off West Berlin or not?)"

	Concerned	Indifferent	Written off	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	35%	50%	10%	5%	275
Women	42	40	10	8	325
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	43	39	9	9	445
Beyond elementary school	24	60	14	2	155
<u>Socio-economic status:</u>					
Lower class	45	37	9	9	406
Middle and upper class	23	60	14	3	194
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	43	41	9	7	415
300-399 DM	29	50	11	10	91
400 DM and more	25	56	17	2	75
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	40	45	12	3	103
30 - 39 years	29	54	11	6	111
40 - 49 years	36	47	11	6	150
50 - 59 years	43	41	11	5	114
60 years and over	45	35	7	13	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	42	41	11	6	262
CDU/CSU	42	49	5	4	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	13	62	22	3	68
Other parties	50	42	8	-	24
No party	29	46	13	12	83
Don't know	52	30	2	16	54
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	27	67	6	-	30
Businessmen	24	46	22	8	37
White-collar workers	13	62	18	2	60
Skilled laborers	27	59	6	8	64
Semi-skilled laborers	39	42	9	10	71
Housewives	46	34	12	8	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	52	34	5	9	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	38	47	10	5	77
Protestants	41	43	9	7	407
None	29	48	16	7	116
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	38	45	10	7	517
Expellees, Refugees	41	43	11	5	83

DISSATISFACTION WITH BONN'S AID TO BERLIN FREQUENT AMONG OPINION LEADING GROUPS ...

Men, the better educated, the upper socio-economic and income groups, and younger people (under 39) state more frequently than their opposites that the West German government is not doing all it could to help West Berlin. In fact, this view is the preponderant one in all the above mentioned groups.

"And do you think the West German government is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

	Doing everything possible	Could do more	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	41%	58%	1% ... 100%	275
Women	48	43	9	325
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	46	6	445
Beyond elementary school	35	60	5	155
<u>Socio-economic status:</u>				
Lower class	47	46	7	406
Middle and upper class	40	57	3	193
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	46	48	6	415
300 - 399 DM	42	56	2	91
400 DM and more	41	55	4	75
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	35	57	8	103
30 - 39 years	36	62	2	111
40 - 49 years	43	52	5	150
50 - 59 years	51	46	3	114
60 years and over	59	32	9	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	44	52	4	262
CDU/CSU	48	47	5	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	40	57	3	68
Other parties	46	50	4	24
No party	36	57	7	83
Don't know	63	22	15	54
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	37	53	10	30
Businessmen	41	59	-	37
White-collar workers	39	58	3	60
Skilled laborers	40	58	2	64
Semi-skilled laborers	41	56	3	71
Housewives	46	47	7	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	56	34	10	116
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	48	44	8	77
Protestants	46	49	5	407
None	39	57	4	116
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	46	49	5	517
Expellees, Refugees	42	53	5	83

R E S T R I C T E D

MAJORITY THINKS BONN GOVERNMENT DOING A GOOD JOB - IN WEST GERMANY ...

Despite the frequent criticism of the adequacy of the Bonn government's aid to West Berlin, the Federal Republic continues to get a majority vote of confidence from the Berliners, though the proportion voicing approval has declined recently.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German government up to now?" (Satisfied or very satisfied?) (Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)

	Nov '49	May '50	Dec '51
Very satisfied	-	-	5%
Satisfied	71%	77%	53
Dissatisfied	17	10	30
Very dissatisfied	-	-	4
No opinion	12	13	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
No. of cases:	259	251	600

(Prior to the Dec '51 survey the degrees of satisfaction/dissatisfaction were not sought.)

... On the issue, West Berliners are somewhat more favorably inclined than are the citizens of the Federal Republic, as the following comparison shows.

	West Germany Sept '51	West Berlin Dec '51
Activities of West German Government:		
Very satisfied	6%	5%
Satisfied	46	53
Dissatisfied	31	30
Very dissatisfied	6	4
No opinion	11	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
No. of cases:	800	600

Presumably this general appraisal of the Bonn government is distinct from judgments on the adequacy of its aid to West Berlin. This is suggested in the comments of those who express dissatisfaction with Bonn's accomplishments to date. Only ten per cent mention the government's failure to help Berlin sufficiently; the preponderance criticizes the domestic program of the government. (Comments are listed on the next page.)

R E S T R I C T E D

"In what respect (are you dissatisfied)?"

They do too little on behalf of Berlin (have already written off Berlin): Berlin has not yet been made the twelfth Federal state and they ought to place more orders in Berlin; they don't help Berlin enough, we are pushed aside; Berlin is all the while treated as the step child; because not enough funds are provided for Berlin; ministries that were in Berlin previously should be transferred back to Berlin in order to give Berlin some political encouragement; they could do more on behalf of Berlin - in spite of my respect for Adenauer I have to say this, they ought to transfer more officials to Berlin and furthermore hold sessions of the Bundestag in Berlin; they do nothing to inform people about Berlin; etc.

10%

The government disregards interests of the people: I cannot really tell why, but their domestic policy is not pursued in the interests of the population but rather selfishly; they do too little for the bulk of the people and support only certain groups such as the employers; they do nothing on behalf of the expellees, some minister even called us "a good-for-nothing social baggage"; etc.

7

Poor economic policy: The prices rose much on account of the free economy, they should bear in mind the general social situation much more; the increase of living costs was designed in Bonn, everything rises except wages; economics - there is no balance in the distribution of burdens, the economic policy is no good; they act selfishly, their expenditures are too great and the individual citizen has to pay too high taxes; my husband was dismissed - that has been designed up there, - and he doesn't get a job there either; etc.

6

The government is ineffectual (general): Ehlers, for instance, doesn't make full efforts, they are all old people who lack determination; they merely talk but don't act; they are all too much engaged in party politics; etc.

6

The government is dependant on other powers: In regard to foreign and economic policy the Federal Republic makes herself too dependent on other nations; they ought to be more determined toward the Western powers, we should not pay reparations to the West; etc.

3

They favor remilitarization too much: They shouldn't favor the idea of a new German army - we don't ever want to see soldiers again; because Adenauer is so much in favor of remilitarization; for political reasons - Adenauer's policy is too much tinged by militarism, though we have to form a new army, Adenauer needn't be so enthusiastic about it; they like to rearm us which will breed new fascists; etc.

2

They do too little to alleviate the housing shortage: Because nothing is done about housing; etc.

1

Others: Adenauer takes too many offices under his hat; they are too friendly toward the Russians; they ought to separate themselves much more from the former Nazi system, they ought to suppress the new NS tendencies with greater vigor; the strong opposition to the Schuman Plan, especially on part of the SPD followers; because they constantly agitate against the East, they use the same records Goebbels used to play; they export coal and don't supply us sufficiently; etc.

$\frac{5}{40\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**SATISFACTION WITH ACTIVITIES OF WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT PREPONDERATES
IN ALL GROUPS ...**

The prevailing attitude among almost all population groups is one of satisfaction with the activities of the West German government. However, the better educated, higher income groups and the men express dissatisfaction more frequently than do their counterparts.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German government up to now? (Satisfied or very satisfied?) (Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied and very dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	5%	52%	40%	3% ..100%	275
Women	6	53	28	13	325
Education:					
Elementary school	7	54	31	8	445
Beyond elementary school	1	49	41	9	155
Socio-economic status:					
Lower class	6	52	33	9	406
Middle and upper class	4	55	36	5	194
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	6	54	32	8	415
300 - 399 DM	4	52	36	8	91
400 DM and more	1	52	44	3	75
Age:					
Up to 29 years	3	53	35	9	103
30 - 39 years	4	46	45	5	111
40 - 49 years	5	54	33	8	150
50 - 59 years	8	57	27	8	114
60 years and over	8	53	30	9	122
Party Preference:					
SPD	7	50	36	7	262
CDU/CSU	5	64	26	5	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	3	57	37	3	68
Other parties	4	50	46	-	24
No party	1	41	46	12	83
Don't know	11	58	11	20	54
Occupation:					
Professionals	-	64	33	3	30
Businessmen	-	43	51	6	37
White-collar workers	2	48	42	8	60
Skilled laborers	5	44	47	4	64
Semi-skilled laborers	4	53	37	6	71
Housewives	3	57	29	11	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	9	51	27	13	116
Religion:					
Catholics	6	47	38	9	77
Protestants	6	58	28	8	407
None	2	39	51	8	116
Origin:					
Natives	6	53	33	8	517
Expellees, Refugees	2	54	39	5	83

RESTRICTED

MANY WEST BERLINERS DOUBT THEIR CITY WILL BE PERMITTED TO JOIN THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC ...

Considerable pessimism prevails among West Berliners over the possibility of West Berlin's becoming the twelfth state in the West German Federal Republic. There is also much skepticism about the West German government's intentions in this matter.

- ... Forty-three per cent believe that West Berlin will become a member state of the Federal Republic in the near future, but thirty-six per cent think this will not occur, two per cent say it might occur under certain conditions, and a fifth (19%) are not prepared to make a prediction.

"Do you believe that West Berlin will become the twelfth Federal state within the foreseeable future, or not?"

Yes	43%
No	36
Depends on circumstances	2
No opinion	19
	<u>100%</u>

- ... A similar division of opinions occurs on whether or not the Bonn government really desires West Berlin's entry into the Federal Republic. Forty-seven per cent state that West Germany sincerely wants West Berlin to become the twelfth state, but forty-one per cent take a negative view, and twelve per cent express no opinion.

"In your opinion, does the West German government seriously want West Berlin to become the twelfth federal state, or not?"

Yes	47%
No	41
No opinion	12
	<u>100%</u>

That those attitudes of pessimism and skepticism reflect a basic disappointment, is suggested by a previous finding (obtained in November 1950), that ninety-nine per cent of the West Berlin public believe that their city should be included in the Federal Republic.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

REASONS WHY WEST BERLIN NOT YET TWELFTH STATE ...

Western fear of possible Russian reaction because of the exposed position of Berlin in a divided Germany is the leading cause (20%) for delaying Berlin's entry into the Republic mentioned by those who expect it to occur. Less frequently mentioned are such reasons as the opposition of the Western powers owing to their adherence to the Potsdam agreement (5%), the ineptness of the German authorities (2%), the rivalry of the political parties (2%), and so on.

"What do you think are the reasons that West Berlin has not yet become the twelfth federal state?" (Asked of those who say Berlin will join.)

Because of the Russians (East) and fear of ensuing complications, the division of Berlin, of Germany: They don't want to make the situation more difficult with the Russians; because the Russians would take countermeasures for sure and we can't afford that yet - we are not agreed enough in West Europe; it must be connected somehow with the Russians - they are probably making difficulties because they consider themselves the victors over Berlin and think they have the sole right to it; that is because of the differences between the Russians and the Western powers - the Russians won't let West Berlin become the twelfth federal state; because the East Zone government resists it; if they did, it might lead to war, and they want to avoid that; perhaps they are afraid of the Russians; the Russians are probably still opposed to it and therefore the Federal Government doesn't dare; because the Russian Zone is in between - there are the difficulties of supplies - the corridor is needed; perhaps because of the political conditions - Berlin is a city on its own - the conditions are quite different here; they are afraid of their own courage - they don't want to come to Berlin - it might be too dangerous; because Berlin is not united yet; it would not work just to incorporate one part of Berlin - Berlin should be reunited first - then it could be incorporated with West Germany; etc.

20%

Because of the Western powers and their agreement with the Russians: Because the Western powers don't want it; I believe the Allies haven't permitted it so far, an agreement with the East will have to be reached first; because the French put the drag on it with their policy; because it goes against the Potsdam agreement to which the Western powers adhere even today; because there are probably clauses in the Potsdam agreement which make it difficult; etc.

5

Because of the increased burdens connected with it (financial, social, economic): The Federal Government wants to postpone it as long as possible since the Berliners are a burden to them because of their political experience; the financial difficulties - they don't have enough money behind them and it would mean additional expenditures like pensions etc.; that's a question of capital - the big concerns, which have the money are not so much in favor of it; it concerns the question of money - it would be too much of a burden; the economic situation is not good enough to incorporate Berlin - it would mean a great sacrifice and since the funds are not available, attempts to incorporate Berlin as the twelfth federal state have not succeeded yet; etc.

3

Because of the ineptness of various German authorities: It's the fault of the Berlin Senate; various states, like Bavaria etc., don't want it - they consider Berlin as Prussia and don't want to have anything to do with us; because of all the red tape it's slowed down; because they negotiate too much and forget the real purpose behind it - they are too slow; etc.

2

(cont'd on next page)

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RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

Because of the rivalry of political parties: It could be that various parties work against it, and prevent certain things - they are agreed on it; the right people who could realize this in a positive way aren't working well - the Social Democrats should quit screaming about it and bring facts; the small majority of the Federal Government fears it because of the many SPD seats; because there are too many new parties in the government that wouldn't get anywhere here - they don't want it; etc.

2%

The time has not come yet: The government is aspiring to it - only a few more paragraphs are needed; the time probably hasn't come yet - the preparations are still underway; the time is not here yet - one can't do everything at once - we don't want a war either; it will take time; perhaps it will only be a matter of weeks now - I don't know why, but it will be right soon because the situation will be an artificial one and a workable solution is difficult; etc.

2

Because of the four occupation powers: Because the four Allies make it especially difficult - all four of them are to blame; because so far it was impossible - the four Allies haven't come to an agreement yet; I think that the Allies don't permit it yet - otherwise it might have happened already; the Federal Government wants it, but the occupation powers don't want it yet; the occupation powers are to blame; etc.

2

Berliners don't want it: Because the Berliners don't desire this incorporation yet, the West German people do not share our political insight and therefore a union is neither possible nor desirable; if we were part of the Federal Republic we would have inflation too and we Berliners don't want that - that would be a catastrophe for us - a few reasonable people want to prevent that; because the Berlin people won't go along with it; etc.

2

No opinion / No answer:

11
49%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

REASONS WHY BONN IS THOUGHT AGAINST INCLUDING BERLIN IN THE REPUBLIC ...

The reasons most frequently attributed to Bonn's unwillingness to see West Berlin as the twelfth state is that West Germany does not wish to assume the trouble and responsibility implicit in the addition of West Berlin to the Republic (21%). Others (13%) mention West Germany's fear of Russia, and the general insecurity of the Berlin situation. Three per cent say that Bonn is opposed because the Social Democrats are so powerful in West Berlin.

"What do you think are the reasons that the West German government is against it?" (Asked of those who say Bonn against entry.)

Because of the burdens and disadvantages it would entail: It is too great a responsibility; Berlin would cause them even more trouble and they want to save trouble; they would have to show more concern for us than they want to, and at present they can ignore us; they certainly think they would have to make more sacrifices; these people over there are well off, we are just an inconvenience to them, it would merely cost them money, and that is something they don't want; they would have to take greater care of Berlin, now it is "ONE CAN", but then it is "ONE MUST"; if we were the twelfth federal state they would have to intervene and assist if Berlin needed help; they think Berlin is a place which is not worth spending much more money; they'd rather write us off, it would mean fewer worries and spending less money; they don't care a bit for Berlin, it is only eating up subsidies, they think Berlin is a lost position because of its insularity, any money would be wasted on it; they think too much of themselves and would rather let us down if the Russians created a stiff situation; because they have written off Berlin, they are no longer interested in Berlin; Berlin would be a drag on them, if you listen to their talk you could almost assume Berlin is already written off; etc.

21%

Because of the Russians (East) and because of fear of ensuing complications, division of Berlin, of Germany: They are afraid of getting into trouble with the Russians; they are afraid of the Russians, they expect it would be West Germany's turn then, the Russians might march into West Germany; because the Russians make too many difficulties and they want to avoid possible repercussions; Berlin is too insecure, - as long as the relation between East and West Berlin is not clarified yet - Berlin cannot breathe freely; Berlin is insecure, because of the corridor through the East Zone, fear it might be closed; it is too small to be a land, as Berlin lies in the East Zone like an island, without direct connections; a great risk, Berlin is too far off; because we are surrounded by Communism; people over there believe we are friends with the Russians and that the Russians have some influence on us, but it is not true; because Berlin is partitioned; etc.

13

Because of Berlin's party politics: Because too many of the new parties are in the government which would have less influence here, and they don't want it; because Berlin is still mainly under Social Democratic administration, therefore the Federal Government is careful; we tend too much to the left, and they would have too many deputies who would not suit them; Berlin has a strong SPD preponderance and the CDU people in the government there don't like that; etc.

3

(cont'd on next page)

Because of the possible transfer of government authorities and Berlin's possible claim for the seat of the capital: They think that after the unification of Germany, Berlin might once again become the capital; they are afraid of moving their offices to Berlin; it is too dangerous, some ministries would naturally have to move to Berlin and they think it is too risky here; etc.

2%

Other reasons: The Western powers are tied to the four power agreement; they don't understand the political situation in Berlin, they should get a close look at the Russians; etc.

2

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{2}{43\%}$ *

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

LIKELIHOOD OF BERLIN'S BECOMING TWELFTH STATE AS SEEN BY POPULATION GROUPS

More pessimistic than others about the chances of West Berlin's becoming the twelfth state in the Federal Republic are the men, those with more than average education, the upper socio-economic levels and those in the higher income group. More doubtful too are younger people as compared with older people. As examination of the figures below will show, the degree of optimism/pessimism closely parallels the age distribution.

"Do you believe that West Berlin will become the twelfth federal state within the foreseeable future, or not?"

	Yes	No	Qualified answers	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	44%	42%	3%	11% .. 100%	275
Women	42	32	-	26	325
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	44	34	1	21	445
Beyond elementary school	38	45	3	14	155
<u>Socio-economic status:</u>					
Lower class	43	33	1	23	406
Middle and upper class	43	44	2	11	193
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	44	35	1	20	415
300 - 399 DM	35	40	2	23	91
400 DM and more	47	44	1	8	75
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	32	52	4	12	103
30 - 39 years	34	50	1	15	111
40 - 49 years	43	32	1	24	150
50 - 59 years	50	30	2	18	114
60 years and over	52	22	1	25	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	44	33	1	17	260
CDU/CSU	47	33	3	17	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	47	44	3	6	68
Other parties	42	37	4	17	24
No party	34	37	1	28	83
Don't know	39	24	-	37	54
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	37	50	-	13	30
Businessmen	40	30	3	27	37
White-collar workers	43	52	-	5	60
Skilled laborers	37	44	5	14	64
Semi-skilled laborers	47	30	1	14	71
Housewives	47	34	-	19	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	41	27	2	30	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	34	39	1	26	77
Protestants	46	34	2	18	407
None	37	42	-	21	116
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	43	36	1	20	517
Expellees, Refugees	45	36	2	17	83

HIGHER STATUS GROUPS MORE DOUBTFUL THAT BONN WANTS BERLIN IN REPUBLIC ...

Opinions on whether or not West Germany really wants West Berlin to become the twelfth state in the Federal Republic shifts among various population groups, with the higher status groups tending to have a negative view, the lower status groups, an affirmative view. Thus, a preponderance of the men, the better educated and the upper socio-economic levels say West Germany does not seriously want West Berlin as the twelfth state, whereas the women, the lesser educated and the lower socio-economic segments say West German intentions are sincere in this respect.

"In your opinion, does the West German Government seriously want West Berlin to become the twelfth federal state, or not?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	43%	52%	5% ... 100%	275
Women	51	31	18	325
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	50	37	13	445
Beyond elementary school	40	50	10	155
<u>Socio-economic status:</u>				
Lower class	51	35	14	406
Middle and upper class	39	53	8	194
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	49	38	13	415
300 - 399 DM	43	47	10	91
400 DM and more	44	48	8	75
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	39	48	13	103
30 - 39 years	44	48	8	111
40 - 49 years	45	43	12	150
50 - 59 years	51	34	15	114
60 years and over	56	31	13	122
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	48	41	11	262
CDU/CSU	50	34	16	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	43	51	6	60
Other parties	54	33	8	24
No party	35	54	11	83
Don't know	56	20	24	54
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	40	50	10	30
Businessmen	32	57	11	37
White-collar workers	35	60	5	60
Skilled laborers	42	49	9	64
Semi-skilled laborers	52	40	8	71
Housewives	50	31	19	94
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	48	33	19	116
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	44	36	20	77
Protestants	48	40	12	407
None	44	47	9	116
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	47	41	12	517
Expellees, Refugees	51	38	11	83

IV. UNEMPLOYMENT IN WEST BERLIN AS A MORALE FACTOR

The frequent references of the respondents to the unemployment situation in West Berlin bear witness to the problem which is one of grave concern to American as well as to West German officials. Aside from the difficulties of finding any basic solution, concern has been expressed that the presumably low morale of the unemployed might adversely affect the mood of the West Berlin public as a whole. As has already been indicated in this study, the West Berlin public appears - despite its many difficulties and problems - to be holding up with the steadfastness for which West Berlin has already acquired a reputation. In order to assess the particular role of the unemployed in the West Berlin situation, the returns reported have been re-examined in the framework of employment status and are presented here.

DESCRIPTION OF THE UNEMPLOYED ...

First, a word about the characteristics of the unemployed as revealed in this study. Sixteen per cent of the respondents interviewed in this sample are out of work and looking for jobs, that is, by definition, are the unemployed.* Two thirds of them state that they have been without work for a year or more.

On the whole, the unemployed appear to embrace a fairly representative cross-section of the West Berlin population. They do not differ markedly from other Berliners as to their sex, educational attainment, party preferences, or - and this is somewhat unexpected - origin. Proportionately no more refugees from the East are in the unemployed category than are native Berliners. Occupationally, they are similar to the West Berliners now gainfully employed, with one exception - fewer businessmen are without work. As would be expected, the unemployed differ from the rest of the population in income, more of them being in the lowest brackets. The age group 40-49 years is heavily represented among the unemployed. (Statistical description of the unemployed is appended to the report.)

MORALE OF THE UNEMPLOYED AS GOOD AS THAT OF OTHER BERLINERS ...

The major finding here is that the attitudinal pattern of the unemployed closely parallels that of all other West Berliners. Somewhat more of them would leave Berlin (in order to get jobs), and naturally enough, they more frequently than other Berliners say they are worse off now than a year ago, and that their family incomes are inadequate. These differences very probably should be attributed to a factual appraisal of their situation rather than as an indication of relatively lower morale. On all other issues - confidence in the West Berlin Senate, in the future prospects for Berlin, the present mood of the Berlin public, confidence in the Western powers, and in the Federal Republic, their attitudes are very similar to those of their fellow-citizens. It is interesting that they are more inclined than other Berliners to believe that Bonn wants to incorporate West Berlin in the Federal Republic.

The West Berlin unemployed, then, are not only in most respects a cross-section of the West Berlin public, but they think largely along the same lines as do their fellow-townsmen. So whatever problems the Berlin unemployment situation poses, a specific problem of morale among the unemployed, as distinct from the general Berlin mood, does not appear to be indicated. (Comparative tables are appended to the report.)

* The "Statistical Report" issued by the West Berlin Senate (October 1951) gave the registered unemployed as 14 per cent of the West Berlin population, 18 years of age and over. Since people in certain occupations cannot receive unemployment compensation, they would not be included in the official figure.

WEST BERLINERS' SOLUTION OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM ...

In the course of the survey, the West Berliners were queried on how they thought unemployment could be eliminated in their city. Their suggestions are listed below. As will be noted, their proposals frequently call for such economic measures as are customarily advanced as a means of reducing unemployment; e.g. a larger building program (39%) increased production (16%) and increased financial credit, or reduction of expenses (15%). Some propose political measures, difficult to carry out immediately; the reunification of Germany (11%) and the incorporation of West Berlin into West Germany (8%). More specific suggestions are: work not doles for the unemployed (11%); prevention of "dual" earners (9%), and organized labor service and/or military service (8%).

"What should be done in order to eliminate unemployment in West Berlin? (And what else?)"

Increase building projects:

More reconstruction should be going on; should build more factories; should support building projects and not put so much money into emergency work projects (parks), except for street building; they should build houses - many men will have work then and they'll have two problems solved at the same time; they should build houses, not only parks - everybody will have work then - should also build small homes; should build houses, not only clear the ruins away; should clean up the ruins; there are still so many ruins, should clean them up first; etc.

39%

Increase domestic production - procure material and raw materials:

Bring more material to Berlin, so the industries can go on operating; to try to approach the West German government so that enough orders are placed in Berlin by West German firms in line with the productive capacity of Berlin; they should give us raw materials so we can produce more - should import more raw-materials instead of manufactured products; we are close to collapse - all our machinery was taken away - new industries should be brought here and enough materials for those that are already here; etc.

16

Grant credits and support Berlin financially - reduce administrative costs:

They should invest more money here, but nobody wants to take the risk - no confidence in Berlin; the government should grant more money so that the ruins can be rebuilt - everything would be better then; there should be public funds for us from West Germany - Berlin is unable to do it alone; West Germany should grant us more credits; they should invest more capital here - an investment commissioner should be appointed to supervise the money on hand; should slash the salaries of the big shots; etc.

15

Germany should be reunited:

Germany should be reunited, then this problem would be eliminated; all of Germany should be together again, then everybody would have work; there are too many people here - we should get our East back in order to take care of all those people - that would be the only solution; we are too isolated from the West - we can't do anything, East Germany is missing; we should make trade agreements with all other countries - East and West - in order to get machinery; we should produce goods that we could sell abroad - all the building going on doesn't help either; etc.

12

(cont'd on next page)

Should make the unemployed work for their compensation - emergency work projects - prevent unregistered work:

Should not "cultivate" unemployed people but should make them work for their money; young and healthy people, who are unemployed should only get unemployment compensation if they can prove that they haven't worked more than 15 hours; we have enough work on hand - the clearing of ruins for instance - they should make people work for their unemployment compensation - the unemployed had to work three days during the week for their compensation in the past; the unemployed should be controlled so they don't work illegally - then there will be enough jobs; unemployment compensation should cease, then everybody would try to get work; etc.

11%

Should get rid of the "double earners" - introduce more part time work:

They should fire the "double earners"; should throw the "double earners" out, so others get work; one should eliminate the "double earners", if the man earns more than 300 a month his wife should not be permitted to work; should fire the "double earners" - pensioners who receive a high enough pension should not be employed; those who still work should do part time work only, so the unemployed can work too; should not let the women work so much but give the work to men; etc.

9

Labor service, military service should be instituted:

The youth should be organized in a kind of labor service; they should draft the young people - they don't necessarily need to start a war - we have too many people anyway; should establish a democratic labor service; the unemployed should be drafted into the defense army - the West needs the soldiers anyway; militarization - the East does it too; should rearm in Germany too; militarism wouldn't hurt - it would be good training for a person and many would be helped in their plight, no matter if cobbler, tailor, etc.; they should put the young people somewhere else - for instance in a police force or something similar; etc.

8

Berlin should be united (with the West); should be the capital:

Berlin should be part of the Federal Republic, then it will get more help; by eliminating the sector borders and granting every Berliner the right to work where work is offered; elimination of the sector borders; Berlin should become part of the West and the division of Berlin should be eliminated; Berlin should be made the 12th Federal state, then we would get more orders - the administration in Berlin would then have jobs which could be filled by Berliners; Berlin should become the German capital and all the government offices should be here again; etc.

8

Return of the industries that were transferred to West Germany:

Should watch that not too many businesses transfer to the West; we should get all the Berliner firms back which left for the West; etc.

3

Other solutions:

Increase tourist traffic; should start a war with Russia, then everybody will have his hands full - should take less refugees who take work away from the Berliners; should force the youth to work for little wages as we had to in the past; should bring people from West Berlin to West Germany, there's enough work; all the Allies should leave Germany in my opinion, then everybody will work better; etc.

9

No possible solution:

There is no final solution possible at the moment, and we have to be satisfied with temporary measures - not much can be done and everything will remain the same in general; there is no possibility, nothing is of use - it's not safe to place orders here; the government does everything possible - we have to accept the unemployment problem; that is difficult - we lack all the big factories that are in the East; etc.

4

No opinion / No answer:

10
144%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPENDIX I

ATTITUDES OF UNEMPLOYED COMPARED WITH THOSE OF OTHER WEST BERLINERS*

"Would you leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?"

If "No": "If you or the head of your family were offered work and housing in West Germany, would you then leave West Berlin?"

	Unemployed	All others
Yes	29%	22%
Yes, if job	19	13
Qualified yes	9	9
No (under no conditions)	42	55
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100%	100%

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate?"

	Unemployed	All others
Satisfied	61%	66%
Dissatisfied	36	30
No opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%

"And do you think the West Berlin Senate is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

	Unemployed	All others
Doing everything possible	60%	74%
Could do more	30	23
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%

"Do you think it is possible to improve the economic situation of West Berlin in spite of the political situation, or is a change in the political situation necessary for that?"

	Unemployed	All others
Improvement in spite of political situation	29%	30%
Improvement after change in political situation	63	61
No opinion	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%

"If you look back to your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same? (Just as good as, just as bad as?)"

	Unemployed	All others
Better	18%	37%
As good as	18	22
Worse	49	34
As bad as	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%

* In these and all other tables appended, a difference of less than 10% is not reliably beyond chance owing to the number of cases involved.

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"In your opinion how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general; is it better than a year ago, or worse, or just the same? (Just as good, just as bad?)"

	Unemployed	All other
Better	15%	15%
As good as	31	31
Worse	40	43
As bad as	3	3
No opinion	11	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Is the total income of your family sufficient to take care of necessary expenses?"

	Unemployed	All others
Yes	30%	62%
No	70	38
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you have the feeling that the Western world pays enough attention to the West Berlin situation or not?"

	Unemployed	All others
Pays enough attention	76%	70%
Does not pay enough attention	21	26
No opinion	3	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you think the Western powers are doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could they do more?"

	Unemployed	All others
Doing everything possible	67%	61%
Could do more	33	36
No opinion	-	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you have the feeling that the West German people are concerned about the fate of West Berlin or are they indifferent? If "Indifferent": "In your opinion have the West German people already written off West Berlin or not?"

	Unemployed	All others
Concerned	39%	37%
Indifferent	46	45
Written off	13	10
No opinion	2	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you think the West German government is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

	Unemployed	All others
Doing everything possible	43%	45%
Could do more	53	49
No opinion	4	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German government up to now? (Satisfied or very satisfied; dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)"

	Unemployed	All others
Very satisfied	10%	4%
Satisfied	56	51
Dissatisfied, very		
dissatisfied	27	36
No opinion	7	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe that West Berlin will become the 12th Federal State within the foreseeable future?"

	Unemployed	All others
Yes	47%	43%
No	34	37
Qualified reply	1	1
No opinion	18	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"In your opinion, does the West German government seriously want West Berlin to become the 12th Federal State or not?"

	Unemployed	All others
Yes	53%	45%
No	36	42
No opinion	6	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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APPENDIX II

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DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYED AS COMPARED WITH REST OF WEST BERLIN POPULATION

	Unemployed	All others
<u>Sex:</u>		
Men	47%	46%
Women	<u>53</u>	<u>54</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Education:</u>		
Elementary school	79%	73%
Beyond elementary school	<u>21</u>	<u>27</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Income (monthly family):</u>		
0 - 299 DM	90%	65%
300 - 399 DM	7	17
400 DM and more	1	15
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Age:</u>		
Up to 29 years	21%	16%
30 - 39 years	16	20
40 - 49 years	34	23
50 - 59 years	22	18
60 years and over	<u>7</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Origin:</u>		
Natives	84%	86%
Refugees, expellees	<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Party Preference:</u>		
SPD	44%	44%
CDU/CSU	20	18
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	11	11
Other parties	6	3
No party	5	10
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Religion:</u>		
Catholics	16%	12%
Protestants	60	68
None	<u>16</u>	<u>20</u>
	100%	100%

Occupational Distribution of Unemployed Compared With that of Those Currently Employed

	Unemployed	Employed
Professional	9%	10%
Businessmen	3	13
White collar workers	29	21
Skilled laborers	25	22
Semi-skilled laborers	25	25
Domestic and protective services	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%

Length of Time Unemployed Have Been Looking for a Job

One to 3 months	10%
Four to 6 months	14
Seven to 12 months	11
One to 3 years	40
Four years and more	<u>17</u>
	100%

**EAST ZONE YOUTH'S APPRAISAL
OF WESTERN POLITICAL PAMPHLETS**

With Sidelights on Penetration of
Printed Matter into East Germany

Classification changed to

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by authority of **John P. Crespi**
PUB/RAS. February 27, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

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**EAST ZONE YOUTH'S APPRAISAL
OF WESTERN POLITICAL PAMPHLETS**
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INTRODUCTION

It is unlikely that in the immediate future the West will have as good an opportunity to spread its message as it had during the Communist sponsored World Youth Festival when hundreds of thousands of young East Germans crossed into West Berlin, most of them seeking information about the West. However, in addition to the sizeable daily number of East zone visitors to West Berlin, conferences, rallies, and meetings of the East and West will undoubtedly continue to be held in Berlin - the Catholics, for example, plan to have a wide scale gathering in August 1952 - so West Berlin will continue to hold the remarkable position it has as a permanent exhibit to the Eastern world.

To aid in future planning, Reactions Analysis Staff, Public Affairs, asked a sample of 146 young East German residents which of the information media they found most interesting on their visit to West Berlin. Special efforts were made to find out how valuable the youth judged political pamphlets to be, what subjects they were most interested in, whether or not they expected to take any of the material home with them, etc. This report is seventh in the series of reports based on surveys made among East zone youth during the World Youth Festival. Inasmuch as the interviews were conducted in youth centers where Western pamphlets were readily available to the East zone visitors, the results of this study reflect the attitudes of youth who at least on this trip to the West were exposed to more Western pamphlets than those who did not visit the centers.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The implications of this study are that political pamphlets emanating from the West would be read with interest by East Zone youth, if they were able to obtain them.

Not only did the large preponderance of young people from the Soviet Zone interviewed in this study assert that pamphlets were a valuable source of information to them, but could support this appraisal by first-hand acquaintance with the pamphlets made available to them during their West Berlin visit. Many had perused or read thoroughly a number of the pamphlets on hand, and almost without exception they were able to specify the content or title of one or more. A sizeable group also stated that they had gained new insights from the pamphlets, and many expected to smuggle some into East Germany when they returned home.

Pamphlets as a source of information on the West also stood up well in the opinions of these youth when they were placed in competition with other more dramatic/livelier media, such as films, television, discussions and exhibitions. Except for films which were accorded first place, they were rated as "most interesting" just about as frequently as the other media as sources of Western information.

Any pamphlets written for distribution in East Germany would presumably find a more interested audience among youthful readers if they dealt with the facts about the West, rather than with an exposé of the Eastern situation. Pamphlets on the West were preferred over those about the East by a ratio of two to one. But whatever the topic, the youth wanted them to be factual and truthful.

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Printed matter from the West appears to reach considerable proportions of the East German public. Four out of ten youths interviewed said that they had received some newspapers or magazines while at home in the East zone. The findings also suggest that the forbidden Western literature is also widely dispersed throughout East Germany and not confined to areas adjacent to Berlin. Most of the youth who had obtained reading matter had received it second-hand, either from Eastern or Western sources. Only a very few (2%) said that they themselves had picked it up when visiting the West. The implications of this are that once printed matter from the West crosses the border it has considerable pass along.

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HOW INTEREST IN POLITICAL PAMPHLETS COMPARES WITH OTHER MEDIA ...

When East zone young people were asked which of seven information media available to them in West Berlin (exhibitions, television, political pamphlets, discussions, films, daily newspapers, illustrated magazines) they found of most interest, about one third chose films. Comments of some of the youth indicated that the appeal of the movies lies in their dramatic or entertaining features rather than in their informative qualities.

Political pamphlets as a source of information about the West ranked favorably with the six other media suggested in the question. Considering that television was a novelty, and that discussions gave East zone youth the personal contact with Western youth that many eagerly sought, political pamphlets as a media had rather strong competition. Also, of the information sources listed, they were the only ones specifically designated as of a political nature and thus their appeal could be expected to be more limited than more comprehensive media.

"Which of the following possibilities of getting information in West Berlin interests you

most of all?" *
... and what else?"
... and what interests you least of all?"

	<u>Most inter- esting</u>	<u>Also inter- esting</u>	<u>Least inter- esting</u>
Films	34%	52%	8%
Television programs	15	21	4
Discussions	14	20	9
Political pamphlets	12	21	21
Exhibitions	10	33	11
Daily newspapers	8	28	4
Illustrated magazines	5	23	5
Others	1	2	-
All the same	1	-	35
No opinion	-	2	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100% **</u>	<u>100%</u>

* A card was given respondents listing the seven alternatives in the following order: Exhibitions, Television programs, Political pamphlets, Discussions, Films, Daily newspapers, and Illustrated magazines.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHY ARE SOME DISINTERESTED IN PAMPHLETS ?...

Political pamphlets were named as least interesting information source more often than the other media in question. Most of this group explained their lack of interest by saying that they "didn't want to have anything to do with politics". One boy explained that "my uncle was deported to Russia and my father told me not to concern myself with politics, as it is only a short way to the penitentiary." Several youngsters complained that the pamphlets were too boring - they were biased.

Reasons given for having least interest in political pamphlets:

<u>Lack of interest in politics; politics too dangerous; "Because politics are to blame for quarrels and instigations;" "When Western leaflets are dropped in the East some and somebody picks them up, he is suspected of being for war."</u>	14%
<u>They are too dull, boring, senseless;</u>	2
<u>They don't present a true picture - are a poor source of information;</u>	1
<u>Other reasons;</u>	2
<u>No reasons given;</u>	2
	<u>21%</u>

PAMPHLETS CONSIDERED VALUABLE SOURCE OF INFORMATION ...

Regardless of the appeal political pamphlets may or may not have to the youth personally, they do not minimize their importance as a source of information, with many going so far as judging them to be very valuable in this connection.

"Do you consider pamphlets a valuable means of enlightenment or not? (Very valuable or somewhat valuable?)"

Very valuable	62%
Somewhat valuable	22
Not valuable	12
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

The favorable appraisal of the informational worth of pamphlets appears to be based on the youth's own perusal of them. About eight in ten say that they looked at some pamphlets during their visit in West Berlin. And most of this group gave them more than a casual look - some reading them all the way through.

"Have you had the opportunity to look at any pamphlets in West Berlin?"

Yes	79%
No, had no opportunity	16
No, no interest	5
	<u>100%</u>

"And did you look at some of them a little more thoroughly?"
(are there any which you read all the way through?)"

Yes, looked at some thoroughly	46%
Yes, read some of them all the way through	20
No, not yet, will read them later	9
No	11
	<u>86%</u>

"Some respondents (7 %) read several pamphlets completely, and looked at others more thoroughly."

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Number of pamphlets East Zone Youth claim they...

	<u>Looked at more thoroughly</u>	<u>Read all the way through</u>
One pamphlet	6%	6%
Two pamphlets	8	5
Three pamphlets	5	1
Four pamphlets	5	2
Five pamphlets	9	1
Six or more	9	5
Indefinite	4	-
	<u>46%</u>	<u>20%</u>
Median average:	4	2

YOUTH FAMILIAR WITH CONTENTS OF PAMPHLETS ...

Evidence that the youth did more than hastily skim through the printed matter at their disposal appears when they were asked what the pamphlets were about. All but one of those queried on this point were able to either recall one or more titles of the pamphlets they looked at, or could describe in general terms the subject matter of at least one. "Die Tarantel" (the Tarantula) a satirical, many-cartooned leaflet put out by the SPD, appears to have made the biggest impression on the youngsters. As many as 42, or about half of those who looked at pamphlets while in West Berlin, spontaneously mentioned it. The pamphlets, "Der Schuman Plan", "Feinde Deutscher Jugend" (Enemy of German Youth), "Der Tip" (a pamphlet suggesting points of interest in West Berlin), and "Berliner Kram" were also mentioned frequently.

"Would you please tell me what these pamphlets were about?
(or the title)"

% recalling content of one pamphlet	21%
% recalling contents of two pamphlets	19
% recalling contents of three or more pamphlets	2
% recalling title of one pamphlet	26
% recalling titles of two pamphlets	15
% recalling titles of three pamphlets	10
% recalling titles of four or more pamphlets	14
% recalling neither title nor content	*
No answer:	1
* Less than one per cent	108% **

** Some respondents described contents and also mentioned title.

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INFORMATION IN PAMPHLETS REVEALING TO MANY ...

Most of the young people acquainted with the pamphlets said that they learned something from them that they didn't know before. Some of the answers, however, suggest that the enlightenment may have come from their visit to the West in general, and not particularly from the pamphlets they read. In describing what they found out, the largest proportion said that they had become aware of the real intentions of the East. A few mentioned specific items of information in the pamphlets that were new to them, such as the compiled evidence about the concentration camps, and the forced labor camps in Siberia.

"Have you learned anything from these pamphlets which you didn't know before?"
(asked of those who answered in previous question that they looked at some pamphlets more thoroughly, or read them completely)

Yes	42%
No	16
Undecided	1
	49%

WHAT EAST ZONE YOUTH SAY THEY LEARNED FROM PAMPHLETS THAT THEY DID NOT KNOW BEFORE...

About untrue Eastern propaganda - about the real intentions of the East - about the truth: Everything in the East is swindle; that the East wanted to dupe us (keep us ignorant); what things here are really like - as we have been told just the opposite; how we are cheated regarding our whole situation of life; etc. 12%

About the West: its aims, policies, political measures, propaganda
About the conditions in the Western countries, also about Western politics; that you don't hear people talking much about war; that these pamphlets don't incite as they have been telling us, but defend freedom instead; etc. 8

Revelations about certain persons, events, institutions, concentration camp incidents: about the concentration camps, the original reports, the compiled evidence (facts); the personal history of Walter Ulbricht, the truth about the FDJ; incidents in West Berlin; forced labor camps in Siberia; etc. 7

Comparison between East and West (in general): The difference between East and West; now I have seen them both, and I feel that something must be wrong with the DDR; I have convinced myself that the things we are told in the East some are not true; etc. 6

Comparison between East and West (political): The things here are not as bad as they have told us; there is no agitation against the Western Allies; overthere we have been told that the East zone is for peace, and that everything in the West is bad, that they rearm - now I can see that just the opposite is true; for what kind of peace they are fighting in our zone; etc. 4

Others: That the situation would be different if people would act accordingly; that you have to decide where you want to belong; that the complete truth is here - I didn't know that it was really like that; etc. 5

No opinion/ No answer: 1
49%

Some respondents gave more than answer

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Pamphlets mentioned at least twice:Number of
times mentionedTitles:

"Die Tarentel" ("The Tarentals")	42
"Der Schuman Plan" ("The Schuman Plan")	15
"Feinde Deutscher Jugend" ("Enemies of German Youth") (FDJ)	14
"Der Tip" ("The Tip")	13
"Berliner Krenal" ("Berliner Krenal")	10
"Die grosse Illusion" ("The Great Illusion")	7
"Der Marshallplan" ("The Marshallplan")	6
"Der Sport" ("The Sport")	6
"Bereit zur Arbeit und zur Verteidigung des Friedens" ("Ready to Work and Defend the Peace")	6
"Das Land der stummen Millionen" (The Country of the Dumb Millions)	5
"Zu Hilfe" ("To Help")	5
"Telegraf - Wochenpiegel" ("Telegraph - Mirror of the Week")	5
"Das Sovietische Herrschaftssystem" ("The Soviet Domination System")	4
"100 Worte Kominform" ("100 Words Cominform")	4
"Aufklaeren - aber wie?" ("Enlightenment - But How?")	4
"Arbeits mit" ("Let's Cooperate")	3
"Das Leben in der Soviet Union" ("Life in the Soviet Union")	3
"Was steckt dahinter?" ("What is Behind it?")	3
"Sovietisch erfunden" ("Soviet Fabrications")	3
"Die Wahrheit dem Volke" ("Truth for the People")	3
"Einheit und Frieden - aber wie?" (Unity and Peace - but how?)	3
"Kreatur" (Witzblatt) (Comic Pamphlet)	3
"Vereinigte Staaten von Europa" (United States of Europe)	3
"Von HJ zur FDJ" ("From Hitler Youth to Free German Youth")	2
"Die Woche" ("The Week")	2
"Die Freiheit" ("Freedom")	2
"John F. Becker an seinen Vater" ("John F. Becker to his Father")	2
"Jacob Bivler"	2
"Was will denn der mit dem Gewehr?" (Then what does he want with the Rifle?)	2
"El Compresino"	2
"Heute" ("Today")	2
"Fuer Deutschlands Freiheit" (Mundfunkrede von Dr. Kurt Schu- macher) ("For Germany's Freedom - Radio address by Dr. Kurt Schumacher")	2
"Die Frehe Botschaft" ("Joyful Tidings")	2

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MANY EXPECT TO TAKE PAMPHLETS HOME ...

Of the East zone youth who looked at pamphlets during their visit to the West Berlin Youth Centers, the largest proportion said that they expected to take some back to the East - with most of them saying that they expected to pass them on to others to read. *

The question asked was framed in such a way as to discourage the youth from saying too readily that they expected to take pamphlets home with them, in that the alternative, "or is that too dangerous" was provided.

"Will you take any pamphlets back to the East, or is that too dangerous?" (asked of those who looked at some pamphlets more thoroughly, or read them completely.)

Yes	36%
No, too dangerous	21
Undecided	2
	<hr/> 59%

DOES PRINTED MATTER REACH RESIDENTS IN THE EAST ZONE? ...

In order to throw some light on the question of whether or not printed matter from the West reaches residents in the East zone, the youth were asked if they personally had ever received newspapers, magazines, or pamphlets from the West while they were in the East zone. About four in ten answered that they had received newspapers and magazines. Only a handful report receiving pamphlets, however.

*Evidence that many of the youth who visited West Berlin actually did take back a number of pamphlets to the East, was found when RAS interviewed residents of the East zone who did not participate in the Festival, one month after its close. Results of these findings are reported in, "Are East Zone Youth spreading the Message of West Berlin?", RAS Report No. 110, Series No.2, November 26, 1951.

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More important than the overall figure is the suggestion that as many residents in areas a greater distance from Berlin - those living in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia - come in touch with Western literature as those who live in Brandenburg or Mecklenburg. It also appears that people living in villages as well as those in large cities have been reached by Western printed matter. The number of cases are too few to be conclusive on these points, but the indication suggests an area of further inquiry.

"Have you personally encountered any Western political pamphlets, newspapers, or magazines, while you were in the East zone?"

Yes, newspapers or magazines	30%
Yes, pamphlets	1
Yes, both pamphlets and newspapers	1
No	59
Don't remember	1
	<hr/> 100%

	Those who received Western Literature	Those who did not		No of cases
<u>Land</u>				
Brandenburg	14%	86%	100%	21
Mecklenburg	31	69		32
Saxony-Anhalt	45	55		27
Saxony	57	43		44
Thuringia	36	64		22
<u>Size of Town</u>				
Villages under 5,000	35	65		37
Towns between 5,000 - 50,000	38	62		55
Cities between 50,000 - 100,000	35	65		26
Cities over 100,000	50	50		24

Bearing out the thesis that printed matter which does reach people in a suppressed country is more cherished and remembered than that which circulates in a free country, is the fact that most of those who claim to have seen magazines or newspapers from the West were able to identify one or more of them even though, in some cases, months had elapsed since they had seen them.

A list of newspapers and magazines that the youth say they came across in the East zone is given here, although this is not meant to indicate the extent to which the particular papers or magazines actually do enter East Germany.

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	Number of times mentioned
"Telegraf" ("The Telegraph")	17
"Der Stern" (Illustrated paper)	12
Illustrated papers (no special title)	7
"Tagesspiegel" ("Daily Mirror")	7
"Die Neue Zeitung" (American newspaper in Germany)	6
"Der Abend" ("The Evening")	4
"Kurier" ("Courier")	2
"Muenchner Illustrierte" (Munich illustrated paper)	2
"Revue"	2
"Constance"	2
"Quick"	2
"Allgemeine Zeitung"	1
"Frankenpost"	1
"Stuttgarter Nachrichten" (Stuttgart News)	1
"Der Soldat" (The Soldier)	1
"Der Tag" ("The Day")	1
"Der Umsiedler" ("The Re-settler")	1
"Welt und Licht" ("World and Light")	1
"Woche" ("The Week")	1
"Frankfurter Illustrierte"	1
"Die Welt" ("The World")	1
"Socialdemokrat"	1
"Cowboy Heft"	1
"Cuxhavenor Tagblatt"	1
"Bremer Zeitung"	1
"Muenchner Anzeiger"	1
"Leaflets about the 5 Years Plan"	1

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT ...

A few of the Eastern youth say that they have come in contact with literature from the West as frequently as once a week, but most have had considerably fewer opportunities.

Approximate number of times youth say they received Western newspapers or magazines in the East zone:

More than once a week	15
One to four times monthly	10
Six to eleven times yearly	1
One to five times yearly	8
Less frequently	7
Don't remember or not ascertainable answers:	14
	<u>45</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

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SOURCE OF MATERIAL ...

The largest number of those interviewed said that they received the Western newspapers and magazines from their friends or relatives, without specifying if they got them through the mail, or personally. The fact that as few as 2 per cent picked them up themselves while in the West further indicates that once printed matter from the West gets into the East, it receives widespread circulation. *

A few mentioned sources that point to an active underground - "There is a source where you can order them daily and one doesn't know where they come from, or who is behind it." Another youth said "a stranger once pressed one in my hand." Another found some in a forest near Marionborn.

"Where did you get those newspapers or magazines?"

From friends, relatives, acquaintances;

(Without more particular information as to source);

17%

Through the mail; Were sent by my brother from West Germany; I have them sent over here by my brother from the West in a package; from a friend who receives them by mail; from one who is living in the same house with me and whose father in West Germany sends them sometimes; etc.

9

Friends or acquaintances brought them from the West; From an acquaintance who came from West Berlin on a visit; were brought by an acquaintance from West Berlin; etc.

9

Brought them from the West myself; When I was in West Berlin myself; I brought it from West Berlin myself; only during my earlier visits to West Berlin; etc.

2

By other means; There is a source where you can order them daily and one doesn't know where they come from or who is behind it; they lay in the Forest of Marionborn; in the school, a long time ago they were given out in the cooking school; a stranger once pressed a pamphlet in my hand; etc.

4

41% **

* That Eastern residents pass on Western literature to their friends and acquaintances is indicated on page 6 of this report, and in the previously quoted RAS Report #110.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

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SUGGESTIONS FOR GETTING PRINTED MATTER INTO THE EAST ...

In describing what they consider to be the best way of getting pamphlets from the West into the East zone, about half of the East German youth looked upon visits to the West, particularly West Berlin, as providing the best opportunities. They recommended carrying them over the border by concealing them under their shirts, hiding them in suitcases with false bottoms etc. Some suggested dropping them from planes, and others saw some possibilities in sending them through the mail. People in the West might use newspapers as packing material in packages they send, according to several of the youth.

A detailed proposal for circulating forbidden material from the West once it was in Eastern Germany was made by one of the youth - "Someone who is paddle boating should leave them on the beach, or on park benches, or restaurants, or throw them out of a train, or at night, from a moving car, or drop them while walking in the forest."

As seen in the following table, as few as one per cent were so pessimistic as to say that there was no way of getting printed matter into the East.

"In your opinion, what is the best way to get pamphlets from the West into the East zone?"

By personally carrying them from the West: Some people hide them under their shirts; by taking them along; only illegally - by visits and return visits; that can only be done by certain confidential persons who fetch the material from West Berlin; in the lining of the jacket, only personally; now, during the festival, because there is least control; suitcases with a false bottom; etc.

48%

Sending them as printed matter or as packing material through the mail: Through the mail - use phony names - they will reach someone; send parcels to friends among the youth; send them to the addressees of interested people in the East zone; send parcels without stating the sender's address, to addressees that have been picked out of the address books; only privately - as packing material; etc.

25

Dropping them from the air: Drop pamphlets from planes; from planes that drop them at night; dropping them from planes is the least dangerous for us; from balconies or planes; etc.

21

Anonymous distribution (in trains etc.): In the toilets of trains hiding them behind the wash basins and telling strangers - that is the way we used to do it; Put them among other papers; someone who is paddle boating should leave them on the beach, or on park benches, or in restaurants, or throw them out of a train, or at night, from a moving car, or drop them while walking in the forest; etc.

3

There exists no way:

1

Not applicable: To sell them for East currency overthere - I cannot think of anything else; etc.

1

No opinion: (no reasons given): I cannot judge, I don't know what the possibilities are to get them out of Berlin; it depends on the control, I don't know; etc.

11

116%

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WHICH TOPICS WOULD EASTERN YOUTH LIKE TO READ ABOUT?...

When the youth themselves were asked to propose a subject for a pamphlet that would interest youth in the DDR, they actually suggested that the pamphlet contain information about the West. As summarized that it carry enlightenment about conditions in the West. Most of the suggested topics are pleas for the truth - the youth want to know "what is really happening in the West" - "the truth about working conditions and remilitarization in the West" - "a pamphlet on the European youth organizations" - "what is done for the refugees in West Germany." On the other hand truth about the East is also desired - "show the youth what kind of an organization the FDJ actually is, what its goals really are" - "about the true conditions in the zone - write about the judgements of the FDJ members who were in West Berlin" - "show the peace propaganda of the East and the true face of it!"

Some suggested East-West comparisons. "A comparison of Truman's and Stalin's politics" - "contrast the FDJ and the Falcons" - "compare the Marshall Plan and the Five Year Plan!"

The title, "Bist Du noch Deutscher?" (Are you still a German?) was proposed for a pamphlet that would appeal to the German youth's national pride, to inspire him to refuse to act as informer and stooge. Another youth would like to read a pamphlet on Justice. He said, "we no longer know what is just and what is unjust."

"And now we would like to have you propose a subject for a pamphlet that would interest the youth in the DDR."
("And what else?")

Enlightenment and information about the West: They should show us what is really happening in the West; entertaining literature from the Western world from which we can learn what things are like in the West; the truth about the West - about working conditions and remilitarization; about youth organizations in West Germany - about the Schuman plan; the European youth organizations; what life is like in the West and how the people live here; how things really are - what the West really wants - what is done for the refugees in West Germany; something colorful and entertaining about daily questions - what is going on in the West, perhaps a little about politics - i.e. this one newsreel showed how the King of England went on his vacation and how the princess took over the government; etc.

46%

Enlightenment and information about the East: The truth about life behind the Iron Curtain; the truth about the USSR - what they promise to us and what is really true; enlightenment about the FDJ and what's become of it; truth about Communism and the DDR; the peace propaganda of the East and the true face of it; enlightenment about the real purpose of the people's police - what becomes of the goods in the East zone; enlightenment about the East - the truth about the East; etc.

23

Comparisons between East and West: Enlightenment about freedom in the West and what things are like here in contrast to it - comparison between life and freedom in the East and West - about the FDJ and the Falcons; a comparison of Truman's and Stalin's politics; about true and free democracy and what ours is really like; comparison of the Marshall Plan and our Five Year Plan; the unification of Europe and comparisons of freedom in the East and West; to show statistically the life of the youth in East and West as a comparison; life here in contrast to life overthere - the opportunities the youth have in life here; etc.

14

Special subjects: Why Germany does not get her colonies back; progress of science; correspondence with young people from other countries; about justice - we don't know what is just and what is unjust; adventure and mystery stories; about

(Cont'd on next page)

-11-

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cultural issues; a subject about agriculture - about prices in the West and the agricultural quotas; nice novels and horoscopes; "Are you still a German?" one should appeal to people so they refuse to serve as informers and stooges - one should appeal to their national pride; leaflets with "I've got out"; about freedom in general; enlightenment about unemployment - mercenary troops, foreign legion, remilitarization and about the servility of the DDR government to the Russians; inventions in every field from all over the world; etc. 13%

Sports: A pamphlet that doesn't contain anything about politics - the construction of gliders and the glider sport would be of interest to the youth; about sports in the West; about sports and which sports are healthy; about sport matters; sport papers from everywhere in the world; etc. 6

About daily events and world events: The truth about Korea; about Korea and the fighting in the colonial countries; daily news from all parts of the world with pictures; news about world events - not propaganda and not so much about politics, that is revolting; what is really going on in the world; the general world situation; etc. 4

No opinion / No answer: 13

119%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

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AN APPRAISAL OF THE IMPACT OF THE BERLIN
CULTURAL FESTIVAL

Report No. 127

Series No. 2

March 10, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

INTRODUCTION

This report on the repercussions on the West Berlin population of the cultural festival held in Berlin during September 1951, is based on a survey made in November 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. Although the report has been postponed owing to more pressing priorities, the findings remain pertinent as indicative of the impact on public attitudes of such programs in general rather than as an appraisal of the Berlin event in itself.

The findings are derived from a probability sample embracing 406 cases representative of the population in the three Western sectors of Berlin.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The fact that the cultural festival had occurred was widely known among West Berliners, as was the participation by the US, Great Britain and France in the events. Appraisal of the various presentations, including the American, was on the whole preponderantly favorable. West Berliners were especially laudatory regarding the implications of the festival to Berlin which they largely interpreted as indicating Berlin's return to its rightful role as a cultural center.

But notwithstanding these generally favorable reactions, no evidence was disclosed in the present study that the festival had any influence on West Berliner's basic attitudes on the worth of American culture as judged either by what it could contribute to Germany or in comparison with that of other West European countries, including Germany. Those who reported some contact with the event, among whom the better educated bulked large, had no better opinions of American culture than did those in similar educational groups who knew nothing of the festival.

All in all, then, the festival was favorably received and apparently engendered considerable good will among Berlin residents particularly as another indication of American and West European interest in, and appreciation of, Berlin as a key center culturally as well as politically. This achievement may perhaps be considered an adequate return on the efforts and funds invested in the festival.

However, any expectations of effecting a more basic reorientation of cultural attitudes by means of such an event did not appear to have been realized. Possibly, in view of the relatively transitory and low-budget character of the event, any fundamental attitudinal reorientations could not be, and were not, anticipated. In any case, the festival did not appear to have been effective at this level.

I. PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE WEST BERLIN CULTURAL FESTIVAL

Judged by standards of awareness and generalized approval, the cultural festival held last summer in West Berlin may be considered to have been quite successful. The fact that the awareness tended more often to be superficial than detailed, and that approval was based more frequently on hearsay than on direct impact is probably to be expected in an event of this nature. By design, the cultural festival was presumably intended to exert its most effective appeal to the somewhat limited number of theater and concert goers rather than to the broader public.

WIDESPREAD AWARENESS OF THE CULTURAL FESTIVAL ...

Four in ten (38%) West Berliners spontaneously mentioned the festival when queried on what they considered to be "the most important recent cultural event in Berlin." An added 5 per cent, though not specifically mentioning the festival, referred to particular events included in it. Another four in ten (41%) said they had heard of the festival in response to a direct question. Thus eight out of ten West Berliners were aware that it had occurred.

"In your opinion, what was the most important recent cultural event in Berlin?"

The Berlin cultural festival	38%
One event of the Berlin cultural festival	5
Other events	23
No opinion	34
	<u>100%</u>

"Have you heard of the cultural festival recently held in Berlin or not?" (Asked of those who did not name the cultural festival in the above question)

Yes	41%
No	21%
	<u>62%</u>

As a further measure of knowledge of the festival, the eight out of ten Berliners who were aware of it were asked first to name the participating countries, and second whether they had read or heard reports on it.

PREPONDERANCE KNEW MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS ...

The fact that the three Western powers participated in the festival was known by the large majority of those aware of its occurrence, though somewhat fewer knew of British than of American or French participation. But that all of the aware group did not have the cultural festival in mind, but some other international show is indicated by the fact that three in ten mentioned countries that did not actually take part in the festival (e.g. Italy, Switzerland, Sweden), but had participated in a previous film festival as also of course had the three Western powers. And almost a fifth (17%) could not name any contributors.

"As far as you can remember, which countries (other than Germany) participated in the Berlin Cultural Festival?"

America	74%
England	63
France	71
Others	31
No opinion	17
	<u>256%*</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer. This and the following questions in Part I were asked only of the 79% who were aware of the festival, i.e. comprised a sample of 372 out of the total sample of 406 cases.

RESTRICTED

AWARENESS OF US OFFERINGS MORE LIMITED ...

But the specific American contributions to the festival were known by considerably fewer than were aware that the US had participated, as is revealed by the total results of various questions which either afforded respondents an opportunity to mention US productions spontaneously, or queried them directly on the point. In response to a direct inquiry (coming toward the end of the interview), a three-fifths preponderance stated they knew nothing of any American offerings. The remaining 37 per cent had been able to name various productions for the most part spontaneously which they had personally attended, heard via radio, or viewed on television. Among those so mentioned, Oklahoma was far in the lead, largely as will be seen, because of its radio broadcasts. The total mentioning US offerings is as follows:

Oklahoma	30%
Hall Johnson Choir	7
Medea	2
Other	1
	<hr/> 40%*

* Some people mentioned more than one offering.

PARTICIPATION IN THE FESTIVAL ...

The public's contact with the festival, aside from hearsay and reports, was more frequently via radio than by attendance at any of the performances or by television. Audience participation breaks down as follows:**

... 57 per cent heard radio broadcasts of various festival events

... 14 per cent attended one or more of the events, and

... 11 per cent saw the televised events (4% Oklahoma).

Among the radio broadcasts, 14 per cent had heard Oklahoma, and 4 per cent the Hall Johnson Choir. Twenty per cent had heard concerts and song recitals. Very few had heard any broadcasts of British or French productions, but 11 per cent had listened to radio presentations of various German offerings.

The 14 per cent who had attended the dramatic or musical productions of the festival had on the average been present at two events. Of the American productions, Oklahoma appears to have drawn the relatively largest proportion. However, German productions seem to have been attended more frequently than the Western presentations.***

** The questions used: "Did you hear any radio broadcasts of the programs during the festival?" "Which broadcasts did you hear?" "Were you able to attend any cultural programs during the Berlin festival?" "Which programs?" "And did you see any television shows of the program during the festival?" If "Yes": "Were these programs in the German or the English language?" (The latter was a "confusion control" question to eliminate the audience of previous television showings in West Berlin.)

***The number of cases involved in 14 per cent of a sample of 372 is too small for a reliable cataloging of attendance at specific events.

Apparently a considerable fraction (64%) of the people who had heard of the festival had also either read or heard reports and criticisms about the festival - although only 15 per cent said they were familiar with "many" reports. More than a third (36%) had not read or heard reports on the festival.

"Have you had an opportunity to read or hear reports and criticisms about the festival or not?"

Yes, many	15%
Yes, some	26
Yes, but only few	23
No	36
	<u>100%</u>

BUT LARGE PREPONDERANCE UNABLE TO APPRAISE EVENTS ...

Despite the fact that many stated they had read or heard of reports of the festival, the large preponderance were unable to make any appraisal of the public reaction to any of the productions. Six in ten had no idea of what productions were considered, by hearsay or reports, to have scored the greatest success; eight in ten were unable to name events which reputedly had had the least success.

Those who were prepared to make an appraisal of the public reception of the various offerings tended more often to name German productions as having been the most successful than those of any of the three Western participants. Only a few (4%) mentioned the American offerings as scoring the greatest success (Oklahoma, Hall Johnson Choir, Moders), but about as many singled one or the other out as least successful. The British did not do any better, but Marcel Marceau's French pantomime group was considered the greatest hit of the festival by 8 per cent, and no one named it a failure.

"According to what you have heard about it, which of the programs of the festival is considered the most successful?"

German Productions	21%
French Productions	
Marcel Marceau	8
Comedie Francaise	1
American Productions	
Oklahoma	3
Hall Johnson Choir	1
Moders	*
British Productions	
Othello	1
Unspecified	
Concerts, song recitals, etc.	2
Operas	*
Miscellaneous	4
No opinion / No answer	59
	<u>100%</u>

"And which is considered the least successful?"

German Productions	10%
American Productions	
Oklahoma	4
Moders	2
Other American Guest Shows	*
British Productions	
Othello	*
Unspecified	
Operas	*
Concerts	*
Miscellaneous	2
None, all were successful	1
No opinion	81
	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent

R E S T R I C T E D

APPRAISAL OF US PRODUCTIONS ...

Although the American offerings did not often come spontaneously to mind when the popular successes of the festival were being named, they emerged in a more favorable light in response to a direct query. Among the 37 per cent aware of individual US productions, the opinion that they were favorably received outweighed the contrary view by a three to one preponderance.

"Was your impression of the American programs good or bad on the whole?"

Good	21%
Bad	6
No opinion	10
	<u>37%</u>

The two performances on which favorable impressions were based were the two which apparently received the widest attention in general - Oklahoma and the Hall Johnson Choir. References in praise of Oklahoma are the most frequent and include comments on the music, style, performances, and general production. The Hall Johnson Choir was lauded primarily for its musical and artistic accomplishment.

"Was your impression of the American programs good or bad on the whole?"

If "Good": "On what do you base this good impression mainly?"

Reference to Oklahoma:

Melodies:

Beautiful melodies; the music was tops; they had very nice rhythms; the kind of music - the instruments - the rhythm; the music and pace - it was nice to listen to; the music was good and well suited to the play; the songs were good; the nice and catchy tunes; etc.

7%

Production in general:

The good arrangement - I thought it was good from a technical viewpoint; the colors of the costumes and the scenery were clear and lively; it was arranged on a very grand scale, the Americans have a bigger setup for everything; Oklahoma was supposed to have been quite good - not so one-sided as our plays - good arrangement - some Western background - some Vaudeville; Oklahoma was a good performance and a good study of American standards; it was art - there was something poetic about it; the performance was good - the choreography was good too; etc.

5

Acting and singing:

The pictures in the newspapers were very nice and the singers are supposed to be very good; the voices and the acting were good; good actors; the natural ways of the actors; the ensemble was good - good voices; they sang very well; the actors were good; good actors, excellent cast; etc.

3

A fresh and healthy conception of life:

The naturalness of the plot; the free and uninhibited characterization - their naturalness; it was close to life - lively; the happy-go-lucky conception of life - the optimistic note that determines the action; the freshness of it made a good impression; the wonderfully healthy conception of art and nature; it was easy to understand - a real play for the people; the whole presentation was fresh and natural - that's what I liked best about it; etc.

3

(cont'd on next page)

The novel style:

It was basically quite differently arranged; because it is a different style from ours; it is interesting to learn about a different style of operetta - the mixture of folklore and popular melodies appealed to me; this new kind of operetta - this "singing action" - I liked; that was something different - we don't have anything like this in general; etc.

2

Other references to Oklahoma:

Everybody could understand this operetta; Oklahoma was charming - I would like to see more musicals like that; I think that what we see here from America is not first class - it was second class - and for that it was good enough; because of the general good criticism - Friedrich Luft applauded it; they were very successful because they had a high standard; etc.

2

Reference to the Hall Johnson Choir:

Art of singing:

I heard some good rehearsals by this choir; they had good voices in it; especially the Negro choir - terrific voices and excellent technique; the artistic achievements of the choir; the Negro singers are an artistic experience for me - beautiful and primitive at the same time; the touching artistic achievement of the Johnson Choir; they sang beautifully; because we had an entirely different conception of Negroes in the past - the voices and the whole performance in general made a deep impression on me; I liked the Negro choir very much - they were so natural; I can only say that this choir is supposed to be excellent; etc.

3

Other references to the choir:

The modest manners of the members of the choir; we only heard praise of the choir; the choice of songs; the folk songs were deep and meaningful too; perhaps because I am a lover of music - the kind of music had an appeal for me; etc.

2

Reference to Medea:

Production and arrangement:

Medea wasn't bad; return to the old classical tragic style in contrast to the emotional understatement which is a common device on the American stage; etc.

*

Other opinions (general):

Oklahoma and the Hall Johnson Choir - both of them had well trained casts - good voices too; (String Quartett: a good artistic performance; Oklahoma and the Negro choir: it meets the taste of the people, even if it is only the taste of a small group; etc.

1

No opinion:

$\frac{2}{50\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS WHY AMERICAN PRODUCTIONS NOT FAVORABLY RECEIVED ...

Comments of the critics suggest that the folk theme of Oklahoma was misunderstood, or too remote for German understanding. They said, for example, "Oklahoma is too superficial, too broad, it had some nice tunes, though"; or, "It did not have any standards, it was a provincial play (soldier show), Berliners should not be presented with anything so primitive"; "It's too noisy, we aren't used to so much noise"; "It wasn't to German taste, too confused probably."

A criticism of Modena was its alleged failure to adhere to the classical tradition. They said, "The Americans (supposedly) modernized it too much"; "Americans could never act classical plays, they don't have the feeling for it as one can tell from their theatrical productions." No adverse criticisms were made of the Hall Johnson Choir.

FESTIVAL GENERALLY CONSIDERED ADVANTAGEOUS TO BERLIN ...

Finally the vast majority aware of the festival were agreed that the festival was a good thing for their city. Regardless of how limited personal spectator participation in it might have been, 86 per cent felt that the festival had had a significant effect on the Berlin scene.

"Was the festival, in your opinion, of special significance for Berlin?"

Yes	86%
No	3
No opinion	11
	<u>100%</u>

Though the two most frequently single reasons given for saying the festival put Berlin in the limelight were first that it reestablished Berlin as an international city as well as one whose unique situation could be recognised by the world (24%); and, second, that the city's economy was improved thereby, about half of those commenting referred in various ways to the cultural gains resulting from the festival.

"What was the significance for Berlin?"

The world's attention was drawn to Berlin:

Berlin was thereby recognized as a world city, it is no longer a provincial town - Berlin had been made an international meeting place; Berlin had been placed in the limelights of the world's interest; the eyes of the world were directed toward Berlin, it became popular; it was an essential contribution to the significance of Berlin on the European continent; the attention of the foreigners was drawn to Berlin; foreigners and West Germans were able to form a personal opinion of the conditions in Berlin; many foreigners had come to Berlin who saw that much had been reconstructed here; etc. 24%

Berlin's economy was helped by the tourist traffic, circulation of money increased:

In the economic realm - money was funneled into Berlin; the tourist traffic was greater, Berlin earned money; many foreign tourists who were here made money circulate; business gained; foreigners stayed here who brought money along; etc. 23

The cultural significance of Berlin was emphasized:

In cultural respect Berlin stood in the center of the world events; Berlin, once again, was the center of cultural events as it used to be at one time; that Berlin once again became a cultural center within the Federal Republic and Europe; it was a testimony that Berlin had regained its position as the cultural capital of Germany; etc. 18

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

New connections and acquaintances were made, and the spiritual unity with other nations was promoted:

As a tie between the nations; in order to connect Berlin with the other nations culturally; the nations approached mutually each other, the spiritual unity between the participating nations was promoted; the European idea found a realization on a cultural basis; we became acquainted with the cultural achievements of other nations; cultural exchange between the individual nations besides developing friendly relations with others; etc.

16%

It was an appreciation of Berlin's political situation, particularly as an outpost of democracy to which the West demonstrated its alliance:

It was a favor given to the Berliners, an obeisance - we saw that the world had not forgotten West Berlin; it demonstrated that Berlin is not out off; a gesture of the free world, we are to be shown that Berlin is part of it; because so many foreigners stayed here, which demonstrated to the Russians that we are not deserted; many foreigners have come here who gave a backing to the population of Berlin; etc.

9

It conveyed a picture of Western cultural achievements to the East and enabled it to attend the festival:

The East was to be given a chance to attend the festival the Eastern population had a chance to get acquainted with Western artists; as a show window to the East; the West showed to the East what it is able to offer in the cultural field; they influenced the Russian sector, they flashed freedom over there; etc.

9

The population was stimulated, cultural life was stimulated:

The cultural rebirth of Berlin was stimulated; they gave a strong stimulant to the cultural life in Berlin; revival of the Berlin theater life, promotion of needy actors; once again many artists stayed here who we knew formerly; many of the well-known singers and actors once again visited Berlin; people were given more opportunity than usual to attend good shows, which gave them more stimulation, entertainment and education; etc.

9

Berlin realized that it is not forgotten:

Because Berlin is in such a lonely position, it is always an encouragement for us, when any festivals are held here; since we live as on an island this was quite stimulating to us; etc.

1

Other reasons:

It meant a festival only to well-to-do people, the bulk of the population could not afford it; it seriously harmed Berlin politically, considering the economic situation of Berlin it constituted an unjustifiable luxury; etc.

2

No opinion:

112%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. REPERCUSSIONS OF THE FESTIVAL ON BASIC ATTITUDES TOWARD US CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The relatively widespread awareness of the cultural festival and favorable reception accorded it by those West Berliners who knew it had occurred should not be taken as an indication that the event led any appreciable number of West Berliners to a more favorable impression of the general cultural level of the United States. This was not the case. The findings reported in this section reveal that the Berlin cultural festival contributed little or nothing to increasing West Berliner's basic appreciation of intellectual, dramatic and artistic developments in the US and their possible contribution to Germany. Possibly a transitory and limited-budget event of this nature could not be expected to affect basic attitudes; in any case, it did not.

As a general measure of West Berliners' reactions to the American cultural contribution, a series of questions was included in the survey that afforded respondents the opportunity to evaluate it in relation to other fields of endeavor, and as compared with other countries including Germany.

The results to the query assessing the relative US contribution in four different areas indicate that West Berliners were of the view that the German people could learn more from the Americans about education and politics than about cultural matters or social welfare. Almost four in ten (37%) stated that the Germans could learn nothing culturally from the US.

"In your opinion, could the Germans learn much, something, or nothing from the Americans in the following fields?"

	Much	Something	Nothing	No opinion
Education	29%	42%	15%	14%...100%
Social Welfare	12	23	42	23
Politics	42	27	13	18
Cultural fields	17	35	37	11

Those who were informed about the festival exhibited no greater tendency to applaud US cultural achievements than did those who knew nothing at all about the festival, as is revealed in the results of the cross-analysis below:

	Those who had not heard of festival	Those who had heard of festival and knew America participated	Those who had heard something about American performances in the festival
Say we have <u>much</u> to learn from America in cultural field	24%	14%	12%
Say we can learn <u>something</u>	21	38	43
Say we can learn <u>nothing</u>	20	44	41
No opinion	35 100%	4 100%	4 100%

The above table would appear to suggest not only that the festival failed to increase appreciation of any American contribution to Germany of an intellectual and artistic nature, but had in fact a negative effect. But this is not the case as is evident when the above comparisons are analyzed further, this time holding the factor of education constant. The explanation this analysis suggests is that the bulk of the people informed of the festival were those of more than average education. Since the better educated tend to be more critical than others of what America might contribute culturally to Germany, they remained more critical notwithstanding the festival. The festival, that is to say, did nothing to increase West Berliners' admiration for American culture in general.

Culturally, the US Can Teach Germany

	Much	Something	Nothing	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>By Educational Groups:</u>					
Elementary	20%	34%	31%	15%	269
Beyond elementary	11	37	49	3	137
<u>By Knowledge of Festival & Education:</u>					
<u>Knew nothing of festival:</u>					
Elementary *	25	21	18	36	76
<u>Knew of festival and US participation in it:</u>					
Elementary	16	41	38	5	131
Beyond elementary	8	40	50	2	109

The fact that the lower educated groups who were aware of the festival tended to hold opinions on American cultural contributions that were similar to those of the better educated suggests that they were what may be called "the educated uneducated," i.e. people without a great deal of formal schooling, but sharing the views and critical attitudes of their more formally educated fellows.

AMERICAN CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION COMPARED WITH OTHER COUNTRIES ...

... As compared with the other two Allied contributors to the Festival, France and Great Britain, approximately as many Berliners assert that the Germans could learn most from the United States, culturally as from France, Britain as a model appears to rank below either the US or France, though the difference was not reliably beyond chance, because of sample limitations.

"And from which country do you believe Germany could learn most in regard to culture?"

America	21%
France	18
England	10
Italy	7
Others	29
No opinion	15
	100%

* Figures for the better educated are not shown as so few of them were unaware of the festival... 96 per cent of the unaware group were in the lower educational levels.

The artistic and intellectual achievements of the US, as compared with Germany were ranked as lower by a quarter of the West Berliners. The preponderance, however, considered them to be equal (49%) or even higher (14%).

"According to everything you have heard here in Germany about America's achievements in the cultural field, do you have the impression that American culture is approximately on the same level as German culture, or is American culture on a higher or a lower level?"

Approximately on the same level	49%
Higher	14
Lower	24
Qualified answers	3
No opinion	10
	<u>100%</u>

Again, awareness of the cultural festival did not lead to a better impression of American culture as compared with that of other countries, and though the educational differences are not shown, education was again the compelling factor in the overall judgments.

Those who had not heard of festival	Those who had heard of festival and knew America participated	Those who had heard something about American performances in the festival.
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From which country can Germany learn the most in cultural fields?

America	29%	18%	14%
France	2	18	36
Other countries	29	53	45
No opinion	40	11	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Cultural level of America as compared to Germany:

America on same level	37%	54%	52%
America on higher level	18	10	11
America on lower level	21	28	27
No opinion	24	8	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
No. of cases:	80	133	109

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CURRENT TRENDS IN WEST BERLIN OPINIONS
ON ISSUES RELATED TO THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE

Report No. 126

Series No. 2

March 29, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS, ANALYSIS, STATE

INTRODUCTION

The present report on the current attitudes of the West Berlin public toward various international issues bearing on the East-West struggle continues the study of West Berlin opinion as previously reported in "The Current State of West Berlin Morale."

The findings are based mainly on a survey made in December 1951 by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, utilizing a probability sample of 600 cases representing the population of West Berlin. Trend findings for West Berlin as well as comparisons with West German attitudes are based on probability samples of 250, 300 or 400 cases for Berlin and 800 cases for West Germany. The most recent trend finding reported was obtained in a survey made in February 1952; the earliest date back to February 1947.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

Attitudes of West Berliners toward the international issues relating to the East-West conflict indicate that the West Berlin population continue on the whole to be strongly aligned with the West. Their expressed allegiance is also markedly more prevalent than is that of their West German compatriots. But notwithstanding the fact that the large majority of the West Berlin people continue to identify themselves with the West, trend comparisons reveal an unmistakable "erosion" in confidence in the West. While as yet the lessening in confidence appears on the average to be slight, if the present downward trend should continue it would obviously pose a serious cause for concern. The main findings are summarized as follow:

- ... West Berliners' evaluation of US policy toward Russia demonstrates a marked decline in confidence. Here the trend has shifted from preponderant satisfaction to a point where dissatisfaction compares on even terms with approval. The shift does not derive apparently from any increased sympathy for the Soviet cause. On the contrary, the basis for dissatisfaction is almost entirely the alleged leniency of the US toward the Russians.
- ... Although a very large majority (85%) continue to believe the Americans will stay in Berlin as long as necessary for that city's security, the proportion has declined twelve points since April 1950, when 97 per cent said that the Americans would stay in Berlin.

- * Report # 125, Series # 2, dated February 29, 1952. This report revealed that the state of West Berlin morale was currently at a high level, especially as it pertained to civic loyalty and recognition of Berlin's key role in the East-West struggle. While West Berliners' evaluation of their personal situation mirrored the difficult economic conditions prevalent in Berlin, this did not appear to have seriously impaired the prevailing mood. Morale as measured by confidence in the Western powers' readiness to aid Berlin also was reported as remaining high, on the whole, though some reduction was observed as compared with the airlift period. Confidence in West Germany's regard for the Berlin situation was, however, much lower than it was vis-a-vis the Western powers.

RESTRICTED

- On the issue of the comparative strength of the Western and Communist powers, confidence in the West has also dropped ten points. In April 1950, 77 per cent named the West as the stronger; in December 1951, 67 per cent expressed this view. Despite the decline, however, Berliners appear to be more favorably impressed than the West Germans, only 45 per cent of whom held the West to be stronger than the Communists, (May 1951).
- ... Whatever the loss in confidence in the West suggested by the foregoing findings, it does not appear to derive from any defeatism on the part of the West Berlin public. Now as formerly, more than nine out of ten say they would resist Russian aggression by every means at hand, should the occasion arise. And here, again, the Berliners exhibit greater firmness than does the West German public.
- ... Nor does the drop in confidence appear to reflect a skepticism about democratic ideology. For the first time since the question was initially asked in 1947, a majority of West Berliners express preference for a government guaranteeing civil liberties over one guaranteeing economic security, if the two are considered as mutually exclusive.
- ... On a series of questions where no trends are available, comparisons with West German findings indicate that the Berliners take a position more favorable to the West than do their countrymen in the Federal Republic.
 - ... On American policy toward West Germany, 71 per cent in Berlin as compared with 55 per cent in West Germany find it satisfactory.
 - ... Seven in ten (68%) of the West Berliners in contrast to 33 per cent of West Germans advocate West Germany's siding with the West in the East-West struggle. Only 25 per cent in Berlin, as compared with 52 per cent in West Germany, recommend neutrality, when the issue is framed in general terms.
 - ... Three quarters (74%) in Berlin as compared with 37 per cent in West Germany state that they favor West German participation in the defense of West Europe. But though the Berliners reveal stronger support for military participation than do the West Germans, some loss of confidence has also occurred on this issue. The trend of replies on another query on participation reveals that whereas in August 1950, 86 per cent in Berlin stated that they favored West German participation in the Atlantic pact organization, the proportion had declined to 76 per cent in February 1952.

I. TRENDS IN OPINIONS ON INTERNATIONAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

SATISFACTION WITH US RUSSIAN POLICY HAS DECLINED ...

On the key issue of the evaluation of American policy toward Russia, a marked shift in Berlin attitudes has occurred. In April 1950, the preponderance (56%) expressed satisfaction with the U.S. handling of its Russian policy. By December 1951 this proportion had declined 15 points with the result that satisfaction compares no better than even with dissatisfaction.

"In general, are you satisfied, or dissatisfied with the American policy toward Russia?"

WEST BERLIN

	April 1950	Dec. 1951
Satisfied	56%	41%
Dissatisfied	30	39
Partly / Partly	9	9
No opinion	5	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The adverse trend should not be interpreted as an indication of shifting loyalties, however, for there is little or no pro-Soviet sentiment to be found among the critics of American treatment of Russian affairs. Rather, the main point of disagreement (42%) is the alleged leniency of the U.S. toward Russia. Only 4 per cent suggest a pro-Russian position in their criticisms of US policy.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy toward Russia?"

If "Dissatisfied" and "Partly/Partly": "With what are you dissatisfied?"

The American policy lacks determination: The Americans don't use the chance of checking the Russians - they have the opportunity to weaken their economy, they need not supply them with either iron or steel; they could fight against Communism, the Russian regime, more vigorously and stop Communism from growing in other countries; diplomacy is, of course, important and may be good in some cases, but there are situations where the Americans should show more energy; the Americans put up with too much from the Russian side, they could take a firmer stand, and not all the while make requests of the Russians but meet them with more determination and have the say; sometimes they let too much pass by, they should show more energy but not go so far as to make war; they are too slack for me, the recall of MacArthur was very wrong; America offers her hand to Russia, she is too indulgent; etc.

42%

The Americans should be more lenient, should try to come to some agreement with the Russians: They are too brusque toward Russia - they should try to come to terms in a friendly way, both countries could live well without annoying each other; they should come to terms, the Americans are just as stubborn as the Russians, they should at least consider the Russian offers - if it should become evident that these offers are just sham, they can still renounce them, but, to start with, they should sit down and talk; the Americans should pretend to give in to the Russians, and then push ahead more strongly afterwards, maybe they would attain more this way; etc.

3

The Americans have allowed the Russians to grow strong and have trusted them too much: The Russians never should have been allowed to win a foothold; the Americans, in the first place, have allowed the Russians to enter Germany, they ought to have bid them stop much sooner; they are frightfully scared of the Russians, but they are responsible for all this, they allowed the Russians to enter too far into Germany, they have no self-confidence; they trusted Stalin too much, the air lift would have been unnecessary if to begin with they had demanded a direct approach from Berlin into West Germany; etc.

1

Others: If they had traded more with each other, then the situation wouldn't have deteriorated into such a critical state; the differences in politics and economics are great, Russia has lost two wars while America has merely made a profit out of two wars; they boast too much about their latest inventions (atom bomb), they get the Russians irritated, who now try to find uranium themselves; they lack a proper guide line to stick to, and also they should inform the world of their negotiations; etc.

2
48%

RESTRICTED

LARGE MAJORITY CONTINUES TO EXPECT THE US TO STAY IN BERLIN, BUT CONFIDENCE HAS DECLINED ...

West Berliners clearly make a distinction between the U.S. Russian policy in general and its Berlin aspects. For American policy as reflected in the maintenance of the security of West Berlin continues to receive a very large vote of confidence from the residents of the city. As of December 1951, 85 per cent were of the opinion that the Americans would remain in Berlin as long as security reasons required their presence. Despite the impressive size of the affirmative vote, however, it represents a decline as compared with April 1950 when a remarkable 97 per cent expressed confidence in the Americans' staying in Berlin as long as necessary.

"Do you believe that the Americans will remain here as long as it is necessary for the security of West Berlin, or will they leave earlier?"

WEST BERLIN

	April 1950	June 1950	December 1951
Remain here	97%	94%	85%
Leave earlier	2	4	12
No opinion	1	2	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

WEST CONSIDERED STRONGER THAN EAST, BUT AGAIN TREND IS DOWNWARD ...

Notwithstanding the fact that many West Berliners feel that the United States should show greater firmness toward Russia, the view that the Western powers are currently stronger than the Communist powers outweighs the contrary opinion by more than four to one. But confidence in the West as measured by this query, also appears to have declined somewhat during the past year and a half. In April 1950, 77 per cent named the West as stronger than the East; in December 1951, 67 per cent held this view. As compared with West German findings obtained in the spring of 1951, Western strength vis-a-vis the Communist is rated more favorably by the Berliners than the West German public.

"All things considered, who appears to you to be stronger at the moment - the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	WEST BERLIN		WEST GERMANY
	April 1950	Dec 1951	May 1951
Communist powers	12%	15%	19%
Western powers	77	67	45
Both the same	8	12	14
No opinion/No answer	3	6	22
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The economic power of the Western powers is the consideration most frequently advanced by the group rating them stronger than the Communists. The West's military strength, political position and its moral and cultural superiority are also mentioned with some frequency.

Similar arguments are given for regarding the Communist powers as stronger than the West by the fraction holding such an opinion. None of this group, however, grant moral or cultural superiority to the East.

"In what respect are the Western powers stronger?" (If Western powers named)

In the economical and technical field: Better economic cooperation; more capital; a bigger economic area; better developed industries; higher productive capacity; in financial respects; more resources and raw materials; higher economic and armament potential; atomic science; inventions; free market economy is better; they are superior in number; they have a lot of people; etc.

38%

In the military field: Weapons are better; air force - have more planes; modern weapons; tactically and strategically; more war material; atom bomb; more powerful army; etc.

25

In the political field: In the diplomatic area; democracy; ideologically; sound politics; no terror; have more allies and followers; unity; etc.

21

Morally, intellectually, culturally: More helpful and more sympathetic; culture is on a higher level; sense of fairness; more verve; intellectually, religiously; through their intelligence; the West has more intelligent people; they are more cunning and more shrewd, therefore they are bound to be stronger; because they have more brains; the others are just a crowd, they are human beings; they are much more intelligent; I consider the Western powers more intelligent in view to anything; they have more common sense; etc.

15

In everything:

1

No opinion / No answer:

2

102%*

"In what respect are the Communist powers stronger?" (If Communist powers named)

Politically: Pressure; dictatorship; terror; diplomacy; political impudence; have the workers on their side; undetermination; sabotage; ideologically; fight for peace; etc.

9%

Militarily: Space is their weapon; armament; bombs; more aeroplanes; tanks; soldiers; are more hardy; etc.

6

Economically, technically: Inventions; raw materials; materials; no unemployment; reconstruction; they have more manpower - especially the "Gelbe Gefahr" (the Yellow Menace) in China; because of their manpower, which they exploit ruthlessly; the Russians are almost invincible because of their manpower and the limitless country; etc.

5

Lack of humaneness: No esteem for human life; etc.

1
21%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

BERLINERS CONTINUE FIRM ON RESISTANCE TO RUSSIAN AGGRESSION ...

Whatever erosion in confidence in the West is intimated by the downward trend on the foregoing issues, it apparently has not engendered any out and out defeatism among the Berlin public. The vast bulk of the Berlin people continue to assert that they would resist Russian aggression by every means at hand, should such a necessity arise. In this respect they have not changed their minds at all in the course of the year, as the two trend points registered below reveal. Comparison with West German findings show Berliners to more widely espouse resistance to any possible Eastern attack.

"If you personally had to decide what should be done in the event of an attack from the East, should one let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting, or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggressors?"

	Ost 1950	Dec 1951	Jul 1951
Without a fight	1%	4%	8%
Fight with all means	94	92	74
No opinion / No answer	5	4	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

CIVIL LIBERTIES HAVE GAINED OVER SECURITY ...

Nor has any decline in adherence to democratic ideology accompanied the apparent drop in confidence in the West's international policies. On the contrary, for the first time since early 1947, the preponderant choice (55%) of West Berliners currently would be for a government guaranteeing civil liberties rather than one assuring economic security (39%) when the alternatives are presented in mutually exclusive terms.

Perhaps the closer the West Berliners look at the brand of security offered by the totalitarian East, the more attractive freedom appears to them.

"Which of these types of government would you personally choose as better?" (CARD)

"A government which offers the people economic security and the possibility of a good income.

"A government which guarantees free elections, freedom of speech, a free press, and religious freedom."

WEST BERLIN

	Feb 47	July 47	Jan 48	Apr 48	Jun 48	Jan 49	Jul 49	Nov 49	Jun 50	Nov 50	Dec 50
Economic security	66%	64%	64%	58%	61%	58%	48%	53%	49%	49%	39%
Freedom	26	24	29	38	34	38	44	42	42	45	55
No opinion/No answer	8	12	7	4	5	4	8	5	9	6	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* This question has not been recently asked in West Germany. However, in November 1950, when the US Zone was last queried on the issue, 60% voted, as formerly, for security, though West Berliners were then moving toward the civil liberties choice. Though the question assumes an exclusiveness which is somewhat artificial, it does pose the alternatives in the black and white terms commonly advanced by totalitarian groups. It is also noteworthy that when the American public was queried on the issue, the overwhelming choice was for civil liberties.

TRENDS AMONG VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS ...

In an effort to ascertain whether or not the slight lessening in confidence in the West, was general to the West Berlin population as a whole or was centered in certain groups, the trend in opinions of three key population elements - sex, education and income groups - was examined.* The results show that while the downward trend occurred among all segments, in two instances it was more pronounced in particular groups.

- ... In opinions on whether or not the Americans would remain in Berlin as long as security required their presence, a proportionately greater loss in confidence was registered by the men and the better educated than by women and those with average schooling.
- ... In direct contrast, the drop in satisfaction with American policy toward Russia is more frequent among women and the lesser educated than among the men and the better educated. It is only possible to speculate on why these customarily uncritical groups should be more critical of American policy than are their customarily more skeptical counterparts. A possibility is that the women with their household management problems, and the lesser educated who make up the bulk of the working class feel the pinch of life just this side of the Iron Curtain more sharply than do the relatively better off Berliners. They possibly hold that this situation would be eased if, as they assert in their criticisms of American policy, the US would take a firmer line against the Russians.
- ... On the two remaining trends, 1) the comparative strength of the Western and Communist powers, and 2) the choice of the economic security and civil liberty alternatives, no marked group differences occur. In the first, a relative drop is apparent among all population segments; in the second, all groups tend to prefer civil liberties over security. Tables showing the group breakdowns follow.

"Do you believe that the Americans will remain as long as it is necessary for the security of West Berlin, or will they leave earlier?"

		<u>Sex</u>				<u>Education</u>				<u>Income</u>			
		April '50		Dec '51		April '50		Dec '51		Apr '50		Dec '51	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Elem. school	Beyond elem. school	Elem. school	Beyond elem. school	Under 299	300 and more	Under 299	300 and more
Remain here	7	95%	90%	81%	87%	96%	97%	86%	81%	97%	95%	86%	84%
Leave earlier	4	2	16	9	3	2	11	13	2	3	11	14	
No opinion		<u>1</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%
No. of cases:		173	337	275	325	365	145	445	155	445	67	415	91

* More extensive breakdowns were impractical in view of the limited numbers of cases in the Berlin sampling.

"All things considered, who appears to you to be stronger at the moment — the Communist powers, or the Western powers?"

	<u>Sex</u>				<u>Education</u>				<u>Income</u>			
	<u>April '50</u>		<u>Dec '51</u>		<u>April '50</u>		<u>Dec '51</u>		<u>Apr '50</u>		<u>Dec '51</u>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Elem. school	Beyond elem. school	Elem. school	Beyond elem. school	Under 299	300 and more	Under 299	300 and more
Communist powers	10%	12%	14%	16%	8%	22%	14%	17%	9%	31%	15%	17%
Western powers	85	74	70	64	79	71	68	64	79	61	69	66
Both the same	5	9	11	12	6	6	11	15	8	8	10	13
No opinion	$\frac{-}{100\%}$	$\frac{5}{100\%}$	$\frac{5}{100\%}$	$\frac{8}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{1}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{4}{100\%}$	$\frac{4}{100\%}$	$\frac{-}{100\%}$	$\frac{6}{100\%}$	$\frac{4}{100\%}$
No of cases:	79	172	275	325	182	69	445	155	225	26	415	91

"Which of these types of government would you - personally - choose as better?"

"A - A government which offers the people economic security and the possibility of a good income.

"B - A government which guarantees free elections, freedom of speech, a free press, and religious freedom."

	<u>Sex</u>				<u>Education</u>				<u>Income</u>			
	<u>Nov '50</u>		<u>Dec '51</u>		<u>Nov '50</u>		<u>Dec '51</u>		<u>Nov '50</u>		<u>Dec '51</u>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Elem. school	Beyond elem. school	Elem. school	Beyond elem. school	Under 299	300 and more	Under 299	300 and more
Economic security	40%	55%	32%	44%	51%	43%	41%	32%	49%	46%	42%	35%
Political freedom	53	40	64	48	44	50	52	65	45	46	52	62
No opinion	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{5}{100\%}$	$\frac{4}{100\%}$	$\frac{8}{100\%}$	$\frac{5}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{3}{100\%}$	$\frac{6}{100\%}$	$\frac{8}{100\%}$	$\frac{6}{100\%}$	$\frac{3}{100\%}$
No of cases:	138	229	275	325	270	97	445	155	332	35	415	91

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy toward Russia?"

	<u>Sex</u>				<u>Education</u>				<u>Income</u>			
	April '50		Dec '51		April '50		Dec '51		Apr '51		Dec '51	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Elem. school	Beyond elem. school	Elem. school	Beyond elem. school	Under 299	300 and more	Under 299	300 and more
Satis- fied	48%	60%	43%	39%	59%	48%	42%	35%	56%	57%	41%	36%
Dissatis- fied	41	25	43	36	25	43	37	45	29	35	37	50
Partly/ Partly	11	8	9	8	10	6	8	12	10	4	8	7
No opinion -	7	5	17	6	3	13	8	5	4	14	7	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
No of cases:	79	172	275	325	182	69	445	155	225	26	415	91

R E S T R I C T E D

II. WEST BERLIN AND WEST GERMAN OPINIONS COMPARED

WEST BERLINERS MORE APPROVING THAN WEST GERMANS OF US GERMAN POLICY ...

American policy toward West Germany is evaluated much more favorably by West Berliners than is the US handling of Russian affairs. Seven in ten judge it as satisfactory and only 12 per cent unsatisfactory. In contrast, 41 per cent are satisfied and 39 per cent dissatisfied with America's policy toward Russia, as previously noted.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy toward West Germany?"

WEST BERLIN

Dec '51

Satisfied	71%
Dissatisfied	12
Partly/Partly	6
No opinion	<u>11</u>
	100%

The general tendency of West Berliners to be more favorable to Western programs and policies than are their countrymen in the Federal Republic is again disclosed in respect to American policy toward West Germany. On a query roughly comparable to the one above, the verdict of the West German people was not as favorable to the US as that given by the Berlin public, though in West Germany also, the preponderant opinion was affirmative.

"Taking everything into consideration, has what America has done in West Germany since the end of the war been to the advantage or disadvantage of Germany?"

WEST GERMANY

Dec '51

To the advantage	55%
To the disadvantage	15
Neither/Nor	11
No opinion	<u>19</u>
	100%

BERLIN CRITICS GIVE A VARIETY OF REASONS ...

Dismantling in particular and economic exportation in general (5%), lack of autonomy (4%), the coal policy (3%), militarisation (2%), and occupation costs (2%) are among the allegations proffered by those West Berliners who criticize US policy in West Germany.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy toward West Germany?"

"With what are you dissatisfied?" (Asked of those who said Partly/Partly")

They use West Germany for their own interests: In general satisfied, but we have to pay interests on the loans, and they pocket quite a bit of a profit; too much chiseling - on one hand the US makes compromises which, on the other hand, are in no proportion to the obligations that West Germany took over; they have helped us, this has to be acknowledged, yet they only look to their own advantage, because European unification has not yet been brought about, and the Ruhr statute; the Americans are nothing but big businessmen; etc.

They deny the Germans the right of self-determination in the political and economic field: We should be granted more rights in administration and economics; they don't yet leave us enough freedom, I thought that we were Allies now, and they should stop treating us like enemies; our politicians should have more rights and more independency, they are still suppressed too much; in some respects they should be more generous in economic affairs; they restrict our freedom of action in domestic and foreign politics; etc.

They are responsible for the bottleneck in coal: The coal question, for instance, - we are forced to export so much that nothing is left for ourselves - it is wrong of the Americans; etc.

They merely want to use our military potential: Because America wants military participation of us though after the end of the war they showed antagonistic feelings toward our militaristic views, now we are just meant to be the catspaw for America; because they want to recreate the Wehrmacht; West Germany is made the buffer against East Germany, they should rather contribute to the efforts toward the reunification of Germany; etc.

The occupation costs are too high: Protection is quite all right, but we have to pay the expenses for their added troops; etc.

They try to force American views and conditions upon us: They try too hard to americanize everything; etc.

They should give more support to the German government and be less considerate for their Allies: They are too considerate toward France; the Americans have the best intentions but France is a hinderance to unification; they should keep a tighter rein on everything, show more determination toward the other Western powers; etc.

They favor the militarists: They tolerate the veterans' unions and other organizations; etc.

Others: Gangster films and literary trash ought to disappear, democracy may be quite all right, but some children need a rigid school education; they show too much indulgence toward the government, they ought to insist that the lower classes be given a better living standard; they have no consideration for the resentments within the German people - for instance the Kemnitz case; they are not straight forward enough, they do everything behind closed doors and never tell the bulk of the people what the Americans properly want; they don't push the incorporation of Berlin as the twelfth federal state; etc.

3
19%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- 10 -

R E S T R I C T E D

SATISFACTION PREDOMINATES IN ALL GROUPS ...

Majorities in all population elements state they are satisfied in general with American policy toward West Germany. Men, the better educated, and persons under 40 strike a critical note, however, more frequently than do their opposites.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy toward West Germany?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Partly/ partly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	70%	17%	9%	4%...100%	275
Women	72	8	4	16	325
Education:					
Elementary school	72	11	5	12	445
Beyond elementary school	66	15	11	8	155
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	72	10	5	13	406
Middle and upper class	70	15	8	7	194
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	70	12	6	12	415
300 - 399 DM	68	13	10	9	91
400 DM and more	77	15	5	3	75
Age:					
Up to 29 years	62	18	14	6	103
30 - 39 "	69	23	4	4	111
40 - 49 "	70	9	6	15	150
50 - 59 "	79	7	5	9	114
60 years and over	75	3	4	18	122
Party Preference:					
SPD	74	10	7	9	262
CDU/CSU	78	7	8	7	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	15	6	9	68
Other parties	63	33	4	-	24
No party	54	24	5	17	83
Don't know	70	2	2	26	54
Occupation:					
Professionals	66	17	7	10	30
Businessmen	81	11	5	3	37
White-collar workers	65	12	15	8	60
Skilled laborers	64	26	2	8	64
Semi-skilled laborers	70	9	11	10	71
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	67	9	4	20	116
Religion:					
Catholics	75	7	9	9	77
Protestants	72	10	6	12	407
None	66	23	5	6	116
Origin:					
Natives	72	11	6	11	517
Expellees, Refugees	70	15	8	7	83
Employed	70	12	6	12	472
Unemployed	76	11	6	7	99

MAJORITY AGAINST NEUTRALISM

Further confirmation of the West Berliners decisive alignment with the West, particularly as compared with the West Germans, is found in the fact that seven in ten disavow neutralism in the East-West struggle, even when the issue is presented in terms that encourage what RAS has previously designated as neutralistic feelings as opposed to more realistic judgments. Thus, 68 per cent say the West Germany should side with the West in preference to siding with the East (which no one advocates) or remaining neutral which is the choice of 25 per cent. In contrast, West Germans who geographically are more removed from the consequence of such choices would prefer neutrality (52%) over Western alignment (33%) when the kind of question is posed that encourages expression of wishes rather than realistic thinking over consequences.*

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it all together?"

	WEST BERLIN	WEST GERMANY
	Dec '51	Nov '51
Side with West	68%	33%
Side with East	*	*
Try to keep out of it	25	52
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%

* West Germans, however, regardless of their feelings have voted for West when the realities of the alternatives have been clarified.

R E S T R I C T E D

PREPONDERANCE IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS WOULD SIDE WITH THE WEST ...

The customarily better informed, higher status groups tend somewhat more frequently than others to assert the Western choice. However, all population segments are predominantly of this persuasion.

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it all together?"

	Side with West	Side with East	Try to keep out of it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	73%	1%	22%	4%...100%	275
Women	63	-	27	10	325
Education:					
Elementary school	65	1	26	8	445
Beyond elementary school	74	-	22	4	155
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	66	1	24	9	406
Middle and upper class	73	-	25	2	194
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	66	*	25	9	415
300 - 399 DM	75	1	21	3	91
400 DM and more	75	-	23	2	75
Age:					
Up to 29 years	66	1	32	1	103
30 - 39 "	72	1	25	2	111
40 - 49 "	65	1	26	8	150
50 - 59 years	68	-	21	11	114
60 years and over	70	-	20	10	122
Party Preference:					
SPD	74	-	21	5	262
CDU/CSU	75	1	21	3	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	69	1	28	2	68
Other parties	63	-	33	4	24
No party	49	1	38	12	83
Don't know	54	-	24	22	54
Occupation:					
Professionals	73	-	20	7	30
Businessmen	73	-	27	-	37
White-collar workers	72	-	25	3	60
Skilled laborers	64	-	30	6	64
Semi-skilled laborers	71	3	20	6	71
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	66	-	24	10	116
Religion:					
Catholics	69	-	25	6	76
Protestants	68	1	24	7	407
None	67	1	26	6	117
Origin:					
Natives	68	1	24	7	517
Expellees, Refugees	69	-	26	5	83
Employed	68	*	25	7	472
Unemployed	66	1	26	7	99

* Less than one half of one per cent.

MAJORITY FAVOR WEST GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN DEFENSE ...

By a three to one preponderance, West Berliners advocate West German participation in West European defense. In this respect, they depart markedly from their West German compatriots who tend, on the issue as presented, to express preponderant opposition. West Germans who are more immediately involved in the participation issue have exhibited some reluctance to agree to join the West defense forces until certain conditions, notably equality, are agreed to.*

"As matters stand now, are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

	WEST BERLIN	WEST GERMANY
	Dec '51	Nov '51
For it	74%	37%
Against it	23	49
No opinion	3	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

BUT DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE HAS SOMEWHAT DECLINED ...

All aside from the politico-military decisions implied in the above question, which of course do not immediately involve the West Berliners since they are legally and politically not part of the Federal Republic, the results are noteworthy as another indication of the pro-Western orientation of a large majority of the residents of West Berlin. Again, however, current Berliners' attitudes suggest some loss of confidence in the West, as is revealed in the trend results of another query similar in vein.

Since August 1950, West Berliners have been intermittantly asked to express their views on whether or not West Germany should participate, if given the opportunity, in the North Atlantic Pact Organization. Their replies have been predominantly affirmative - at the last reading, 76 per cent recommend participation. But, in August 1950, 86 per cent expressed this view. In some respects this decline is similar to the West German situation where the trend in affirmative replies on the issue, as framed in terms of Atlantic Pact participation without further qualification, has also fallen off during this period.

"Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of West Europe, - would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

	1950			1951		1952	
	<u>Aug</u> 15-17	<u>Nov</u> 9-10	<u>Nov</u> 15-16	<u>Mar</u> 7-15	<u>May/June</u> 29/5	<u>June</u> 16-23	<u>Feb</u>
For it	86%	80%	85%	79%	78%	75%	76%
Against it	12	16	12	15	14	19	15
No opinion	2	4	3	6	8	6	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Thus, though the large majority of West Berliners continue to exhibit pro-Western sentiments as measured by the defense participation issue, here also there has been some decline in the extent of favorable attitudes.

* A forthcoming RAS report will summarize West German opinions on this issue, especially as related to the equality aspect of defense participation.

ALL POPULATION GROUPS FAVOR GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

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Quite unlike the West German situation where support for military participation is notably greater among the opinion leading elements - the better educated, the upper socio-economic levels, and the men*, in West Berlin support is given in approximately equal measure by all segments of the population. Thus, in Berlin the women, the lesser educated, the lower income groups, SPD as well as CDU affiliates, Catholics and Protestants, natives as well as refugees, are approximately equally in favor of West German participation in the defense of Western Europe.

"As matters stand now, are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

	For	Against	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	75%	23%	2%...100%	275
Women	72	24	4	325
Education:				
Elementary school	74	23	3	445
Beyond elementary school	74	23	3	155
Socio-Economic Status:				
Lower class	72	24	4	406
Middle and upper class	78	21	1	194
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	74	23	3	415
300 - 399 DM	75	23	2	91
400 DM and more	79	21	-	75
Age:				
Up to 29 years	72	28	-	103
30 - 39 "	71	29	-	111
40 - 49 "	71	26	3	150
50 - 59 "	75	20	5	114
60 years and over	81	14	5	122
Party Preference:				
SPD	78	20	2	262
CDU/CSU	81	18	1	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	78	22	4	68
Other parties	54	42	4	24
No party	58	37	5	83
Don't know	67	24	9	54
Occupation:				
Professionals	80	20	-	30
Businessmen	84	16	-	37
White-collar workers	73	25	2	60
Skilled laborers	73	27	-	64
Semi-skilled laborers	65	32	3	71
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	76	20	4	116
Religion:				
Catholics	74	23	3	77
Protestants	74	23	3	407
None	71	26	3	116
Origin:				
Natives	73	24	3	517
Expellees, Refugees	80	16	4	83
Employed	73	24	3	472
Unemployed	74	24	2	99

* Population differences are described in the forthcoming report on West German opinions on this issue.

THE HICOG SURVEYS

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WEST GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION
FOLLOWING THE FORMAL BUNDESTAG DEBATE

I. Impact of the Bundestag Debate

Report No. 129

Series No. 2

March 31, 1952

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

With the formal Bundestag debate of February 7th thru 9th, a new phase was initiated in the long standing issue of German participation in European defense. The German public was for the first time exposed to a full-dress discussion on the part of their political leaders to the pros and cons of a West German defense contribution. To assess the effects of this major political event the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, went into the field (between February 18th and 26th) with a detailed survey on defense issues. The present paper is the first of three reporting upon the returns.

To ascertain as promptly as possible what might be new developments in public thinking on the remilitarization issue, RAS employed its rapid sample - a 800 case representative probability sampling of all of West Germany. For comparative purposes a 200 case representative sample was obtained at the same time in West Berlin. As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

SUMMARY EXCEPTS FROM REPORT

Clearly evident in the survey returns is that the Bundestag debate on German defense participation secured a tremendous audience in West Germany with almost three quarters of the population (71 per cent) indicating awareness of the event, and a full half (54 per cent) reporting having listened to the speeches for periods averaging several hours in length.

Two out of three of the West Germans aware of the debate interpreted the Bundestag decision as approval of a defense contribution; only a negligible 2 per cent looked upon the outcome as a rejection of participation, with the remainder advancing no opinion.

It is the essence of democratic theory to as far as possible let the public in on decisions affecting their welfare. But that such a process raises its problems - especially among a people more used to taking than debating their political orders - is evident from the finding that more Germans confessed to confusion than clarification as a result of the debate. The public airing of the pros and cons on the defense issue have left many bewildered by the many differences of opinion and now confused as to what is right and what is wrong.

Whatever the confusion or clarification engendered by the Bundestag debate, 12 per cent of the population admitted to some change in attitude as a consequence. This percentage may appear small, but it must be appreciated that it adds up to millions of people when projected against the West German population sampled in the study (approximately 35 millions over 18 years of age).

- a -

Though the present sampling is too limited for conclusiveness on the point, increases in approval of defense participation appear to have been more frequent than decreases as a consequence of the debate.

Group comparisons suggest that the Bundestag debate had its greatest net effect in increasing approval among the more educated and informed population strata.

Further indication that the net effect of the debate has not been to increase public opposition to a German defense contribution lies in the finding that following the event, the opinion that new elections are currently necessary was still only voiced by a quarter of the German people - no greater a proportion than expressed such sentiments in mid-September 1951.

At least part of the minority who desire new elections at the present time are actuated primarily by economic and other considerations, rather than the present government's policy on the defense issue.

Whatever else the Bundestag debate may have accomplished, it would appear to have markedly aroused public concern with politico-military issues. Without exception in earlier studies Germans have brought up economic difficulties when queried as to the most important problem currently facing Germany. Following the Bundestag debate, however, the emphasis has shifted sharply to politico-military issues.

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE ...

Clearly evident in the survey returns is that the Bundestag debate on German defense participation secured a tremendous audience in West Germany with almost three quarters of the population (71 per cent) indicating awareness of the event, and a full half (54 per cent) reporting having listened to the speeches for periods averaging several hours in length.

"Have you heard or read of the Bundestag debate on the German participation in Western defense? (Where, over the radio or in the newspaper?)"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, radio	58%	62%	53%	61%	63%
Yes, newspaper	28	31	24	29	26
Yes, in other ways	6	5	7	5	7
No, not at all	29	28	35	24	27
	121%**	126%**	119%**	119%**	123%**

"Did you hear the broadcast of the speeches, or the news about them - or commentaries on them?" (Asked of those (58%) reporting listening to radio on debate)

	54%	57%	50%	56%	57%
Speeches	54%	57%	50%	56%	57%
News	17	19	15	13	28
Commentaries	14	12	8	15	18
	85%**	86%**	73%**	84%**	103%**

"Approximately how long did you listen?" (Asked of all who reported radio listening to the debate)

	10%	1%	9%	15%	10%
Up to 1 hour	10%	1%	9%	15%	10%
Up to 2 hours	9	11	6	8	10
Up to 3 hours (a few hours)	8	9	8	8	7
Up to 4 hours	7	7	7	6	8
Up to 5 - 6 hours	6	7	5	5	11
Up to 7 - 8 hours	4	3	5	4	6
Up to 9 - 10 hours	1	1	2	-	2
Up to 10 - 20 hours	4	4	5	4	2
More than 20 hours	1	1	*	-	-
Heard (almost) everything	1	2	1	1	-
Undeterminate mention of time	2	2	2	2	-
No opinion/No answer	1	*	-	3	1
	54%	57%	50%	56%	57%

Group comparisons (see following page) disclose the usual pattern of more widespread awareness among the generally better informed sectors of the West German citizenry - the men, the better schooled, and the higher paid. Additionally indicated is particularly widespread interest among veterans and trade union members as vis-a-vis their counterpart groups, and among respondents of FDJ political persuasion.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Respondents gave more than one answer.

"Have you heard or read of the Bundestag debate on the German participation in Western defense? (Where, over the radio or in the newspaper?)"

	Yes, Radio	Yes, Newspaper	Yes, in another way	No, not at all	Total*	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	70%	46%	7%	14%.....	137%	367
Women	49	13	5	42	109	427
Education:						
Elementary school	55	24	6	33	118	656
Beyond elementary	75	45	4	14	138	134
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	51	22	5	37	115	489
300 - 399 DM	67	39	8	18	132	150
400 DM and more	81	43	6	12	142	123
Age:						
18 - 24 years	54	19	7	34	114	115
25 - 34 "	66	20	7	25	118	163
35 - 44 "	57	28	7	32	124	171
45 - 54 "	63	36	4	27	130	170
55 years and over	51	33	5	32	121	173
Party Preference:						
SPD	64	32	7	22	125	184
CDU/CSU	64	34	7	24	129	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	85	44	-	6	135	49
Other parties	66	26	7	26	125	58
No party	58	25	6	25	114	192
Don't know	34	17	5	57	113	159
Occupation**:						
Professionals	83	50	3	8	144	36
Businessmen	68	30	11	19	128	94
White-collar workers	68	36	8	23	135	88
Skilled laborers	67	28	5	24	124	145
Semi-skilled laborers	55	24	10	29	118	104
Farmers	43	22	3	42	110	90
Unemployed	64	15	4	29	112	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	47	30	3	37	117	150
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	72	46	10	12	114	132
No	56	25	5	32	118	656
Religion:						
Catholics	57	27	7	30	121	319
Protestants	58	27	5	31	121	442
Origin:						
Natives	59	29	6	29	123	624
Expellees, Refugees	57	24	5	32	118	170
Veteran Status:						
Yes	77	46	8	12	143	207
No	60	46	5	18	129	160

* Totals add to over 100 per cent because many respondents gave more than one answer.

** The categories - domestic and protective service workers and housewives - are omitted in the occupational breakdowns throughout because of too few cases.

WHAT DECISION TAKEN ...

Two out of three of the West Germans aware of the debate interpreted the Bundestag decision as approval of a defense contribution; only a negligible 2 per cent looked upon the outcome as a rejection of participation, with the remainder advancing no opinion. The decision was only tentative approval in the minds of most, but an appreciable 12 per cent characterized the decision as final approval. This latter judgment is literally speaking incorrect, but that it was motivated less by ignorance and more by an assaying of the material connotations of the Bundestag decision is suggested in the group breakdowns (next page) which reveal that final-approval-interpretations of the decision are most frequent among the better educated and informed sectors of the population.

"As far as you can remember - has the Bundestag approved a German defense contribution, or did it reject it?
(Tentatively or finally (approved) (rejected))?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Tentatively approved	36%	41%	35%	23%	45%
Finally approved	12	12	11	12	16
Tentatively rejected	1	1	2	3	2
Finally rejected	1	*	1	1	-
Neither/Nor	2	2	1	5	-
Approval not further explained	1	1	1	-	2
No opinion	<u>18</u> 71%	<u>15</u> 72%	<u>15</u> 66%	<u>32</u> 76%	<u>8</u> 73%

RESTRICTED

"As far as you can remember - has the Bundestag approved a German defense contribution, or did it reject it? Tentatively or finally (approved) (rejected)?"

	Tentatively approved	Finally approved	Others	No opinion	Not heard of Bundestag debate	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	51%	14%	5%	16%	14%...100%	367
Women	24	10	4	19	43	427
Education:						
Elementary school	32	10	6	19	33	656
Beyond elementary	56	20	2	8	14	134
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	31	8	6	18	37	489
300 - 399 DM	43	16	4	18	19	150
400 DM and more	55	17	4	13	11	123
Age:						
18 - 24 years	29	15	6	17	33	115
25 - 34 "	47	12	2	15	24	163
35 - 44 "	32	11	6	19	32	171
45 - 54 "	37	13	6	17	27	170
55 years and over	33	11	6	19	31	173
Party Preference:						
SPD	45	13	4	15	23	184
CDU/CSU	40	15	5	16	24	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	57	17	2	18	6	49
Other parties	36	14	7	17	26	58
No party	37	10	7	20	26	192
Don't know	14	7	4	19	56	159
Occupation:						
Professionals	59	25	-	8	8	36
Businessmen	39	15	4	23	19	94
White-collar workers	47	10	6	14	23	88
Skilled laborers	47	12	5	12	24	145
Semi-skilled laborers	30	7	5	29	29	104
Farmers	21	10	5	21	43	90
Unemployed	36	17	8	9	30	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	30	11	3	19	37	150
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	55	14	5	14	12	132
No	32	11	6	18	33	656
Religion:						
Catholics	33	12	4	20	31	319
Protestants	37	11	6	15	31	442
Origins:						
Natives	37	11	5	18	29	624
Expellees, Refugees	33	13	6	15	33	170
Veteran Status:						
Yes	60	14	4	12	10	207
No	39	14	7	22	18	160

R E S T R I C T E D

BUNDESTAG DEMANDS ...

Preponderant interpretation of the Bundestag decision as approval does not preclude, however, any lack of awareness that a variety of demands were voiced.

"Has the Bundestag made any demands? (Which?)"

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	---------------	------------	----------------	--------

Equality (political, economic, and general - contractual agreement):

Complete equality; equality in every situation - nothing that happened in the past is to be held against us; that we will pay the defense contribution when we have become equal partners; that Germany will have the same duties as the other nations; equality in every respect; equality with the other nations; etc.

15%	16%	16%	8%	19%
-----	-----	-----	----	-----

Solution of the Saar issue:

The quarrel between Germany and France should be eliminated; the Saar issue should be solved first; the Saar issue is the main point, but I can't say it exactly; they should make certain admissions in regard to the Saar problem - they should stop their intention of pocketing the Saar; should free the Saar; etc.

6	6	5	12	5
---	---	---	----	---

Military equality:

That they have equality in the army - that is our condition; equality in the command; equality within the army; German generals shall have equal rights in the command; etc.

3	2	3	2	7
---	---	---	---	---

West Germany's admission to the Atlantic pact:

Admission to the Atlantic pact was the demand; admission to NATO; admission to the Atlantic pact to which the French are still opposed; admission to the Atlantic pact so we'll have equality and they can't make decisions without us; etc.

3	2	3	3	3
---	---	---	---	---

Clarification of the war crimes verdicts (release, reconsideration of the sentences):

Certain reservations - release of the so-called war criminals; justice for the war criminals; release of all Germans who are held in the prisons of the Western Allies; clarification about the war criminals; that the sentences of the war criminals are repealed; etc.

3	3	4	2	-
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	---------------	------------	----------------	--------

Clarification of the POW issue (release):

The Prisoner of War issue; the question of the POW's; the release of the POW's; etc.

3%	4%	2%	2%	4%
----	----	----	----	----

Financial considerations:

That they eliminate the occupation costs; that they consider the costs of West Berlin and the refugees; that they provide for the war widows and orphans; of the 100 millions for the defense contribution they should subtract the costs for the refugee problem and reconstruction; etc.

2	2	2	4	3
---	---	---	---	---

Peace treaty for Germany (the question of reunification and return of the German East):

Conclusion of a peace treaty; etc.

2	1	2	4	1
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions:

That they promote the releases of the KZ prisoners; etc.

*	*	1	-	1
---	---	---	---	---

Yes, they made demands but can't remember which:

Yes, they made some but I couldn't tell you which; they made some, but I don't know them; I just know that they made certain conditions, but don't know exactly what; etc.

3	3	4	2	5
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No demands were made:

As far as I know none; no, they did not make any demands; no, I don't think so; no, I can't remember; etc.

10	12	9	4	10
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No opinion/No answer

$\frac{33}{83\%}$ **	$\frac{32}{83\%}$ **	$\frac{29}{80\%}$ **	$\frac{49}{92\%}$ **	$\frac{28}{82\%}$ **
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* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

It is the essence of democratic theory to let the public in as far as possible on decisions affecting their welfare. But that such a process raises its problems - especially among a people more used to taking than debating their political orders - is evident from the finding that more Germans confessed to confusion than clarification as a result of the debate.

"Do you have the impression, that this debate has brought more clarification in the question of Germans defense participation or has it brought more confusion?" (Asked of those who reported having heard about the debate)

	West Germany	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
More clarification	18%	20%	16%	15%	21%
More confusion	29	29	29	31	30
Neither/Nor	16	17	13	13	14
No opinion	8	6	9	17	8
	71%	72%	67%	76%	73%

Follow-up inquiry reveals clearly that the public airing of the pros and cons on the defense issue have left many bewildered by the many differences of opinion, and now confused as to what is right and what is wrong.

If "More confusion": "In what respect?"

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
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Because nobody now knows what's right and what's wrong:

Think that everybody brought such good arguments for and against it that the majority won't know what's up and what's down - if I wouldn't be so firmly in favor of it I would be in the same boat; I don't know beans from bones anymore because of the continuous back and forth; because everybody said something different and one had to admit that each of them had a point - I didn't know at the end what I should believe; because each of them believes that the right is on his side and thus we don't know anymore what's right and what's wrong; people are too confused about politics and disinterested as well; many heads, many ideas - whoever asks much learns much - nobody knows anymore what's up - will there be soldiers or not?; it was just a big mixup; because of the many different opinions nothing was made clear - one doesn't know anymore what is right and what's wrong; because of the many speeches for and against it, one didn't know in the end who was right; they all beat around the bush - I couldn't define a true viewpoint anywhere, it wasn't clear to me at all what was at stake and why they all talked; this Schumacher and this Schmid attacked Adenauer and confused everything; everybody talked differently about it - many interrupted - we didn't know to whom we should listen; etc.

9% 7% 10% 9% 6%

Because there were so many differences of opinion:

Because the opinions differed so widely - one could see that from the speeches by the representatives of different parties; the differences were sharply defined, none of them wanted to give in - each of them stuck to his viewpoint - therefore an agreement was impossible; because one of them spoke for it, the other against it - at the end one was so nervous that one thought the war would start to-

(cont'd on next page)

morrow; they couldn't agree among themselves - various representatives weren't objective enough; because each of them expressed a different opinion - there was no definite line; so many were for or against it - if every party speaks and all of them want to be right - then clarity is impossible; they didn't come to a definite conclusion - there were too many different opinions; because all of the 38 speakers had a different opinion; the differences of opinion have increased; because the debates and differences of opinion of the individual representatives were too great; they don't know what they should do themselves - one says this, the other that; etc.

GERMANY

Zone

Zone

Zone

03072

8%

8%

7%

11%

10%

Because of the constant quarreling:

One complained about the other; eternal quarrels - they will never agree; I was only disappointed that they didn't beat each other - it looked like it almost; they just showed their animosity toward each other; they got too detailed in their speeches sometimes - it was a children's quarrel; the whole thing looked like a bowling club - those men couldn't be taken seriously - it was a shame for Germany - these debates were shameful; because the parties quarreled with each other - nothing came of it - it was just a senseless talking back and forth which didn't bring any clarification; because the representatives quarreled like children and were of completely different opinion; etc.

6

7

6

5

3

Because party interests took precedence over objectivity:

Most of the speakers didn't mention the question of defense - they just talked about the past; they touched too many questions of party politics and didn't go to the core of the issue; because of the many debates - they couldn't come to an agreement - they brought out the viewpoints of the respective parties too much; because the opposition opposed it for the sake of the opposition - it was not a debate - it was a quarrel - the reality was not realized - it was petty party politics; because of the speeches by the SPD - they did not define a clear background for their arguments - party interests came first; etc.

3

4

3

1

3

Because of the illogical attitude of the opposition:

It resulted in the dissonance of the opposition - new elections would not make a good impression abroad; because the opposition parties neither affirmed nor negated it; because the opposition opposes it - yet eyes it favorably at the same time; because of the senseless attitude by Ollenhauer - he instigated against the defense contribution - he acted like a stubborn child - he was illogical - he said "we'll vote against everything"; the SPD brought confusion into the issue - the people were confused even more because many of them listened to the SPD - Adenauer explained sufficiently that at the moment not everything could be to the satisfaction of all concerned - Ollenhauer and Prof. C. Schmid made life pretty tough for Adenauer; etc.

2

1

2

2

5

Other opinions:

Because the viewpoint of the other nations in regard to Germany's equality and the question of the defense costs was not at hand - these issues were mentioned again and again and one didn't come to an agreement; everybody is afraid that they'll have to sacrifice their sons and husbands in a war; the people here are afraid that there'll be another war - they are stocking food and preserve fruits; etc.

$\frac{2}{30\%}$

$\frac{2}{29\%}$

$\frac{1}{29\%}$

$\frac{4}{32\%}$

$\frac{3}{32\%}$

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

The smaller proportion who felt that clarification was served by airing the Bundestag debate argued in the following vein.

"Do you have the impression that this debate has more clarification in the question of German defense participation or has it brought more confusion?"
If "More clarification": "In what respect?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>We were informed on matters we didn't know before:</u>					
People have been aroused and know now what's going on; because we learned things we didn't know before; one heard discussions representing all viewpoints, and one's attention was called to questions not understandable before; I heard a lot of things I didn't know previously; that all parties have come to discuss it, the opposition, for instance, brought up some matters that had to be rectified by Adenauer; through it the people have been better informed; the people learned quite a few things and can make themselves a picture now; some of the speeches were very good, but some people made a big fuss, though one is better informed now and knows what progress has been made on rearmament; etc.	6%	5%	6%	10%	7%
<u>The parties discussed it and clarified their viewpoints:</u>					
Because the matter was discussed thoroughly, all parties clearly told their point of view; one learns to know the attitudes of various parties toward it; they showed their cards; etc.	4	5	5	3	5
<u>The debate has clarified the necessity of a defense participation:</u>					
Actually many parties voiced the same opinion on it; now the ways have crystallized out; firstly, one can see what has been achieved till now, secondly one came to realize that the Social Democrats want basically the same, only under their government; the government and the opposition have approached substantially on the basic conception of German defense participation; both parties have probably realized the necessity in this disputed question; as the result of this debate I realized that remilitarization will be carried through as all the parties have the same viewpoint; the establishment of an army is the Alpha and Omega - we know what's going on, we are being armed; etc.	3	5	2	2	8

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
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One now knows the pro and con:

One can see now who is for it and who is against it; all parties have talked it over - one knows all advantages and shortcomings of it now and can choose whatever one prefers; one learned in detail the opinions of the responsible government representatives - why they are ~~for it and against it~~; one heard the opinions of various parties and could form his own opinion, one could hear who is for and who is against it; because one knows now which party is for it and which party is against it; etc.

3%	2%	3%	4%	2%
----	----	----	----	----

Others:

A few problems have been solved, at least the decisive questions - once again they pointed out the Eastern menace - the necessity of defense contribution in preference to economic matters; one can see it again, they can treat us as they please if we don't have an army; I can't tell because I'm not so much interested in it; etc.

1	2	*	-	1
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{18\%}$	$\frac{2}{21\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{17\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{15\%}$	$\frac{2}{21\%}$
------------------	---------------------	---------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

It is notable in the group comparisons on the present inquiry, that judgments that the debate engendered more confusion than clarification were not confined to the less educated and informed segments of the population. Such judgments appear to be just as prevalent - if not more so - among the opinion leading strata.

"Do you have the impression, that this debate has brought more clarification in the question of German defense participation or has it brought more confusion?"

	More clari- fica- tion	More con- fu- sion	Nei- ther/ Nor	No opinion	Not heard of Bundes- tag de- bate	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	25%	35%	22%	4%	14%...100%	367
Women	12	23	9	12	44	427
Education:						
Elementary school	16	28	14	9	33	656
Beyond elementary	26	33	22	5	14	136
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	15	27	13	8	37	489
300 - 399 DM	24	31	19	7	19	150
400 DM and more	24	36	20	9	11	123
Age:						
18 - 24 years	22	24	13	7	34	115
25 - 34 "	18	33	18	6	25	163
35 - 44 "	15	28	15	10	32	171
45 - 54 "	16	29	17	11	27	170
55 years and over	20	28	12	8	32	173
Party Preference:						
SPD	15	38	18	7	22	184
CDU/CSU	27	26	12	10	25	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	37	39	10	8	6	49
Other parties	26	31	15	2	26	58
No party	13	30	21	9	27	192
Don't know	10	16	8	10	56	159
Occupation:						
Professionals	31	31	22	8	8	36
Businessmen	20	33	16	12	19	94
White-collar workers	15	36	20	6	23	88
Skilled laborers	21	29	18	8	24	145
Semi-skilled laborers	14	31	12	14	29	104
Farmers	13	20	14	10	43	90
Unemployed	26	20	13	4	29	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	15	29	12	7	37	149
Trade Union Memberships:						
Yes, member	20	40	24	4	12	132
No	17	27	13	10	33	656
Religion:						
Catholics	19	26	13	12	30	319
Protestants	17	30	16	6	31	442
Origin:						
Natives	17	29	15	9	30	624
Expellees, Refugees	19	29	15	5	32	170
Veteran Status:						
Yes	27	36	24	3	10	207
No	21	35	19	6	19	160

RESULTANT GAINS AND LOSSES IN SUPPORT ...

Whatever the confusion or clarification engendered by the Bundestag debate, 12 per cent of the population admitted to some change in attitude as a consequence. This percentage may appear small, but it must be appreciated that it adds up to millions of people when projected against the West German population sampled in the study (approximately 35 million over 18 years of age).

Influence of Bundestag Debate on Participation Attitudes *

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Attitude remained the same	57%	55%	55%	64%	56%
Approval increased	8	9	6	9	13
Approval decreased	4	6	3	1	4
No opinion	2	2	1	2	-
No awareness of Bundestag debate	$\frac{29}{100\%}$	$\frac{28}{100\%}$	$\frac{35}{100\%}$	$\frac{24}{100\%}$	$\frac{27}{100\%}$

Though the present sampling is too limited for conclusiveness on the point, increases in approval of defense participation appear to have been more frequent than decreases as a consequence of the debate.

* Questions employed and detailed results can be found in Appendix I.

Group comparisons suggest - though not conclusively with the limited sampling - that the Bundestag debate had its greatest net effect in increasing approval among the more educated and informed population strata. It is interesting to note also that in certain key groupings in which adverse orientations are assumed to be widespread as e.g. SPD adherents and trade union members, decreases in approval as a consequence of the debate definitely do not outweigh increases.

Group Comparisons in Influence of Bundestag
Debate on Participation Attitudes

	Attitude re- mained the same	Approval increased	Approval decreased	No opinion	No aware- ness of debate	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	67%	11%	6%	2%	14%...100%	367
Women	46	7	2	2	43	427
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	54	7	4	2	33	656
Beyond elementary	66	13	3	4	14	136
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	49	7	5	2	37	489
300 - 399 DM	63	14	3	1	19	150
400 DM and more	73	9	4	2	12	123
<u>Age:</u>						
18 - 24 years	52	5	5	4	34	115
25 - 34 "	59	7	7	2	25	163
35 - 44 "	57	6	3	2	32	171
45 - 54 "	58	10	4	1	27	170
55 years and over	52	12	3	1	32	173
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	63	10	3	2	22	184
CDU/CSU	59	12	4	1	24	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	72	20	2	-	6	49
Other parties	62	5	7	-	26	59
No party	61	5	6	2	26	193
Don't know	32	4	3	5	56	158
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	67	17	3	5	8	36
Businessmen	68	10	2	1	19	94
White-collar workers	59	12	6	-	23	88
Skilled laborers	64	5	5	2	24	145
Semi-skilled laborers	57	9	4	1	29	104
Farmers	45	2	4	7	42	90
Unemployed	53	7	6	4	30	47
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	48	13	3	-	36	150
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	68	10	8	2	12	132
No	54	8	3	2	33	656
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	54	10	4	1	31	318
Protestants	55	7	4	3	31	443
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	57	8	4	2	29	624
Expellees, Refugees	54	8	5	1	32	170
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	71	10	7	1	11	207
No	63	11	5	2	19	160

R E S T R I C T E D

HOW MUCH POST-DEBATE SENTIMENT FOR NEW ELECTIONS ...

Further indication that the net effect of the debate has not been to increase public opposition to a German defense contribution lies in the finding that following the event, the opinion that new elections are currently necessary was still only voiced by a quarter of the German people - no greater a proportion than expressed such sentiments in mid-September 1951.

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag necessary now, or not?"

	WEST GERMANY		Brit. Zone		US Zone		French Zone		Berlin	
	Sept. 18-27	Feb. 7-9	Sept. 18-27	Feb. 7-9	Sept. 18-27	Feb. 7-9	Sept. 18-27	Feb. 7-9	Sept. 18-27	Feb. 7-9
Necessary	23%	26%	25%	31%	21%	21%	21%	19%	-%	26%
Not necessary	44	46	43	45	46	47	44	45	-	57
No opinion	<u>33</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Group comparisons disclose that now as in Sept. '51 the feeling that new elections are not necessary at the present time is most widespread among the opinion leading elements of the population. It is interesting to note that increase in desire for new elections has been greatest among SPD sympathizers, among whom it is now the predominant sentiment. But this increase has apparently been offset by decrease among adherents of other parties, particularly the FDP.

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag necessary now, or not?"

	Necessary		Not necessary		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Sept. 18-27	Feb. 7-9	Sept. 18-27	Feb. 7-9	Sept. 18-27	Feb. 7-9	
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	32%	35%	57%	55%	11%	10%	367
Women	15	18	32	38	53	44	427
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	23	26	42	42	35	32	656
Beyond elementary	23	26	57	61	20	13	136
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	22	25	41	41	37	34	489
300 - 399 DM	28	31	42	50	30	19	150
400 DM and more	25	28	60	61	15	11	123
<u>Age:</u>							
18 - 24 years	22	22	45	43	33	35	115
25 - 34 "	28	35	44	47	28	18	163
35 - 44 "	19	29	42	40	39	31	171
45 - 54 "	23	28	46	39	31	33	170
55 years and over	24	16	43	58	33	26	173
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	39	52	42	29	19	19	184
CDU/CSU	7	11	64	66	29	23	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	12	58	72	18	16	49
Other parties	34	28	49	53	17	19	58
No party	26	25	39	51	35	24	193
Don't know	12	17	25	27	63	56	158
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	27	33	54	50	19	17	36
Businessmen	23	25	51	56	26	19	94
White-collar workers	26	30	48	53	26	17	88
Skilled laborers	30	32	41	42	29	26	145
Semi-skilled laborers	24	34	39	36	37	30	104
Farmers	10	8	43	43	47	49	90
Unemployed	29	36	47	34	24	30	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	22	21	43	50	35	29	150
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, member	41	48	45	39	14	13	132
No	19	22	44	47	37	31	656
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	20	19	47	52	33	29	318
Protestants	24	19	42	42	34	29	443
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	22	26	45	46	33	28	624
Expellees, Refugees	28	28	40	43	32	29	170
<u>Veteran Status:</u>							
Yes	33	39	58	54	9	7	207
No	29	30	55	56	16	14	160

R E S T R I C T E D

At least part of the minority who desire new elections at the present time are actuated primarily, the results below reveal, by economic and other considerations, rather than the present government's policy on the defense issue.

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag necessary now, or not?"

If "Necessary": "Why?"

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
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Because of the German defense contribution -
the people have to decide:

Since such decisive questions as defense contribution are at stake, it is necessary that the decision be made by a government which would really represent the will of the people; that the military won't be established through the decision of individual parties, but through the election of the people; because of the reintroduction of the military - the whole people should be asked about that; because so many are opposed to the defense contribution and that should be expressed in reelelections; because the whole issue of the defense contribution is much too important - the majority of the population is opposed to it; especially in regard to the defense contribution - the population has a different will from the government; the whole people must vote on rearmament; etc.

9%	12%	8%	10%	6%
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Because of dissatisfaction with the government
(socially, economically, and generally):

Because we are not satisfied with what our government is doing; because the government is ruining us through its corrupt social policy; because much of this government doesn't suit the people; the government does not do enough for the working class; our government doesn't do anything against unemployment because of those Nazis that are still in the government; because of the Schuman plan, that should not have been accepted; the farming business and craftsmen don't get anything; etc.

8	9	6	4	6
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Because the government does not represent the
majority of the people anymore:

Because the composition of the Bundestag according to parties does not correspond with the actual conditions; because the composition of the political parties is not correct anymore; because the majority of the people have developed a different opinion in the meantime; the government does not have the confidence of the people anymore; because Adenauer does not have the masses behind him anymore; etc.

3	4	3	1	4
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R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berl
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	Zone

Through reelection much would change and improve:

So that men get into the government who care for the people and understand its needs; because a new government might achieve an agreement with the East Zone; because we hear that they talk back and forth all the time - a new government might find a better way - more work, better living conditions; because new elections would change much in the question of reconstruction; etc.

2% 2% 1% 2% 3%

Because the government consists of men who are too old for their task:

It was demanded in the speeches before the Bundestag - those who are on top are too old; that other statesmen are given a chance - there should be younger people in the government - Heuss and Adenauer are too old; those who are in power now are too old - it should be left to the younger ones; etc.

1 2 1 1 1

In order to bring men from the SPD and the opposition into the government:

Because the SPD holds the stakes and should become a government party as it has always been after wars; so that other men - from the Social Democrats - get into the government; the opposition should be given the responsibility too so they can prove what they are able to accomplish; etc.

1 1 1 - 1

Because Adenauer is a poor chancellor:

Because Adenauer is a good foreign minister but a poor chancellor - he should know exactly what is going to happen to us if we establish an army; I couldn't say that, but Adenauer doesn't seem to be the right chancellor; etc.

1 1 * - 2

It would enlighten the people and enable it to express its opinion:

Because the people don't know as much as the gentlemen in the government - the people should be informed about what is at stake, then they can make the right choice; then everything will be discussed again and the opinion of the people is expressed; etc.

1 1 1 - *

Other opinions:

Because the conditions that existed at the elections have decidedly changed - at that time we were an occupied country and we did not have to make any decisions in foreign policy - now we are faced with decisions that we will get another government because the present one is directed by the Americans; the people themselves have to establish order; etc.

$\frac{1}{27}\%^{**}$ $\frac{2}{34}\%^{**}$ $\frac{*}{21}\%$ $\frac{2}{20}\%$ $\frac{3}{26}\%$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

DEBATE ACCOMPANIED BY MARKED RISE IN PUBLIC INTEREST IN POLITICO-MILITARY PROBLEMS ...

Whatever else the Bundestag debate may have accomplished, it would appear to have markedly aroused public concern with politico-military issues. Without exception in earlier studies Germans have brought up economic difficulties when queried as to the most important problem currently facing Germany. Following the Bundestag debate, however, the emphasis has shifted sharply to politico-military issues. **

"In your opinion, what is the most important problem West Germany is facing today?"

Politico-Military Problems

	July-August 28 6	February 18-26
WEST GERMANY		
Danger of war	18%	18%
Unification	10	16
Remilitarization	6	25
Equal rights	6	5
Opposing Communism	3	2
German-French relations	-	1
	(43%)	(67%)

Economic Problems

Rise in prices	17	4
Unemployment	12	6
General betterment of economic-social conditions	10	9
Refugee problem	6	-
Procurement of housing	3	3
Care for handicapped groups	3	-
	(51%)	(22%)
Others	5	3
No opinion	15 114%*	15 107%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Current Returns in Detail

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The issue of remilitarization:

Our debating with the West on remilitarization; whether or not the bill on rearmament is ratified; the question of a defense contribution; to carry through remilitarization; a European army is to be established; defense contribution; that we don't have to be soldiers again being sold and misused by foreign powers; a referendum on remilitarization; rearmament - in case we don't rearm voluntarily, the Americans force us to it, as Germany is threatened by the East; that they want us to be soldiers; etc.

25% 25% 24% 24% 29%

Maintaining peace and security:

At any case we should make efforts to maintain peace; peace - that no war will break out; security for our country; that the Russians won't attack us, and that we wouldn't have to leave here; the question about a potential war we might become involved in; how we can avoid war; etc.

18 18 17 17 6

(cont'd on next page)

** This question of course appeared at the beginning of the questionnaire so that answers would not be influenced by the issues raised in the study.

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Berl Zone	
<u>The reunification and reconstitution of Germany:</u>					
Unification with the East; German reunification; reunification of all of Germany; that the East is returned to us, but without war; when I recently heard the debate in the Bundestag I realized the most important question is the unification of East and West; solution of the refugee problem - we do want to return to our homeland; whether we can return to our homeland (Karlsbad); the Berlin issue - when will it be freed?; etc.	16%	16%	15%	17%	28%
<u>General betterment of economic and social conditions:</u>					
The social question - the working class is too bad off; reconstruction and improvements of the whole social life; establishment of social equality - in case this decisive problem is not solved in the near future, West German democracy will rest on a very weak foundation; the difficult economic situation, never before have we been so badly off, that must change; the equalization of burdens; give the old people and the pensioners more money; etc.	9	10	9	4	4
<u>Elimination of unemployment:</u>					
To do away with unemployment; that they make efforts to remove unemployment; that all unemployed people come off the streets into jobs, and that the six-hour work day is established, then more jobs would be vacant; I'm not interested in politics, but in the establishing of jobs; etc.	6	7	5	4	9
<u>Achievement of German equality:</u>					
Equal rights with the other Western nations; signing of a peace treaty; that Germany gets equal rights, and that, for instance, restrictions on trade relations are lifted; peace treaty; that freedom is restored; etc.	5	6	5	2	4
<u>Prices and costs too high:</u>					
Prices should go down; the living standard of the population - that the prices are in accord with wages; prices are too high in comparison with the income; the prices should go down so one can get along financially; tax burdens and occupation costs are too high; etc.	4	5	3	3	3
<u>Procurement of housing:</u>					
The housing and settling problem; in regard to housing, more homes should be built for the workers so that the makeshift apartments are done away with; housing shortage, especially in West Berlin; the refugee problem - homes should be built for them so that these people can be taken out of the camps, and that better social circumstances are created for them; etc.	3	3	3	1	1

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Countering of Communism:

To make Germany safe against Communism;
West Germany must protect itself against
world Communism; West German democracy
versus the East - how can it be maintained
etc.

2% 1% 2% 2% 1%

Improvement of German-French relations:

To improve German-French relations;
lasting understanding with France; that
the French shouldn't bear ill feelings
toward Germany anymore; they still hate
us so much; that we get on well with the
French; what we should do, as everything
is confused, that we come to terms with
France and that we find an agreement
with the West so that we don't become a
prey of the Russians; etc.

1 1 2 2 1

Others:

Establishment of a United States of Europe;
that the SPD doesn't gain so much power and
comes into the government; that the govern-
ment sees to it that our comrades still in
captivity return home as fast as possible;
persuade individuals to the Christian faith,
then everything else would easily be
solved; etc.

3 3 3 7 1

No opinion/No answer

$\frac{15}{107\%}$ $\frac{13}{108\%}$ $\frac{15}{106\%}$ $\frac{20}{103\%}$ $\frac{13}{100\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

APPENDIX I

Questions and Detailed Results on Influence of Bundestag Debate on Attitudes Toward West Germany's Military Participation in the Defense of West Europe

The questions below were put to respondents who reported having come into contact with the Bundestag debate via radio, newspaper, or other sources; and were posed as a follow-up to an earlier appearing query as to approval or disapproval of West German military participation in European defense.

"You said before that you are in general for West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe. Were you also for it before the Bundestag debate, were you against it, or didn't you have a definite opinion about it before?"

If "Also for it before": "Are you now more for it than before or less than before?"

	W.G.	Br.Z.	US Z.	Fr.Z.	Berlin
Now more for it than before	3%	3%	3%	1%	8%
Now less for it than before	1	1	1	-	-
Now for it - before against it	1	1	-	-	-
Now for it - before no definite opinion	3	4	2	6	4
Attitude remained the same - (for it)	26	27	23	30	45
No opinion	*	*	*	1	*
	34%	36%	29%	38%	57%

"You said before that you are in general against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe. Were you also against it before the Bundestag debate, were you for it, or didn't you have a definite opinion about it?"

If "Also against it before": "Are you now more against it than before or less than before?"

	W.G.	Br.Z.	US Z.	Fr.Z.	Berlin
Now more against it than before	1%	3%	*%	-%	1%
Now less against it than before	1	1	1	2	1
Now against it - before no definite opinion	2	2	2	1	2
Now against it - before for it	-	-	-	-	1
Attitude remained the same - (against it)	29	27	30	32	11
No opinion	1	1	*	*	*
	34%	34%	33%	35%	16%

"You answered before to the question of whether West Germany should militarily participate in the defense of West Europe that you are neither for nor against it. And how was it before the Bundestag debate: were you for our participation before, or were you against it, or did you have the same attitude?"

	W.G.	Br.Z.	US Z.	Fr.Z.	Berlin
For it before	-%	-%	-%	-%	-%
Against it before	*	*	-	-	-
Attitude remained the same - (undecided)	2	1	2	2	-
No opinion	1	1	1	1	-
	3%	2%	3%	3%	-%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**WEST GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION
FOLLOWING THE FORMAL BUNDESTAG DEBATE**

**II. Current Support and Resistance -
and Some of the Factors Related Thereto**

Report No. 130

Series No. 2

March 31, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

With the formal Bundestag debate of February 7th thru 9th, a new phase was initiated in the long standing issue of German participation in European defense. The German public was for the first time exposed to a full-dress discussion on the part of their political leaders to the pros and cons of a West German defense contribution. To assess the effects of this major political event the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, went into the field (between February 18th and 26th) with a detailed survey on defense issues. The present paper is the second in a series of three reporting upon the results.

To ascertain as promptly as possible what might be new developments in public thinking on the remilitarization issue, RAS employed its rapid sample - a 800 case representative probability sampling of West Germany. For comparative purposes a 200 case representative sample was obtained at the same time in West Berlin. As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organisation working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organisation and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern technique of survey research.

SUMMARY EXCERPTS FROM REPORT

I. Present Levels of Support and Opposition

There is no simple answer to the question - are the German people for or against German participation in European defense? It depends -- .

If Germans are asked flatly and tersely whether they are for or against West Germany's military participation in European defense without any specification of conditions - support today competes no better than even with opposition, and probably a little worse.

But follow-up inquiry discloses the same state of affairs currently has been shown before, that approval of German defense participation distinctly outweighs opposition - if certain conditions are met. Only a minority of the West German people are opposed to defense participation under any and all conditions.

Preconditions of participation cited by the respondents not unconditionally opposed add up primarily to the absence of any discriminatory treatment.

Possible the most important measure of German sentiments on defense participation approaches the issue from the point of view of resistance to a projected Bonn agreement. Unless there is a plebiscite on the participation issue, this is the kind of opposition most in need of assessment.

The latest returns reveal that only approximately a quarter of the West German people would find it difficult to reconcile themselves to a Bonn decision to contribute West German divisions to a general West European army. Actual diehard resistance, however, is very considerably less. Only six per cent of the population indicate in follow-up inquiry that they would actually attempt to do something to oppose such a decision, and what they would do adds up to materially less than really active resistance.

- a -

R E S T R I C T E D

Group comparisons among West German population groups reveal:

- (1) If conditions are met, support for a German defense contribution outweighs opposition among all population groupings examined except women as a group, farmers, and respondents who say "Don't know" when asked their political preference - a generally poorly informed population element.
- (2) Under all forms of questioning, support for defense participation is maximal among the opinion leading strata - the men, the better educated, and the higher paid.
- (3) By and large, youth (18-24 years of age) do not appear to be appreciably more opposed to defense participation than are their elders, though they and the next older group (25-34), figure somewhat more prominently in indication of opposition to any Bonn agreement to participate in European defense.

II. Extent of Confidence in Fair Treatment on Participation Issue

Indication of German appreciation of American contributions to Germany have not been lacking in prior studies. But the returns in the present connection are distinctly less gratifying. Though the largest proportion (44%) express the opinion that America is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint on the participation issue, 27 per cent hold that America is trying to take advantage of Germany's present situation and 29 per cent express no opinion. No opinion on such an issue, it should be appreciated, connotes a certain amount of adverse orientation, as the question does not call so much for information as for a general value judgment which almost any German is in a position to make.

That the results add up to less than clear majority support for America on a basic confidence issue is not the whole story. Even more disquieting is the tenor of the comments vouchsafed by the 27 per cent who held that America is trying to take advantage of Germany in her present situation. These remarks are summarized in detail in the body of the report.

The most emphatic indication of widespread lack of German trust in the activities of the Western powers regarding the German defense participation issue, arises in connection with judgments on French motivations. Only one in ten in West Germany advanced the opinion that France is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint. The large preponderance (53%) held that she is trying to take advantage of Germany in her present situation, and the remainder expressed no opinion.

Traditional German-French antagonism as well as recent perturbations about the Saar figure prominently in the accompanying comments of those who see France as seeking to take advantage of Germany.

III. Is Participation Inevitable?

Whatever the preconditions they would like to interpose, and however doubtful they may be of Western integrity in the matter, Germans in the large feel that participation is inevitable. Three quarters in the present survey - the same proportion as in late July of 1951 - agreed that Germany will sooner or later participate militarily in West European defense.

- b -

R E S T R I C T E D

IV. Some Factors Related to Opposition

Current findings make it evident that the majority of West Germans (a) assign a higher priority to reconstruction than to military defense, and (b) that opposition to defense participation is closely associated with such a point of view.

As to the possible effect of German defense participation upon living conditions the preponderant opinion is that they would grow worse (34%). ★ quarter judge living conditions would improve, and another quarter think they would remain the same.

Attitudes toward German defense participation reveal some relationship with judgments on the present issue with opposition appreciably higher among respondents who foresee impaired living conditions as a result of any West German participation in European defense.

Though German resistance to taxation in connection with defense costs appears to have dropped off slightly since December 1951, just as many currently argue that Germany should pay a smaller proportion of their taxes for defense, as hold that it would be proper to pay the same proportion as other West European countries.

Since June of 1951, war apprehensions have fallen off somewhat among West Germans, a fact which cross analysis reveals to result in - or at least be accompanied by - reduced support for German defense participation. The present majority opinion among West Germans is that the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future is small to very small.

A last factor - whose possible tieup with resistance to defense participation is obvious - is the question of a draft. Opposition to allowing the Federal government the right to draft German men shows no signs of having abated since an earlier sounding in mid '51. The trend has been rather a slight increase to the point where now 55 per cent are opposed to granting such a right, 35 per cent in favor, and 10 per cent no opinion.

R E S T R I C T E D

I. PRESENT LEVELS OF SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION

There is no simple answer to the question, "are the German people for or against German participation in European defense?" It depends - . The present section embodies the results from four different approaches to the problem which supplement one another to avoid the danger of oversimplification.

SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION - IF CONDITIONS UNSPECIFIED ...

If Germans are asked flatly and tersely whether they are for or against West Germany's military participation in European defense without any specification of conditions - support today competes no better than even with opposition, and probably a little worse. Moreover, under such conditions intensity of feeling is stronger among opponents of military participation than among those who favor such a course. Such statements do not apply to West Berlin and throughout this report it will be noted, that Berlin departs in characteristic ways from the West German picture.

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin	
Very much for it	16%	18%	13%	13%	46%	}74%
Somewhat for it	27	29	25	27	28	
	}43%					
Somewhat against it	14	12	18	12	11	}24
Very much against it	34	33	33	40	13	
	}48					
No opinion	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

R E S T R I C T E D

SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION - IF CONDITIONS MET ...

But follow-up inquiry discloses the same state of affairs currently as has been ~~from~~ before*, that approval of German defense participation distinctly outweighs opposition - if certain conditions are met. Only a minority of the West German people are opposed to defense participation under any and all conditions. This minority may be somewhat larger than it has been, ** but still embraces no more than approximately a third of the population.

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?)
(Very much against it or somewhat against it?)

"And are there any conditions for our participation which would have to be fulfilled first? (Asked of those who said for participation to initial question)

"And are there any conditions under which you would be for a participation?" (Asked of those who said against or no opinion to initial question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Unconditionally for participation	10%	10%	9%	10%	21%
Conditionally for participation	44	47	42	36	49
For - but with conditions	(29%)	(33%)	(25%)	(24%)	(43%)
Against or no opinion - unless conditions are met	(15)	(14)	(17)	(12)	(6)
Unconditionally again	31	28	33	35	15
No opinion	$\frac{15}{100\%}$	$\frac{15}{100\%}$	$\frac{16}{100\%}$	$\frac{19}{100\%}$	$\frac{15}{100\%}$

* See Report # 88, Series # 2, of July 6, 1951, entitled - CURRENT THINKING ON WEST GERMAN DEFENCE PARTICIPATION - With Projected Reactions to a Possible Bonn Agreement.

** Again see Report # 88. Comparative tabulations are not presented because a somewhat different framework of questioning was employed in the earlier study.

The preconditions of participation cited by the respondents not unconditionally opposed, add up primarily to the absence of any discriminatory treatment - though a number of other German aspirations are tagged on by minor proportions as the price of participation.

Since the pattern of conditions specified by what might be termed the "For participation - but" respondents did not differ from those of the "Against or no opinion - unless" group, they have been combined in the tabulations below:

Conditions Cited by Respondents Conditionally for Participation

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>Equal rights for German troops:</u>					
We must have the guarantee that we are equal participants in the command of the European army - otherwise there is the danger that German soldiers will be used as cannon fodder; that we are equal participants in the command of our troop contingents - equality in every respect especially in regard to weapons too; that we can train our soldiers ourselves; West Germany should have equality in the question of the command of our troop contingents; that our soldiers will get the same rights as those of other nations; the right for co-determination - that we have our own command and are dependent on the Allies - we should have our own general staff so they can't do with us as they please; etc.	13%	16%	11%	11%	19%
<u>Political equality for Germany:</u>					
Germany must not be treated as a second class nation; we must have full equality - the Allies must not interfere with everything here - they should treat us as equal partners and as a free people; that we get more freedom - equality above all - that we can do more and have more rights; restoration of our honor; they should recognize us in general, and not treat us as second class people; full equality with other nations without any restrictions - absolute sovereignty; etc.	10	12	9	7	12
<u>Clarification of the prisoner of war issue:</u>					
Should let the old soldiers out of jail; the war crime trials should cease - all POW's should be sent home, and all former German generals should get their freedom back - there are "Wehrmachtshelferinnen" in Werl who haven't been tried yet; as long as the soldiers from the last war have not returned; etc.	7	9	6	5	2
<u>Economic and financial equality:</u>					
Financial equality; that we don't have to pay any more reparations; that the costs for the refugees and West Berlin are to be deducted from the 11,2 million defense budget - that we don't have to pay proportionally more for the defense contribution than the others; that we don't have to pay any more occupation costs; etc.	4	5	3	2	6
<u>Reunification of Germany:</u>					
Only when East and West Germany are united; that East and West Germany are united before or that they give us guarantees for it; if Germany were united; that the Western powers actively promote the reunification of Germany; etc.	4	3	4	1	4

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
--	-----------------	---------------	------------	----------------	--------

Solution of special German problems:

The workers should have more social rights - I am thinking of the right of co-determination in industries and the economy; equalization of burdens; that the living costs don't increase; complete elimination of need among the broad masses of our people; improve the living standard; etc.	4%	2%	6%	5%	1%
--	----	----	----	----	----

Guarantee that our troops be only used for defense:

Our troops should only be used for the defense of Germany; if I had assurance that our troops will only be used for protection; the guarantee that the East will never be attacked; etc.	3	3	3	3	3
--	---	---	---	---	---

Equality (without further explanation):

We should be able to do what we want - we should demand equality; that we will have the same rights in every field; etc.	3	3	2	3	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

Conclusion of a peace treaty:

First of all a peace treaty has to be concluded, otherwise the Russians might treat us as partisans in case of war; should have a peace treaty first; etc.	3	3	3	-	4
--	---	---	---	---	---

Solution of the Saar issue:

A solution of the Saar issue; that they return our territories in the West - the Saar District; first the return of the Saar District; a clarification of the Saar issue; etc.	3	1	3	2	3
--	---	---	---	---	---

Establishment of troops only on a voluntary basis:

That Germany will only participate in the European army with volunteers; only volunteers, not draftees; an army should exist, but only with volunteers; etc.	2	2	1	1	1
--	---	---	---	---	---

Admittance of Germany to the Atlantic pact:

Admittance of Germany to the Atlantic pact; etc.	1	1	1	1	2
--	---	---	---	---	---

Plebiscite:

Should hold a plebiscite; etc.	1	2	1	1	-
--------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---

European working together:

If all European nations put their own interests behind; a unification of the countries in the West; the unification of Europe would be the condition; that the French distrust of Germany stops; etc.	1	1	1	-	3
---	---	---	---	---	---

Establishment of an independent German army:

It should be a regular army - not a "defense contribution"; general universal military conscription; etc.	1	1	*	1	1
---	---	---	---	---	---

Precautions against eventual power of the military:

An international and domestic guarantee that the military forces won't get too much power later on; etc.	*	2	-	-	1
--	---	---	---	---	---

Return of lost territories:

If we get our homelands back; then we'll do it perhaps; should clear up the territory annexations at the Dutch border; etc.	*	*	1	-	1
---	---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions:

That we can live as decent people; the danger from the East should increase first - I don't consider participation necessary now; etc.	2	1	2	1	2
--	---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

	62%*	67%*	57%*	44%*	66%*
--	------	------	------	------	------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents named more than one condition.

R E S T R I C T E D

TREND IN SUPPORT WITHIN ATLANTIC PACT FRAMEWORK ...

Since the early stages of German thinking about a role in European defense RAS has relied for trend analysis upon a query raising the issue of defense participation within the framework of the Atlantic pact. However, when "Gleichberechtigung" became more and more injected into the participation issue, the Atlantic pact question had to be supplemented by other lines of inquiry, since the query carries some implications of equality and it cannot be judged from the returns how many respondents are assuming equality as a condition of participation in their answers and how many are not.

But despite some lack of precision on the equality issue, the Atlantic pact question because of its long use still has value as an indication of trend. Results in the current survey suggest that the present pattern of support and opposition on defense participation does not differ markedly from the average through 1951 - i.e. support preponderating over opposition within the framework of the question as posed.

"Some time ago, several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic pact. Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Western Europe. Would you then be for or against such a participation in a defense army?"

	1951							1952	
WEST GERMANY	Mar 7-15	Apr/May 30-11	May/June 29-5	June 16-23	July 12-20	July/Aug 27-8	August- 20-30	October 1-8	Febr 18-26
For it	48%	43%	43%	46%	54%	49%	43%	48%	49%
Against it	40	43	36	33	29	35	39	35	33
No opinion	12	14	21	21	17	16	18	17	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
British Zone									
For it	48%	47%	45%	47%	57%	51	43%	50%	53%
Against it	39	38	34	32	24	30	36	32	31
No opinion	13	15	21	21	19	19	21	18	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
US Zone									
For it	51%	40%	46%	47%	55%	48%	46%	45%	45%
Against it	39	48	35	34	33	41	38	40	37
No opinion	10	12	19	19	12	11	16	15	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
French Zone									
For it	37%	36%	31%	35%	44%	43%	34%	50%	44%
Against it	49	48	41	35	38	38	52	37	31
No opinion	14	16	28	30	18	19	14	13	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
West Berlin *									
For it	79%	-	78%	75%	-	-	-	-	76%
Against it	15	-	14	19	-	-	-	-	15
No opinion	6	-	8	6	-	-	-	-	9
	100%	-	100%	100%	-	-	-	-	100%

* This question was not included in West Berlin surveys on open dates.

EXTENT OF DIEHARD RESISTANCE TO A BONN AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE ...

The final and possibly the most important measure of German sentiments on defense participation approaches the issue from the point of view of resistance to a projected Bonn agreement. Unless there is a plebiscite on the participation issue, this is the kind of opposition most in need of assessment.

The latest returns reveal that only approximately a quarter of the West German people would find it difficult to reconcile themselves to a Bonn decision to contribute West German divisions to a general West European army. Actual diehard resistance, however, is very considerably less. Only six per cent of the population indicate in follow-up inquiry that they would actually attempt to do something to oppose such a decision, and what these would do, it may be seen below, adds up to considerably less than really active resistance.

"Supposing the West German government would approve point B** (integration of German divisions into a general West European army) which would be your attitude toward this decision?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
I would welcome this decision	15%	16%	15%	11%	41%
I would accept the fact, even if I were not enthusiastic about it	50	49	51	53	42
I would oppose this decision completely	23	23	22	25	12
No opinion	12	12	12	11	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

If "Would oppose this decision completely":

"Would you attempt to do something against this decision?"

Yes	6%	7%	5%	5%	3%
No	15	13	17	17	8
No opinion	2	3	*	3	1
	23%	23%	22%	25%	12%

If "Yes": "What?"

Propagandize against it:

As far as I can do something against it through propaganda, yes; I would only passively do something, by complaining about it or by making propaganda against it; etc.	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%
---	----	----	----	----	----

Vote against it:

Yes, if my vote means anything I would vote against it; only at an election - I would vote against it then; etc.	1	1	2	1	+
--	---	---	---	---	---

Press for a plebiscite:

Would press for a plebiscite; I would try to make them hold a plabiscite; etc.	1	1	-	-	1
---	---	---	---	---	---

Would do everything that would work against it:

I would do everything in opposition to it - I would support nothing; I would fight against it to the last, how, I don't know yet; etc.	1	*	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---	---

Would join a movement against it:

I would join an organization that is in opposition to it; would join groups that are against it; etc.	1	1	*	1	-
---	---	---	---	---	---

I would never become a soldier:

I wouldn't let them draft me - I would rather go to jail; etc.	1	2	*	1	-
No opinion/No answer:	* 6%	1 7%	- 5%	- 5%***	- 3%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Referring to a preceding query; the present question appeared as a follow-up.

***Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

The present volume of resistance to defense participation among the West German population may represent a slight increase from mid-'51 levels reproduced below. On the other hand the earlier posing of the question carried considerably greater connotations of equality in the phrase - "and the Federal government would consider the conditions for such participation acceptable" - which could account for the differences obtained.

"Supposing the Western powers asked West Germany to participate in a West European army and the Federal government would consider the conditions for such participation acceptable and agree to it. What would be your opinion on it?"

	WEST GERMANY		Brit. Zone		US Zone		French Zone		Berlin	
	June	July/ Aug.	June	July/ Aug.	June	July/ Aug.	June	July/ Aug.	June	July/ Aug.
	16-23	27-8	16-23	27-8	16-23	27-8	16-23	27-8	16-23	27-8
I would welcome this decision	22%	26%	22%	25%	21%	26%	20%	30%	43%	-
I would accept the fact even if I were not enthusiastic about it	45	45	45	48	46	43	47	40	42	-
I would oppose this decision, but would do nothing against it	13	14	13	11	13	20	14	17	3	-
I would oppose this decision and would do something against it	2	2	1	2	2	1	3	1	4	-
No opinion	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$	$\frac{19}{100\%}$	$\frac{14}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{16}{100\%}$	$\frac{12}{100\%}$	$\frac{8}{100\%}$	-

POPULATION GROUPS COMPARED IN SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION ...

Among the more important indications brought to light by group comparisons on the four lines of inquiry employed to assess German participation sentiments are:

- (1) If conditions are met, support for a German defense contribution outweighs opposition among all population groupings examined except women, a group, farmers, and respondents who say "Don't know" when asked their political preference - a generally poorly informed population element.
- (2) Under all forms of questioning, support for defense participation is maximal among the opinion leading strata - the men, the better educated, and the higher paid.
- (3) By and large, youth (18-24 years of age) do not appear to be appreciably more opposed to defense participation than are their elders, though they and the next older age group (25-34), figure somewhat more prominently in indications of opposition to any Bonn agreement to participate in European defense.

Interested readers are referred to the tabulations (see following four pages) for more specific insights brought to light in the group comparisons.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	Very much for it	Somewhat for it	Somewhat against it	Very much against it	No opinion	No. o cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	22%	29%	13%	34%	2%...100%	367
Women	10	26	16	33	15	427
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	14	26	15	36	9	656
Beyond elementary	23	34	10	23	10	136
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	14	27	14	34	11	489
300 - 399 DM	20	27	13	35	5	150
400 DM and more	17	32	15	32	4	123
<u>Age:</u>						
18 - 24 years	16	25	15	34	10	115
25 - 34 "	12	24	17	41	6	163
35 - 44 "	15	26	18	35	6	171
45 - 54 "	12	28	17	35	8	170
55 years and over	23	30	6	26	15	173
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	11	26	16	44	3	184
CDU/CSU	26	39	12	18	5	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	35	35	8	20	2	49
Other parties	21	29	17	31	2	58
No party	12	23	14	44	7	193
Don't know	8	19	15	30	28	158
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	17	33	14	31	5	36
Businessmen	22	31	13	25	9	94
White-collar workers	16	35	13	27	9	88
Skilled laborers	10	23	17	46	4	145
Semi-skilled laborers	9	29	19	38	5	104
Farmers	6	24	15	39	16	90
Unemployed	24	23	21	21	11	47
Not employed; pens.; students; retired; etc.	26	27	9	27	11	150
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	14	26	12	46	2	132
No	16	28	15	31	10	656
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	15	31	13	32	9	318
Protestants	16	25	15	34	10	443
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	13	28	14	36	9	624
Expellees, Refugees	26	23	15	27	9	170
<u>Veteran Status:</u>						
Yes	20	30	12	36	2	207
No	25	27	14	31	3	160

R E S T R I C T E D

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)

"And are there any conditions for our participation which would have to be fulfilled first? (Asked of those who said for participation to previous question)

"And are there any conditions under which you were for a participation?" (Asked of those who said against or no opinion to prior question)

	Uncondi- tionally for	Condi- tionally for	Uncondi- tionally against	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	8%	62%	5%	25%...100%	367
Women	11	28	36	25	427
Education:					
Elementary school	10	40	33	17	656
Beyond elementary	9	64	18	9	136
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	11	37	33	19	489
300 - 399 DM	9	53	29	9	150
400 DM and more	4	63	26	7	123
Age:					
18 - 24 years	15	34	34	17	115
25 - 34 "	7	45	36	12	163
35 - 44 "	8	44	33	15	171
45 - 54 "	6	48	31	15	170
55 years and over	13	44	23	20	173
Party Preference:					
SPD	8	45	38	9	184
CDU/CSU	16	53	18	13	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	12	70	10	8	49
Other parties	9	57	29	5	58
No party	6	43	39	12	193
Don't know	9	21	33	37	158
Occupation:					
Professionals	-	61	31	8	36
Businessmen	12	56	25	7	94
White-collar workers	3	59	24	14	88
Skilled laborers	7	48	34	11	145
Semi-skilled laborers	10	38	39	13	104
Farmers	10	26	22	42	90
Unemployed	13	45	19	23	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	15	40	26	19	150
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	5	57	32	6	132
No	10	42	31	17	656
Religion:					
Catholics	11	42	30	17	318
Protestants	9	45	31	15	443
Origin:					
Natives	10	42	33	15	624
Expellees, Refugees	12	48	24	16	170
Veteran Status:					
Yes	7	66	24	3	207
No	9	57	26	8	160

R E S T R I C T E D

"Some time ago, several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic pact.

Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Western Europe. Would you then be for or against such a participation in a defense army?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of CRSSES
Sex:				
Men	60%	31%	9%...100%	367
Women	39	35	26	427
Education:				
Elementary school	46	34	20	656
Beyond elementary	63	27	10	136
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	46	33	21	489
300 - 399 DM	59	32	9	150
400 DM and more	57	33	10	123
Age:				
18 - 24 years	47	36	17	115
25 - 34 "	48	39	13	163
35 - 44 "	49	35	16	171
45 - 54 "	48	34	18	170
55 years and over	52	23	25	173
Party Preference:				
SPD	47	44	9	184
CDU/CSU	69	19	12	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	18	8	49
Other parties	57	34	9	58
No party	41	44	15	193
Don't know	30	25	45	158
Occupation:				
Professionals	53	39	8	36
Businessmen	54	34	12	94
White-collar workers	50	37	13	88
Skilled laborers	49	41	10	145
Semi-skilled laborers	39	39	22	104
Farmers	36	34	30	90
Unemployed	53	24	23	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	59	21	20	150
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	50	42	8	132
No	49	32	19	656
Religion:				
Catholics	52	28	20	318
Protestants	47	35	18	443
Origin:				
Natives	46	35	19	624
Expellees, Refugees	59	27	14	170
Veteran Status:				
Yes	62	32	6	207
No	58	30	12	160

* Trend breakdowns are not included here as they are too extensive with the many repetitions of this question to permit convenient tabulation. Earlier breakdowns are summarized in report # 94, Series # 2, dated August 27, 1951, entitled - THE VIEWS OF WEST GERMANS ON THE DEFENSE OF WEST EUROPE Further Trends on Participation in the Western Defense System and Related Issue.

"Supposing the Western powers asked West Germany to participate in a West European army and the Federal government would consider the conditions for such participation acceptable and agree to it. What would be your opinion on it?"

	I would welcome this decision	I would accept the fact, even if I were not enthusiastic about it	But would not attempt to do something against it	And would attempt to do something against it	No opinion.	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	20%	49%	18%	9%	4%..100%	367
Women	10	51	16	3	20	427
Education:						
Elementary school	13	49	20	5	13	656
Beyond elementary	26	52	6	9	7	136
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	15	45	20	4	16	489
300 - 399 DM	19	55	15	7	4	150
400 DM and more	13	65	11	7	4	123
Age:						
18 - 24 years	11	49	21	9	10	115
25 - 34 "	16	51	20	8	5	163
35 - 44 "	14	53	16	6	11	171
45 - 54 "	12	54	18	5	11	170
55 years and over	21	43	13	2	21	173
Party Preference:						
SPD	12	54	22	8	4	184
CDU/CSU	24	54	11	1	10	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	35	53	6	2	4	49
Other parties	19	50	17	7	7	58
No party	10	49	24	8	9	193
Don't know	8	42	13	5	32	158
Occupation:						
Professionals	19	61	6	11	3	36
Businessmen	20	53	18	3	6	94
White-collar workers	14	53	16	5	12	88
Skilled laborers	10	52	20	10	8	145
Semi-skilled laborers	10	51	23	7	9	104
Farmers	7	55	21	1	16	90
Unemployed	17	42	17	11	13	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; re-tired; etc.	26	43	10	1	20	150
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	14	54	17	11	4	132
No	15	49	17	5	14	656
Religion:						
Catholics	16	50	16	4	14	318
Protestants	15	49	18	6	12	443
Origin:						
Natives	13	52	18	6	11	624
Expellees, Refugees	21	44	15	5	15	170
Veteran Status:						
Yes	20	48	20	9	3	207
No	21	49	15	9	6	160

II. EXTENT OF CONFIDENCE IN FAIR TREATMENT ON PARTICIPATION ISSUE

The fact that support greatly outweighs opposition on the defense participation issue if certain conditions can be specified - but that no preponderance of support is obtained on a straight for or against question without discussing conditions - carries the suggestion, of course, that many Germans are not at all confident about getting the treatment they feel they are entitled to if Germany participates. In the present section such perturbations are brought clearly into focus.

IS AMERICA TRYING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF GERMANY? ...

Indication of German appreciation of American contributions to Germany have not been lacking in prior studies***. But the returns in the present connection are distinctly less gratifying. Though the largest proportion (44%) express the opinion that America is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint on the participation issue, 27 per cent hold that America is trying to take advantage of Germany's present situation and 29 per cent express no opinion. No opinion on such an issue, it should be appreciated, connotes a certain amount of adverse orientation, as the question does not call so much for information as for a general value judgment which almost any German is in a position to make.

"Do you believe that America is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint on our participation in a West European army, or is she trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

	W.G.	Br.Z.	US Z.	Fr.Z.	Berlin
Is trying to do justice	44%	47%	42%	37%	77%
Is trying to take advantage	27	24	30	27	16
No opinion	29	29	28	36	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

That the results add up to less than clear majority support for America on a basic confidence issue is not the whole story. Even more disquieting is the tenor of the comments vouchsafed by the 27 per cent who held that America is trying to take advantage of Germany in her present situation.

Because of the importance of the present returns the data are initially summarized and then the comments are exemplified in more than usual detail, along with thumbnail indications of the kind of people who expressed them.

If "Is trying to take advantage": "In what way is America trying to take advantage of our situation?"

	WEST GER.	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>By seeking to use German soldiers to save their own</u>	7%	8%	7%	8%	5%
<u>By seeking to profit financially at Germany's expense</u>	4	4	5	5	2
<u>They intensify and capitalize on our dependent status</u>	4	3	6	3	1
<u>America has exploited us</u>	3	3	4	1	1
<u>General distrust of American intentions</u>	3	2	3	2	2
<u>By demanding defense participation in return for aid</u>	3	2	2	4	3
<u>America supports us only as far as she needs us for her own interests</u>	2	1	2	1	2
<u>Other answers</u>	1	2	2	2	*
<u>No opinion / No answer</u>	1	1	1	2	2
	28%**	26%**	32%**	28%**	18%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

*** See RAS Report No. 103, "Current State of German-American Relations", dated October 11, 1951.

R E S T R I C T E D

By Seeking To Use German Soldiers To Save Their Own

- So we can go to war for them and pick the hot chestnuts out of the fire for them. (26 year old housewife from Wuerttemberg-Baden)
- By feeding us with oranges, in order to use us for cannon fodder later. (39 year old housewife from Berlin)
- They draft the people by force and use them as cannon fodder. (39 year old dressmaker from Bavaria)
- They just want the Germans as cannon fodder, we cannot do anything against it - I am not so smart, but one can always notice that they don't want anything good for us. (22 year old housewife from Bavaria)
- She needs us to build a defense block in Europe against the East, for Germany is the buffer one can see it in the entire policy of America - at first the Morgenthau Plan, then they turn around 360 degrees because they see the Germans can be used. (23 year old mechanic from Wuerttemberg-Baden)
- We are sitting on dynamite and now they think to send the dumb "German Michel" forward - perhaps America wants to make business with us by furnishing arms. (41 year old salesman from Hesse)
- USA considers us a no-mans-land as a bulwark against the USSR - our security is only of minor importance. (32 year old building engineer from Berlin)
- They turn their old arms over to us, they want to get our men so they can pick the hot chestnuts out of the fire for them. (44 year old landlord from Berlin)
- We shall furnish the buffer between him (the American) and the Russian, he has noticed that he made stupid policy in 1945 and now we have to eat the hot soup and have to stick our necks out. (29 year old carpenter from Rhineland-Pfalz)
- They don't do it to help and to protect us, but to have a buffer against Communism. (30 year old male pensioner from Schleswig-Holstein)
- They only want the German soldiers to save their own men - the Americans are the only ones anyhow who are interested in a war. (48 year old boatsman from Lower Saxony)
- They all just try to impoverish us, they will send our boys to the most dangerous spots. (46 year old laborer)
- They want to save their own men and use us as mercenaries. (48 year old watchman from North Rhine-Westfalia)
- They want our soldiers put in the advanced front to get killed, that way they can save their men. (64 year old farmer from Bavaria)
- That America wins still more in a future war, with Germans as cannon fodder. (57 year old housewife from Bavaria)
- We shall take part as cannon fodder, that's why they act nice. (27 year old housewife from Schleswig-Holstein)
- Because we have to furnish the troops, so that America's conflicts are settled by our soldiers. (47 year old male pensioner from North-Rhine-Westfalia)
- He will retreat and have us do the fighting. (59 year old technician from North-Rhine-Westfalia)
- He pushes us into the defense, we have to fight for him for the Ruhr - the Ruhr belongs to him today, you know. (37 year old carpenter from Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern)
- They want to have us with them, we shall pick the hot chestnuts out of the fire, cover their retreat. (26 year old craftsman from Bavaria)
- They'll send us the material and the ammunition, but we have to provide the men because they want to save their blood. (49 year old watchman from Bavaria)

R E S T R I C T E D

They count on the efficiency of the German soldiers and want our soldiers to represent their interests. (57 year old housewife from Berlin)

He pushes us ahead so that we should stop the Russians and he can beat it. (63 year old road-construction laborer from Baden)

Every country thinks egoistically and America too - she just wants to save her own troops and counts on our soldiers. (30 year old housewife from Bavaria)

By Seeking To Profit Financially At Germany's Expense

For America the whole matter is only business - if she doesn't make profit anymore, she will let us go. (27 year old housewife from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

Pure business matter, the Americans try to use us in every respect. (26 year old laborer from Lower Saxony)

They don't help us for nothing - the Americans make a big business out of everything. (44 year old male pensioner from North-Rhine-Westfalia)

On a business basis - because America is the country which always makes money in a war. (20 year old female bookkeeper from North-Rhine-Westfalia)

America is only interested in making money out of us, if she makes concessions, then only for her own advantage. (51 year old engineer from Lower Saxony)

To sell her war production, capitalism directs everything. (39 year old waiter from Schleswig-Holstein)

They want us to have an army but they'll take over the arming, they only want to make a business, they don't bother about us. (71 year old male pensioner from Bavaria)

They want to make profits out of us. (46 year old housewife from Lower Saxony)

Because they want to save their capitalism, for economic reasons they want to force Germany to rearm. (28 year old housewife from Hesse)

He uses the situation to make business, they'll furnish armament and make a business with it. (65 year old male pensioner from Rhineland-Pfalz)

To use their large arm stocks, they make a business when they sell us their arms. (56 year old bricklayer's foreman from Bavaria)

She wants to make a business by selling war materials to us - I was born in America and I know that the Americans were antagonistic toward Germany already during World War I, my mother could not speak German during the war. (42 year old unemployed man from Berlin)

They want to make money, in regard to rearmament too. (61 year old farmer from Hesse)

To make business with us America wants to sell her war material to us. (52 year old female storekeeper from Schleswig-Holstein)

They Intensify And Capitalize On Our Dependent Status

He (the American) keeps us in completely economic dependency, so we have to act in accord with their wishes. (62 year old wholesale dealer from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

Because capitalism rules in America, this they want to spread here - they want to make us weak by unemployment, so we have to put up divisions. (39 year old female skilled laborer from Berlin)

They know that we depend on them and are bound by that, we have to carry all burdens. (26 year old housewife from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

To promote dependency by her support. (40 year old housewife from Lower Saxony)

R E S T R I C T E D

They want to have the German people working for them and they want to keep us always under their control - if Russia wouldn't be there, they wouldn't help us. (47 year old farmer from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

We are in a dependent relation, we need them and they know it and they dictate to us. (25 year old housewife from Bavaria)

America uses our position very strongly, for everything we want to do we need the permission of the Americans - now they lack soldiers, they know that we need them (the Americans) and now they request us to give them soldiers. (26 year old salesgirl from Bavaria)

We shall not become independent again, we shall not have an industry again, then we would become too strong as a nation, so they take everything from us. (49 year old machinist from Schleswig-Holstein)

They take everything, i.e. coal, they take everything to make us helpless so we have to take part. (25 year old housewife from North-Rhine-Westf.)

We are not independent enough because they have helped us so much and so they now dictate what we have to do. (23 year old painter from Hesse)

They want to gain the upper hand in the economic field. (58 year old merchant from Rhineland-Pfalz)

By keeping us short with food, now he exerts pressure on the government, for it is depending on him. (26 year old housewife from Wuertt.-Baden)

She demands concessions from our side in the military question, which the whole German nation would be opposed to if she was independent and equal. (50 year old housewife from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

We are still under pressure and they'll use pressure - in many respects we are still dependent, in imports, in war debts - they won't give us any more. (57 year old female laborer from Bavaria)

America Has Exploited Us

By taking everything from us and by dismantling. (18 year old skilled laborer from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

They pull everything out that can be pulled out. (53 year old farm laborer from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

Depriving - he always did that. (70 year old male pensioner from Lower Saxony)

I suppose that, because they use us everywhere. (55 year old housewife from Berlin)

Because they request high occupation costs, they just want to deprive us of everything. (49 year old farmer from Bavaria)

By the high taxes, "Soforthilfe" (immediate relief payment), etc. - they load every possible burden on us. (32 year old housewife from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

They stole all our patents, the war criminal trials were all fake too. (24 year old unemployed man from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

He took the best experts to America and the German patents too, we cannot do anything about it. (61 year old painter from Schleswig-Holstein)

To get everything out of Germany like machine parts and other goods which they can use. (50 year old housewife from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

We are economically deprived, now they would take even more. (43 year old unemployed man from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

Already by their occupation costs, by the confiscation of apartments, by taking patents. (24 year old housewife from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

General Distrust Of American Intentions

If they get advantages from it, they'll try to use us. (28 year old unemployed man from Lower Saxony)

For sure they won't try to do us any good. (24 year old warehouse laborer from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

They don't do anything for humanity's sake - the Russians menace America's position and so the Americans use every means - we are that in this case. (43 year old housewife from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

Every country tries to get the best out of Germany, the Americans too, how they do it I cannot say. (41 year old unemployed woman from Berlin)

One cannot rely on the Americans, now they need us and put us under pressure by economic measures, to-morrow they perhaps don't need us anymore, and then we are the militarists again. (33 year old plumber from Lower Saxony)

They never were for us, they are guilty too that the refugees are here. (72 year old male pensioner from Bavaria)

One cannot see clearly what the Americans want, I believe they don't mean it sincerely, they never gave us anything for nothing. (31 year old farmer from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

They keep us waiting, promise us everything possible and afterwards they take it back again. (42 year old housewife from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

That I don't know, it's for sure that the Germans always were the fools and were used by others - it will be that way today too, I don't know anything else. (33 year old housewife from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

They try to use our weakness. (43 year old laborer from Lower Saxony)

I cannot express that the right way, but they all try to use us. (40 year old housewife from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

Well, I cannot say it too well, they want their advantage anyway. (76 year old female pensioner from Rhineland-Pfalz)

Every Western power tries to get her advantages - nobody wants our good. (44 year old waitress from Berlin)

By Demanding Defense Participation In Return For Aid

Right away they would request us to pay back all the given aid (Marshall Plan, etc.), if we wouldn't participate, they just would put the pistol to our chest. (22 year old laborer from North-Rhine-Westfalia)

Now they want us in exchange for the ERP funds that we put up soldiers - nothing is for nothing. (39 year old unemployed woman from Berlin)

They threatened that they would cut off the Marshall Plan aid. (37 year old man from Bavaria)

The ERP funds which they give us, now they want soldiers for it. (26 year old female assembler from Berlin)

They would cut down on our food, very many people would become unemployed and then they would be forced to it. (66 year old female pensioner from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

By forcing us to contribute to the defense - they just have us in their hands - when they leave and don't support us anymore we'll have it badly. (49 year old tailor from Hesse)

They will stop the aids they are giving us now, i.e. Marshall Plan aid, and then we have had it and have to do what they want. (20 year old machine apprentice from Lower Saxony)

He gives us money and food and requests troops from us. (37 year old unemployed man from Bavaria)

They always supported us with food, now they say: "If you don't participate in the defense, we forsake you." (18 year old female clerk from Berlin)

If we don't act like they want they'll cut their dollar aid. (42 year old housewife from Lower Saxony)

They want to press us through their economic support to participate. (50 year old male polisher from Berlin)

America Supports Us Only As Far As She Needs Us For Her Own Interests

They support us only as long as they need the Germans. (49 year old unemployed woman from Berlin)

America only helps us because she hopes that we can be of use to her. (36 year old housewife from North)

They need us, otherwise they wouldn't do anything for us, we are good material for them. (45 year old housewife from Berlin)

We just are the means for a purpose anyway. (35 year old unemployed man from Bavaria)

They know that we cannot do otherwise, now they need us, but later they will take everything back twice and three times. (36 year old housewife from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

They only think of themselves, they are only interested in us because otherwise they cannot count on Europe anymore.. (43 year old female laborer from Lower Saxony)

I just have that feeling that they don't do it for our sake, but only to strengthen their position against the East; it would only be to the advantage of the Americans, that all would not have been necessary if they would have thought that over in 1945. (54 year old female pensioner from Bavaria)

He is afraid of the Soviets, that's why he gives money to Europe, to protect himself. (79 year old pensioner from Lower Saxony)

America wants to use us more for her own interests. (51 year old laborer from Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern)

Everybody looks for his advantages, they need us, they cannot do it without the Germans. (30 year old housewife from Berlin)

He drafts our forces because he needs them. (46 year old female pensioner from Wuerttemberg-Baden)

Other Answers

In everything - with our coal and industry. (27 year old unemployed man from Schleswig-Holstein)

Because they know that otherwise we are delivered to the Russians, they are afraid that the Russians win us. (35 year old housewife from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

Shortly before the armistice, America, England and Russia had one aim: to erase Germany completely, and today they try to pretend to be fair to us - how does that make sense?. (63 year old farmer from Hesse)

America considers it very important to put up German troops, because she knows that the German soldier is the best soldier on earth. (24 year old employee from North-Rhine - Westfalia)

Because they being an occupation force have the only chance - because they occupied a big portion of Germany they have the say in all the talks. (48 year old laborer from Bavaria)

To get German soldiers for Korea. (19 year old unemployed man from Lower Saxony)

We are only a plaything for them - they prevent a reunification of Germany in economic respects too. (2. year old laborer from Hesse)

Because she doesn't give us a peace treaty. (73 year old cooper from Hesse)

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Trust in the justice of American actions in the German defense participation issue is most widespread, group breakdowns reveal, among the better educated and informed sectors of the population. But the increases are at the expense of no opinion as there is no lesser tendency among opinion leading elements than among their counterpart groups to express distrust of American motivations.

Variations in distrust of America on the participation issue seem to be greatest in connection with party affiliation, with 36 per cent of the SPD to only 17 per cent of the CDU and 20 per cent of the FDP taking the position that America is trying to take advantage of Germany in her present situation.

"Do you believe that America is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint on our participation in a West European army, or is it trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

	Trying to do justice	Trying to take advantage	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	53%	30%	17% ... 100%	367
Women	36	24	40	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41	27	32	656
Beyond elementary school	60	24	16	136
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	38	27	35	489
300 - 399 DM	55	25	20	150
400 DM and more	62	28	10	123
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	37	30	33	115
25 - 34 years	48	32	20	163
35 - 44 years	46	25	29	171
45 - 54 years	48	26	26	170
55 years and over	40	22	38	173
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	42	36	22	184
CDU/CSU	58	17	25	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	69	20	11	49
Other parties	36	36	28	58
No party	44	32	24	193
Don't know	27	18	55	159
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	69	25	6	36
Businessmen	49	24	27	94
White-collar workers	47	28	25	88
Skilled laborers	48	30	22	145
Semi-skilled laborers	38	31	31	104
Farmers	30	27	43	90
Unemployed	47	30	23	47
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	42	23	35	150
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	54	29	17	132
No	43	26	31	656
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	43	26	31	318
Protestants	45	26	29	443
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	44	26	30	624
Expellees, Refugees	44	29	27	170
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	57	30	13	207
No	48	29	23	160

IS FRANCE TRYING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF GERMANY? ...

The most emphatic indication of widespread lack of German trust in the activities of the Western powers regarding the German defense participation issue, arises in connection with judgments on French motivations. Only one in ten in West Germany advanced the opinion that France is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint. The large preponderance (53%) held that she is trying to take advantage of Germany in her present situation, and the remainder expressed no opinion.

"And do you believe that France is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint on our participation in a West European army, or is she trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

	W.G.	Br.Z.	US Z.	Fr.Z.	Berlin
Is trying to do justice	10%	10%	11%	9%	14%
Is trying to take advantage.	53	56	50	46	67
Neither / Nor	1	1	1	3	8
No opinion	36	33	38	42	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Traditional German-French antagonism as well as recent perturbations about the Saar figure prominently in the accompanying comments of those who see France as seeking to take advantage of Germany.

"And do you believe that France is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint on our participation in a West European army, or is she trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

If "Is trying to take advantage": "In what way is France trying to take advantage of our situation?"

W. Br. US Fr. Ber-
G. Z. Z. Z. lin

France wants to pocket the Saar District:

They took a hold of the Saar District even before we made a treaty; the viewpoint of the French in the Saar issue is enough proof. wants to rule the Saar District - the French want to get a lot of advantages for themselves; they already tried - before our participation - to pocket German territory as i.e. the Saar; I read the matter about the Saar problem recently - that is exploitation; etc.

20% 19% 23% 19% 28%

France still fears us and tries to keep us weak:

France still treats us as enemies; they use the distrust against us to their advantage and always act as if we were criminals; they don't think well of us; they try to postpone our equality all the time; the French always hated and at the same time feared Germany - now they want to keep Germany under control; France has never forgotten that we are her arch-enemy - she is afraid of us and doesn't want us to recover; France fears the German superiority; etc.

16 19 13 13 21

France wishes to enrich herself at our expense:

That is proved by the Schuman Plan under which West Germany is exploited and impoverished; we can see from the Saar issue that they want to exploit us economically; Schuman Plan - we are to work and produce raw materials for their rearmament - and we'll be empty-handed; they want to exploit us; they want to take our industries away from us; France only wants to make money off us and exploit us; Schuman Plan - coal and iron; especially coal and farm workers - they get them from here; etc.

13 14 13 15 12

(cont'd on next page)

W. Br. US Fr. Ber-
G. Z. Z. Z. lin

France is opposed to cooperation with Germany and German military participation:

They don't want any German soldiers because they are afraid - therefore they make so many conditions; by not wanting us to participate in the defense plans; they don't want any German soldiers; they want to sabotage rearmament until we can't cooperate anymore - they are afraid of German superiority; they are putting obstacles in our way - they fear a German Wehrmacht; they can't get used to the thought that they'd have to work together with us; since they fear that we could participate they are making one reservation after the other; they won't ever agree to a German defense contribution; France doesn't want us to get into the Atlantic Pact; etc.

6 8 5 3 9

France wants Germans as shock troops:

It makes use of us as first bufferstop against the East; France needs the German troops for her own interests; they consider us an advanced post which has to stick its neck out; they want us to stick our necks out without them doing anything - that was explicitly expressed; on the same basis as America - we will only get the necessary aid from France if we participate in the defense army; they want to use our troops as an advance post to stop the first drive; etc.

4 4 3 2 3

France is interested in her own advantage in (general):

France wants to get her own advantages in any event; the French will only agree to it if it is to their own advantage - if that's not the case they won't ever agree - I know the French - they won't make it easy for us; they always seek their own advantage; etc.

2 2 2 2 2

Other opinions:

At every national assembly the French take an opposing position - one has the feeling as if France was fighting us more than Communism; I believe the French are siding with the Russians, that's why they take advantage of our situation; the French are not very enthusiastic about us and they are inclined to take advantage of the situation; etc.

1 1 * - 3

No Opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{67\%}$ $\frac{2}{70\%}$ $\frac{4}{65\%}$ $\frac{2}{57\%}$ $\frac{3}{84\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

In respect to France - as was not the case for America - it is the opinion leading elements, the men, the better-educated, and the higher paid, who most widely feel that France is trying to take advantage of Germany on the participation issue. This point of view appears to be particularly high in the veteran group among whom three quarters (73%) voice such sentiments.

"And do you believe that France is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint on our participation in a West European army, or is she trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

	Trying to do justice	Trying to take advantage	Neither/ Nor	No opin.	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	13%	66%	1%	20%	367
Women	6	42	2	50	427
Education:					
Elementary school	9	50	2	39	656
Beyond elementary school	13	53	4	20	136
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	10	48	1	41	489
300 - 399 DM	10	61	1	28	150
400 DM and more	11	66	5	18	123
Age:					
Up to 24 years	8	45	1	46	115
25 - 34 years	9	62	1	28	163
35 - 44 years	9	52	2	37	171
45 - 54 years	15	53	2	30	170
55 years and over	9	50	1	40	173
Party Preference:					
SPD	9	64	1	26	184
CDU/CSU	16	50	2	32	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	13	65	8	14	49
Other parties	9	57	-	34	58
No party	11	59	1	29	192
Don't know	4	29	-	67	158
Occupation:					
Professionals	11	70	8	11	36
Businessmen	12	54	2	32	94
White-collar workers	10	50	2	28	88
Skilled laborers	9	60	-	31	145
Semi-skilled laborers	10	57	1	32	104
Farmers	11	36	2	51	90
Unemployed	9	57	2	32	47
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	9	45	1	45	150
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	15	67	1	17	132
No	9	50	2	39	656
Religion:					
Catholics	12	51	2	35	318
Protestants	9	53	1	37	443
Origin:					
Natives	10	53	2	35	624
Expellees, Refugees	9	53	1	37	170
Veteran Status:					
Yes	13	73	1	13	207
No	13	57	2	28	160

III. IS PARTICIPATION INEVITABLE ?

MOST FEEL PARTICIPATION BOUND TO COME ...

Whatever the preconditions they would like to interpose, and however doubtful they may be of Western integrity in the matter, Germans in the large feel that participation is inevitable. Three quarters in the present survey - the same proportion as in late July of 1951 - agreed that Germany will sooner or later participate militarily in West European defense.

"Aside from whether you are for or against it, do you think that West Germany will sooner or later participate militarily in some form in West European defense?"

	WEST GERMANY				British Zone		US Zone		French Zone		Berlin	
	*July/Aug		Feb.		July/Aug		Feb.		July/Aug		Feb.	
	27/8	18-26	27/8	18-26	27/8	18-26	27/8	18-26	27/8	18-26	27/8	18-26
Will participate	73%	74%	72%	74%	76%	74%	73%	76%	-	-	-	84%
Will not participate	7	8	7	9	6	6	8	6	-	-	-	8
No opinion	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* The earlier question employed a somewhat different wording than that above.

In no important population grouping, the comparisons below reveal, does more than approximately one in ten contend that Germany will not participate in European defense.

"Aside from whether you are for or against it, do you think that West Germany will sooner or later participate militarily in some form in West European defense?"

	Will participate July/Aug Feb. 27/8 18-26		Will not participate July/Aug Feb. 27/8 18-26		No opinion July/Aug Feb. 27/8 18-26		No. of cases: July/Aug Feb. 27/8 18-26	
Sex:								
Men	86%	83%	6%	9%	8%	8%.100%	373	367
Women	63	66	6	7	31	27	426	427
Education:								
Elementary school	71	74	7	8	22	18	662	656
Beyond elementary	85	77	6	8	9	15	138	136
Income (per month):								
0 - 299 DM	69	71	6	7	25	22	531	489
300 - 399 DM	81	81	7	8	12	11	161	150
400 DM and more	87	79	6	12	7	9	96	123
Age:								
18 - 24 years	71	78	8	5	21	17	97	115
25 - 34 "	77	81	8	7	15	12	179	163
35 - 44 "	73	76	7	5	20	19	184	171
45 - 54 "	73	74	6	9	21	17	166	170
55 years and over	70	65	4	10	26	25	171	173
Party Preference:								
SPD	79	78	7	9	14	13	179	184
CDU/CSU	76	80	6	7	18	13	122	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	89	90	6	8	5	2	37	49
Other parties	80	78	6	12	14	10	63	58
No party	72	76	8	8	20	16	235	193
Don't know	61	55	6	3	33	42	162	158
Occupation:								
Professionals	82	84	9	3	9	13	22	36
Businessmen	78	77	7	11	15	12	90	94
White-collar workers	77	77	4	7	19	16	125	88
Skilled laborers	76	80	7	8	17	12	156	145
Semi-skilled laborers	68	75	10	8	22	17	103	104
Farmers	72	70	10	3	18	27	92	90
Unemployed	74	73	4	9	22	18	27	47
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	70	71	3	9	27	20	131	150
Trade Union Membership:								
Yes, member	-	86	-	6	-	8	-	132
No	-	72	-	8	-	20	-	656
Religion:								
Catholics	75	76	5	5	20	19	388	318
Protestants	71	72	8	9	21	19	380	443
Origin:								
Natives	74	73	6	9	20	18	627	624
Expellees, Refugees	73	79	6	4	21	17	172	170
Veteran Status:								
Yes	-	88	-	7	-	5	-	207
No	-	78	-	11	-	11	-	160

REASONS GIVEN FOR JUDGING PARTICIPATION INEVITABLE ...

The reasons advanced for judging that Germany will sooner or later participate in European defense primarily reflect (a) judgments of need, (b) the feeling that the Bonn government has so decided and (c) the feeling - already foreshadowed in earlier comments - that the Western powers, especially America, will compel Germany to participate.

"Aside from whether you are for or against it - do you think that West Germany will sooner or later participate militarily in some form in West European defense?"

If "Will participate": "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

The government has already decided in favor of it:

The government already talked it over with the Western powers and we won't be asked about it anymore; we could hear it at the Bundestag session, that most of them are for it; because the present as well as the future government wants it - Schumacher wants the same as Adenauer, only under different conditions; according to the vote I have to suppose that it was a precluded matter by Adenauer government; because they voted in favor of it at the Bundestag session - therefore we can hardly do anything about it - there will be universal military conscription and we will have to obey; because the defense contribution would be accepted by the Bundestag anyway without consulting the people; because Adenauer said it already - he wants it and the pact is already been made; because the government parties are for the defense contribution; etc.

16%	17%	17%	9%	13%
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It is necessary for protection against the danger from the East:

Because of the protection against the East; because the danger exists that West Europe could come into some kind of conflict with the East; because we are increasingly threatened by the Russians; because the Eastern nations simply force us to do so if we want to survive; the Russians will force us sooner or later - they will attack and we have to defend ourselves; because Stalin, just as Adolf Hitler, wants to conquer other nations, and West Germany has to protect herself against that - since the East Zone has been starting to rearm for such a long time we have to create some balance here as quickly as possible; for the simple reason of self-preservation - we can't wait until they overrun us; because I am afraid that one of these days the Poles will take everything away from us - they won't be satisfied with the Oder-Neisse line if we stay unarmed; otherwise we'd be lost in a new war; because the Russians won't give in - they want to get all of Berlin; because that is the only measure against the danger from the East - a German Wehrmacht is the greatest fear of the Russians; etc.

15	16	16	12	20
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

The Western powers, especially America, will compel us:

Whether CSU or SPD - we have to; they will bring the people around - the Americans will exert economic pressure on us - in case of our refusal they will threaten us with withdrawing their dollars; in case we said "No" the Americans would withdraw all their troops; because the Americans want it and we have to go along with them; because we are in the hands of the Americans and they want a German army; even if we don't want to, we have to - we'll have the same fate as the Negroes otherwise - the Ami will force us; that will be ordered by America after all; because the Western powers make the main decision about it; because our government realizes that we would have economic disadvantages otherwise and the other countries wouldn't help us anymore - our whole export business would be strangled; we can't do anything against it anyway - the others want it; because the Western Allies force us more or less; because of the pressure by the Allies, they wouldn't give us anything to eat anymore; etc.

15% 11% 21% 19% 10%

According to everything we hear it seems to be necessary - we don't have any other choice:

Because it is simply a necessity; the general circumstances will force us; because the situation is that way - there is no other choice; because it is necessary - the international situation has come to a climax; politics point toward that; all the negotiations point toward that; everything I read and hear points out that it will happen that way; according to what we hear over the radio we can suppose that; because it's in the newspaper; etc.

13 15 7 18 8

Only in this way can freedom and peace be preserved:

Our freedom can only be preserved with our own army; because if West Germany joins the West European nations, peace will be preserved for Germany as well; because every nation that wants to live in peace needs an army for its defense; because I believe that reason will get the better of even the narrow-minded politicians - they will realize that they don't have any other chance to preserve peace; a nation always needs an army, otherwise everybody can do as they please with it; so we'll have peace; etc.

3 4 3 - 6

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Other
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Cooperation with the West demands it:

If we want to cooperate with the others we have to participate in everything; because the Western powers represent our interests and therefore it is our duty to cooperate with them; we can't ask the others to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for us - we have to contribute; whoever says A has to say B too - we ratified the Schuman plan and consequently we have to take certain responsibilities in a European sense; I don't think West Germany could stay out of it - it would convey a wrong impression to the Allies; if we don't unite nothing will come of it - we have to stand united; etc.

3%	4%	3%	2%	7%
----	----	----	----	----

It would be to our advantage (economically, politically, and generally):

Because we can only have advantages from it; that could only be for our best; because it would only mean an advantage to us - there will be more work; if we want to make a comeback, then we'll have to establish an army - so the youth learns some manners and also the meaning of being German; so Germany will get a better position - so we can have a word in conferences too; we want to have some prestige in Europe; etc.

3	3	2	5	5
---	---	---	---	---

The Germans are needed to stem Communism (the Russians):

They need the Germans if they (the Americans) want to stem the Russians; it won't work without the Germans; because there is no other way - it is the desire for self-preservation - the others can't defend Europe alone, every German must realize this fact; because the Americans as well as the French know that they are up to their necks in Communism - that Communism threatens them - Germany is the last bulwark against Communism - they have to have our aid; etc.

2	3	2	1	2
---	---	---	---	---

The majority is in favor of a German army:

Because most Germans are in favor of an army; because everybody wants it - the others do and we do too; because most people are for it; etc.

2	1	2	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

This way we could get the East - Eastern territories - back:

The Eastern question has to be solved and we need a Wehrmacht for that; because the Germans from the East Zone want to return eventually to their homes; in order to liberate the East - that can only be achieved through pressure; because the poor refugees want their homes back, and they have the certainty to represent their interests personally this way; etc.

1	2	*	1	4
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions:

Because the Nazis and big industry barons are in the government again and want to make money out of it; they won't stop until things will pop; because they demand it from us; because the government wants to save face for reasons of prestige; because of our geographical position we can't afford to stay neutral; etc.

3	2	3	8	2
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer

1/77%*	1/79%*	1/77%*	1/77%*	2/86%*
--------	--------	--------	--------	--------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS CITED FOR DENYING PARTICIPATION WILL OCCUR ...

The small minority who held that Germany will not sooner or later participate in European defense argued mainly that the German people are opposed to war, or that there is too much disagreement about participation for it to occur.

"Aside from whether you are for or against it - do you think that West Germany will sooner or later participate militarily in some form in West European defense?"

If "Will not participate": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berl; Zone
<u>The German people are opposed to war:</u>					
Because our people are opposed to war - if we get soldiers it will lead to war sooner; the people want peace and don't want soldiers; most people are fed up with war - in West Germany as well as elsewhere; because the people don't want it - one can hear that everywhere; so there won't be another war; we can hear it everywhere - especially the World Youth Festival has shown that the youth is opposed to war; the youth of West Germany will oppose a war; etc.	3%	3%	2%	4%	3%
<u>There is so much disagreement about it in Germany:</u>					
We need just look at our politicians in Bonn in order to see that they won't agree too soon; because the opinions about it differ too much - even our Bundestag is in disagreement about it; because so many people are opposed to it - there is still disagreement in our own country about it; because there is too much disunity about it among the Germans; because the German Bundstag has not agreed on it yet - because the trade unions are still in opposition to it; etc.	2	2	2	1	1
<u>England and France will prevent it:</u>					
It's being frustrated because of England and France; because the French and the British are making too many difficulties; etc.	1	2	1	1	1
<u>We are not prepared enough for it:</u>					
The time hasn't come yet; because we haven't gotten far enough yet - we don't even have the soldiers; the problem is much too new and not acute enough yet - everything should be prepared much better; etc.	1	1	1	1	-
<u>Other opinions:</u>					
We are so poor - where should we get all these things - soldiers cost money; everybody says so - we can hear it everywhere - haven't we gone through enough yet?; because so far all conflicts with the Russians were settled peacefully and therefor it will continue that way; etc.	2	2	1	1	2
No opinion/No answer:	$\frac{*}{9\%}$ **	$\frac{*}{10\%}$	$\frac{*}{7\%}$ **	$\frac{*}{8\%}$ **	$\frac{*}{8\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

IV. SOME FACTORS RELATED TO OPPOSITION

Additional insights into correlates - and possibly causes - of West German resistance to European defense participation arises from a series of questions the first of which focuses upon the relative priority of military defense versus economic reconstruction.

PRIORITY OF RECONSTRUCTION ...

It is clear from the tabulations below that the majority of West Germans (a) assign a higher priority to reconstruction than to military defense and (b) that opposition to defense participation is closely associated with such a point of view.

"Two people are talking about what is more important for West Germany at the present (CARD) - with whom would you most agree?"

	W.G.	Br.Z.	US Z.	Fr.Z.	Berlin
A says: The most important thing today is military defense, because as long as there is the danger that the Russians might overrun us - economic reconstruction must be subordinated to defense preparations.	25%	26%	23%	25%	49%
B says: Reconstruction is most important because without reconstruction effective defense measures are impossible - therefore defense must be subordinated to reconstruction.	62%	61%	63%	60%	46%
Neither the one, nor the other	*	*	1%	-	1%
No opinion	<u>13%</u>	<u>13%</u>	<u>13%</u>	<u>15%</u>	<u>4%</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
Two people are talking about what is more important for West Germany at the present - with whom would you most agree:				
Military Defense	77%	18%	5% ... 100%	196
Reconstruction	33	62	5	488
No opinion	24	43	33	107

* Less than one half of one per cent

Reconstruction is deemed more pressing than military defense among all population groupings with the single exception (which must not be interpreted as entirely reliable with the paucity of cases) of individuals of FDP political persuasion. Possibly the most significant group variation which emerges from the comparisons below, is the indication that youth (18 - 24) are appreciably less convinced than their elders of the priority of military defense over reconstruction. It is also of importance to observe that precedence of reconstruction over military defense is a viewpoint particularly widespread among SPD adherents and trade union members.

"Two people are talking about what is more important for West Germany at the present - with whom would you rather agree?"

	Military Defense	Recon- struc- tion	Neither one	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	28%	65%	~%	7%...100%	367
Women	21	59	1	19	427
Education:					
Elementary school	23	63	*	14	656
Beyond elementary	35	53	1	11	136
Age:					
Up to 24 years	15	70	1	14	115
25 - 34 "	25	64	-	11	163
35 - 44 "	27	58	-	15	171
45 - 54 "	23	67	1	9	170
55 years and over	30	52	-	18	173
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	23	60	1	16	489
300 - 399 DM	30	64	-	6	150
400 DM and more	29	64	-	7	123
Party Preference:					
SPD	17	76	-	7	184
CDU/CSU	37	54	-	9	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	55	43	-	2	49
Other parties	43	52	-	5	58
No party	20	68	1	11	193
Don't know	12	52	1	35	158
Occupation:					
Professionals	30	53	-	17	36
Businessmen	29	66	-	5	94
White-collar workers	23	68	-	9	88
Skilled laborers	22	66	-	12	145
Semi-skilled laborers	21	66	-	13	104
Farmers	18	58	1	23	90
Unemployed	30	51	-	19	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	33	55	1	11	150
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	20	75	-	5	132
No	26	59	*	15	656
Religion:					
Catholics	29	57	*	14	318
Protestants	23	63	*	14	443
Origin:					
Natives	23	63	*	14	624
Expellees, Refugees	30	55	1	14	170
Veteran Status:					
Yes	32	61	-	7	207
No	23	69	-	8	160

EFFECT OF PARTICIPATION ON LIVING CONDITIONS ...

As to the possible effect of German defense participation upon living conditions the preponderant opinion is that they would grow worse (34%). A quarter judge living conditions would improve, and another quarter think they would remain the same.

"In case West Germany participated in a West European army, do you think that the living conditions of the West German population would in general improve or grow worse as a consequence?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Improve	26%	30%	22%	21%	44%
Grow worse	35	30	39	38	25
Remain same	25	25	25	28	24
Partly/partly	*	*	*	-	*
No opinion	14	15	14	13	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Attitudes toward German defense participation reveal some relationship with judgments on the present issue with opposition appreciably higher among respondents who foresee impaired living conditions as a result of any West German participation in European defense.

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe?"

For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
--------	------------	------------	--------------

In case West Germany participated in a West European army, do you think that the living conditions of the West German population would in general improve or grow worse as a consequence?

Improve	53%	43%	4%...100%	204
Grow worse	37	60	3	273
Remain same	51	40	9	201
No opinion	23	44	33	114

Those who judge depressed living conditions as a result of German defense participation, primarily anticipate rises in costs and taxes and shortages of goods and food.

03120

"In case West Germany participated in a West European army, do you think that the living conditions of the West German population would in general improve or grow worse as a consequence?"

If "Grow worse": "What would grow worse in our living conditions?"

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

Tax increases:

Much money is needed for the establishment of an army and the taxpayer has to supply that; the defense contribution is very high - everybody has to be prepared that he'll have to pay higher taxes and curb his own demands; the military costs money, and we the people have to pay higher taxes again; the taxes will increase even more; because then we'll have to spend a lot of money for the military - I just think that everybody would have to give more money - we couldn't possibly pay all that; the money has to come from somewhere - the taxes would increase so much that nobody could pay for it anymore - it would even concern me too; the tax burden would increase even more - I couldn't afford anything anymore; taxes would be increased which would effect everybody and the whole population; these 11 billions have to be procured somehow - taxes will increase; high taxes will come - there will be more bankruptcies; etc.

13%	12%	15%	15%	11%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

General economic shortages:

Because of rearmament not enough commodity goods would be produced; there will be lack of building material, iron, and textiles; there would be shortages in everything; there will be a shortage of textiles and commodity goods; textiles would become short - that is obvious already today; all money would be used for that purpose - cannons instead of butter - no building material anymore; all goods which are needed for the military will become short for civilian consumption - I couldn't say that though at the moment; because the industries would revert to war production - everything will become more scarce by that; shortage in leather goods and textiles; etc.

8	6	10	10	6
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General rise in expenses:

Everything will get even more expensive than it is now and we don't want that - the poor people want to live too; prices would increase; everything will get even more expensive and we have to pay for it all; defense always costs money and the Germans have to supply it - then everything will get more expensive and people can't afford anything anymore; considerable increase of prices would be the consequence because the defense costs a lot of money (11,5 billions for the Germans); the cost of living would rise because much material and food would be needed for the Wehrmacht; the prices of raw materials would increase; etc.

6	4	8	5	6
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The food situation would grow worse (food shortage and increase in food prices):

The prices for food will increase because the army needs money; the military would be supplied with food first - we are very poor; we won't be able to import enough food - I might not get enough to eat any-more with my child; then they'll requisition food for soldiers and we'll get as little to eat as in the past; we would get less to eat - the food situation for all of West Germany would grow worse; because then food would get scarce - the soldiers will get more and better to eat than the people at home; there would be greater need for food - we would have to import more - goods would become scarce; etc.

6 5 9 2 2

General decline of the living standard (respondents repeated question):

The living standard would decline by that - I would not live as well anymore either; the living standard would decline since everything would be subordinated to rearmament - but we would have to accept that; etc.

5 5 4 9 4

Food rationing:

Then we'll have ration cards for food again; food would probably be rationed again; we won't get food without ration cards any-more; perhaps we'll get ration cards again; then; etc.

3 2 4 2 1

General rationing of goods:

Then we'll have the ration card system again; the system of a free economy would go out of effect; there will be rationing for civilian consumption; the army will be supplied first and then the civilian population - we would have to use ration cards again and coupons for clothing; etc.

2 2 1 4 2

Other opinions:

I have to be prepared that I might be drafted any day; then there would be additional foreign soldiers to our own here in the country and we would have even less room then; there will be new law enforcements; then the Americans will have even more power over us; there would be another war and what things are like then we already know - this time it will be even worse than in Korea; there will be a psychosis of fear because of Russian threats; we would be indebted even more; the military brought us bad times even under the Nazis; etc.

4 3 5 3 1
* 1 * * *
47%** 40%** 56%** 50%** 33%**

No opinion/No answer:

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The respondents who envisage improvement in German living standards as a result of any defense involvement mainly see more employment as a consequence.

"In case West Germany participated in a West European army, do you think that the living conditions of the West German population would in general improve or grow worse as a consequence?"

If "Improve": "What would improve in our living conditions?"

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
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There would be more employment:

More opportunities for work; there would be more jobs, especially for older people, because the young people would then join the army; the whole unemployment situation would be improved through it; the unemployed people could find employments again; for years to come unemployment would be removed - an army needs a lot of things - everything would be manufactured in our own country; the number of unemployed people would decrease as the result of army orders - it wouldn't concern me as I'm an employee of the city administration; etc.

18%	21%	15%	14%	30%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

General, industrial boom:

The whole economy would be boosted (textiles, lumber industry, etc.); industry, especially textile industry, would be boosted through armament; the plants would run at full capacity, I would seek to practise my real profession again, as positions would be vacant; through armament industries; more orders for our economy; through increased production, boosting of economy; etc.

6	9	4	3	9
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Increase in money and purchasing power:

Soldiers would spend their money, they are financially secure and spend their money for their own use, thereby more money is spent; where soldiery are, money is spent; I reckon also that the government could pay us higher pensions; more opportunities for earnings; etc.

3	3	4	1	5
---	---	---	---	---

General improvement of living conditions:

Everyone would have more food; the housing shortage would eventually be improved; general possibilities to improve living conditions - life will be easier, the other nations would be more humane towards us; part of the occupation costs would be disengaged for other purposes - thereby improving the living conditions; etc.

2	2	2	1	9
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone Zone

Fall in prices:

I think the prices for food would go down; perhaps food would become less expensive; prices would go down; goods would get cheaper because we needn't pay customs anymore; etc.

2% 2% 1% 4 4%

Aid by America would be extended:

Support on the part of America would be extended if we participate in it; the Americans would help us, as goods have to be produced, many people would find employment, nothing could would change; I'm sure America would give more credits as it is interested in our coming to the top again; the Americans will surely provide us with more goods and would lift some restrictions; then the Americans would invest more (money) in Germany in order to help Germany on its feet; etc.

2 1 2 2 2

Increased trade relations with other countries:

Trade exchange with other countries would be extended; our trade will improve automatically with the other nations realizing our readiness to participate in defense; export and import would function better; through export, as Germany is a country sustaining on export; trade relations with America would result from it; borders and customs barriers would fall - understanding would be furthered - more goods would be produced; etc.

1 2 1 1 6

The youth would learn order again and would come off the streets:

Because the youth would learn more discipline and would come off the streets; the young fellows would learn discipline and order again; the young people would come off the streets; the youth would be brought up differently; etc.

1 1 * - 4

Others:

Concord would be increased; improvement at the beginning, but at long sight it would lead to indebtedness; etc.

1 1 1 - 1

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{37\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{43\%}$ ** $\frac{*}{30\%}$ ** $\frac{3}{29\%}$ ** $\frac{-}{70\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

Group variations on the present issue reveal no simple pattern.

"In case West Germany participated in a West European army, do you think that the living conditions of the West German population would in general improve or grow worse as a consequence?"

	Improve	Grow Worse	Remain same	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	32%	35%	26%	7%...100%	367
Women	20	34	25	21	427
Education:					
Elementary school	26	34	25	15	656
Beyond elementary	27	35	27	11	136
Age:					
Up to 24 years	27	31	31	11	115
25 - 34 "	30	26	30	14	163
35 - 44 "	22	38	24	16	171
45 - 54 "	24	39	26	11	170
55 years and over	26	36	18	20	173
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	26	33	23	18	489
300 - 399 DM	30	31	31	8	150
400 DM and more	24	41	29	6	123
Party Preference:					
SPD	28	36	25	11	184
CDU/CSU	28	36	28	8	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	29	38	29	4	49
Other parties	31	38	26	5	58
No party	25	34	26	15	193
Don't know	19	29	20	32	158
Occupation:					
Professionals	11	47	34	8	36
Businessmen	21	45	24	10	94
White-collar workers	26	27	37	10	88
Skilled laborers	28	35	27	10	145
Semi-skilled laborers	26	30	27	17	104
Farmers	20	40	19	21	90
Unemployed	32	23	30	15	47
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	29	33	19	19	150
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	32	34	28	6	132
No	24	34	25	17	656
Religion:					
Catholics	27	32	28	13	318
Protestants	24	36	23	17	443
Origin:					
Natives	24	36	25	15	624
Expellees, Refugees	31	29	26	14	170
Veteran Status:					
Yes	33	35	26	6	207
No	31	35	25	9	160

RESTRICTED

THINKING ON TAXES ...

Though German resistance to taxation in connection with defense costs appears to have dropped off slightly since December 1951, just as many currently argue that Germany should pay a smaller proportion of their taxes for defense, as hold that it would be proper to pay the same proportion as other West European countries.

"If West Germany did not have to pay occupation costs anymore, should we then pay the same proportion of taxes for defense costs as the other West European nations, should we pay a larger proportion or a smaller proportion?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone		Berlin	
	Dec 14-21	Feb 18-26	Dec 14-21	Feb 18-26	Dec 14-21	Feb 18-26	Dec 14-21	Feb 18-26	Dec 14-21	Feb 18-26
Same proportion	32%	38%	32%	41%	32%	36%	34%	36%	-%	54%
Smaller	40	37	38	35	45	39	39	36	-	36
Larger	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	-	-	1
Nothing at all	2	-	2	-	1	-	4	-	-	1
No opinion	24	23	25	22	21	24	22	28	-	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	-	100%

And, as might be anticipated, those who argue for smaller taxes are the people who more widely oppose German defense participation.

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
If West Germany did not have to pay occupation costs anymore, should we then pay the same proportion of our taxes for defense costs as the other W. European countries, should we pay a larger proportion or a smaller proportion:				
The same proportion	58%	37%	5%	305
Smaller proportion	38	58	4	292
No opinion	22	52	26	185

R E S T R I C T E D

Group comparisons reveal that in no population groups does as many as a clear majority approve of Germany paying the same proportion of their taxes for defense as do other West European countries.

"If West Germany did not have to pay occupation costs anymore, should we then pay the same proportion of taxes for defense costs as the other West European nations, should we pay a larger proportion or a smaller proportion?"

	The same proportion		Smaller		Larger		Nothing at all		No opinion		No. case
	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	
WEST GERMANY											
Sex:											
Men	38%	45%	45%	42%	2%	1%	4%	-	11%	12%..100%	36
Women	28	33	37	32	1	2	1	-	33	33	42
Education:											
Elem. school	30	36	40	37	1	2	2	-	27	25	65
Beyond elem.	45	51	40	35	3	1	3	-	9	13	13
Income (per month):											
0-299DM	27	34	42	37	1	2	2	-	28	27	48
300-399DM	43	48	37	33	2	2	1	-	17	17	15
400DM and more	47	49	37	40	2	1	2	-	12	10	12
Age:											
18-24 yrs.	42	35	33	41	1	-	5	-	19	24	11
25-34 "	35	47	44	39	1	2	3	-	17	12	15
35-44 "	31	38	44	34	1	2	3	-	21	26	17
45-54 "	30	36	42	38	2	1	1	-	25	25	17
55 yrs. and over	29	36	38	34	2	2	1	-	30	28	17
Party Preference:											
SPD	35	39	48	43	1	1	1	-	15	17	18
CDU/CSU	40	52	37	28	2	3	1	-	20	17	15
FDP/LDP/DVP											
BDV	54	47	42	49	2	2	-	-	2	2	4
Other parties	35	33	43	57	1	2	4	-	17	8	5
No party	28	38	41	41	2	-	4	-	25	21	19
Don't know	17	25	31	21	-	2	-	-	52	52	15
Occupation:											
Professionals	52	50	40	34	-	-	-	-	8	16	3
Businessmen	32	42	50	43	5	1	1	-	12	14	9
White-collar workers	41	50	40	33	11	22	4	-	14	15	8
Skilled laborers	35	40	39	37	1	1	4	-	21	22	14
Semi-skilled laborers	23	30	46	45	-	1	-	-	31	24	10
Farmers	30	32	28	36	-	-	-	-	42	32	9
Unemployed	34	40	39	32	2	2	9	1	16	26	4
Not employed: pens.; students retired; etc.	29	35	39	34	1	3	1	-	30	28	15
Trade Union Membership:											
Yes, member	-	40	-	3	-	42	-	-	-	15	13
No	-	38	-	1	-	36	-	-	-	25	65
Religion:											
Catholics	33	38	41	35	2	2	1	-	23	25	31
Protestants	31	38	41	38	1	1	2	-	25	23	4
Origin:											
Natives	33	37	40	38	2	1	2	-	23	24	62
Expellees; Refugees	29	45	41	32	1	2	4	-	25	21	17
Veteran Status:											
Yes	37	47	46	44	2	1	6	-	9	8	20
No	40	41	42	40	2	2	1	-	15	17	16

R E S T R I C T E D

Major arguments advanced for special treatment of Germany in regard to defense taxation are the need of funds for reconstruction, the load of burdens already being borne, and the comparative poverty of Germany.

"Why should West Germany pay a smaller proportion for defense costs?"

	WEST GERM.	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>We need our money for reconstruction:</u>					
They ought to provide more money for rebuilding, since a lot of buildings are destroyed; we need the money for rebuilding, the last war was quite costly to us; because we have to do a lot of rebuilding, -building of houses etc., so that more jobs are procured; because a lot of things were ruined through the war, and all that is left is being taken away by the others; because it suffers still the hardest; because we have lost the most through the last war; because we have not recovered yet; far too much has been destroyed in Germany - dismantling has to be made up for; because we have to rebuild first; because we have the greatest war damages which have to be removed first - we have no money for paying soldiers; etc.	16%	17%	16%	13%	17%

<u>We are already burdened too heavily:</u>					
Because we have so many refugees (all towns are heavily destroyed); because we have a lot of burdens - refugees; with regard to our difficult economic situation (flux of refugees); we have to suffer double because we have nine million refugees; through the many refugees we have higher social burdens than any other country, the Western powers are partly guilty of that; the other countries don't have refugees and don't have Berlin on their back; because we have such a great number of refugees and other obligations that aren't existent in other countries; that we don't have to pay such such high taxes; because farther rise in taxes would be unbearable for us; etc.	10.	9	10	15	6

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERM.	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
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We are poor (poorer than other nations):

Because we have no money, we are such poor people; because the German people don't have as high earnings as the others; because we have no money; living conditions in Germany are worse than in other countries, then we would even be worse off; because we are much poorer compared to the others; we are the poorest of all people; because I don't like it that we are forced to it - we Germans are much poorer than the other nations; because we have nothing to invest; because we can't make both ends meet, we lack everything; that the living standard in Germany is being improved; etc.

7%	6%	9%	8%	7%
----	----	----	----	----

We have already paid enough (occupation costs, reparations, etc.):

We already paid quite a lot; besides that we have to pay reparation costs; we have already been stripped enough through reparation costs; we have to provide the other countries with coal, I don't know how much more; because we paid a lot of money to the occupation soldiers during the past years, continuously we have to supply them with coal; etc.

4	3	5	1	3
---	---	---	---	---

We don't want an army:

Because the German people don't want soldiers; as we have no army we needn't pay any soldiers; because they force defense contribution on us; etc.

2	2	2	2	-
---	---	---	---	---

We will have a smaller number of soldiers:

If Germany has fewer rights, it ought to be paying less, - if it is not fully participating, - it has fewer rights; because we won't have as many soldiers as England or France; etc.

*	1	*	-	1
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

If we spend less money for soldiers, the Russians realize that we don't want war; because we have to pay our army ourselves; because we have no equal rights; actually we have nothing to do with defense as we are defeated people; etc.

2	2	1	1	4
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/ No answer:

$\frac{1}{42^{**}}$	$\frac{1}{41^{**}}$	$\frac{-}{43^{**}}$	$\frac{2}{42^{**}}$	$\frac{-}{38^{**}}$
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* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DIMINUTION OF WAR APPREHENSIONS ...

Since June of 1951, war apprehensions have fallen off somewhat among West Germans, a fact which cross analysis reveals to result in- or at least be accompanied by - reduced support for German defense participation. The present majority opinion among West Germans is that the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future is small to very small.

"In your opinion, is the danger that West Germany will be attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small?"

(If "great": "Very great or not so great?")

(If "small": "Small or very small?")

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone		Berlin	
	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26
Very great	14%	7%	13%	5%	16%	8%	15%	9%	20%	6%
Not so great	22	22	20	20	22	24	25	31	28	24
Small	34	43	35	47	34	41	33	33	34	46
Very small	11	13	11	14	11	11	8	10	12	16
No opinion	19	15	21	14	17	16	19	17	6	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe?"

For it Against it No opinion No. of Cases:

In your opinion, is the danger of W.Germ. being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small:

Very great	63%	31%	6%...100%	54
Great	53	40	7	179
Small	45	51	4	341
Very small	33	61	6	93

Except for FDP political adherents, decrease in war apprehension appears to have occurred to some extent pretty much across the board.

"In your opinion, is the danger that West Germany will be attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small?"

(If "Great": "Very great or not so great?")

(If "Small": "Small or very small?")

	Very great		Not so great		Small		Very small		There is no danger		No opinion		No. of cases
	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	
WEST GERMANY	23	26	23	26	23	26	23	26	23	26	23	26	
Sex:													
Men	13%	7%	26%	18%	40%	50%	12%	17%	--	1%	9%	7%	367
Women	15	7	19	27	29	37	10	7	--	*	27	22	427
Education:													
Elementary school	16	7	20	23	32	41	10	12	+	1	22	16	650
Beyond elementary	7	7	29	19	44	47	14	17	--	--	6	10	130
Income (per month):													
0-299 DM	16	8	19	26	33	40	11	9	+	1	21	16	489
300-399 DM	15	4	29	18	34	51	6	15	+	1	16	11	150
400 DM and more	3	6	30	16	45	50	15	19	--	--	7	9	123
Age:													
18 - 24 years	11	7	30	25	36	36	8	10	--	--	15	22	115
25 - 34 "	15	7	25	23	36	49	9	13	--	--	15	8	163
35 - 44 "	15	10	18	22	32	40	12	12	--	*	23	16	171
45 - 54 "	16	6	17	20	35	46	14	12	--	1	18	15	170
55 years and over	15	5	23	24	34	41	10	11	--	2	18	17	173
Party Preference:													
SPD	15	4	25	19	43	52	12	16	--	2	5	7	184
CDU/CSU	20	11	23	31	37	37	6	9	--	--	14	12	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	8	12	28	25	39	53	11	8	--	--	14	2	49
Other parties	29	7	21	28	31	41	17	14	--	--	2	10	58
No party	14	6	19	18	32	47	14	14	--	1	21	14	193
Don't know	9	5	18	22	24	31	7	6	--	--	42	36	158
Occupation:													
Professionals	9	--	36	25	32	58	23	11	--	--	3	6	30
Businessmen	12	8	27	23	40	41	15	17	--	1	6	10	94
White-collar workers	17	6	25	23	40	46	10	15	--	--	8	10	88
Skilled laborers	15	8	21	14	35	45	11	17	--	1	18	15	145
Semi-skilled laborers	14	10	20	26	29	37	12	11	--	--	25	16	104
Farmers	15	1	24	26	35	42	8	2	--	--	18	29	90
Unemployed	6	11	29	25	41	42	12	13	--	--	12	9	47
Not employed: pensioners; students; re-tired; etc.	16	7	17	24	31	43	11	8	--	3	25	15	150
Trade Union Membership:													
Yes, member	14	7	24	12	40	52	13	9	--	1	9	9	132
No	14	7	21	25	33	41	12	10	--	1	20	16	656
Religion:													
Catholics	17	9	21	26	31	39	11	12	--	1	20	14	318
Protestants	13	5	22	21	37	45	10	12	--	1	18	16	443
Origin:													
Natives	14	6	21	21	34	44	11	12	--	1	20	16	624
Refugees, Expellees	17	11	25	26	33	40	11	10	--	--	14	13	170
Veteran Status:													
Yes	--*	8	--	18	--	53	--	15	--	*	--	6	207
No	--	6	--	18	--	47	--	18	--	2	--	9	160

* Veteran Status was not ascertained in earlier study.

OBJECTION TO A DRAFT ...

A last factor - whose possible tieup with resistance to defense participation is obvious - is the question of a draft. Opposition to allowing the Federal Government the right to draft German men shows no signs of having abated since an earlier sounding in mid '51. The trend has been rather a slight increase to the point where now 55 per cent are opposed to granting such a right, 35 per cent in favor, and 10 per cent no opinion.

"If not enough German men would volunteer for German contingents in the West European army, should the Federal government then have the right to draft German men or should it not have this right?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone		WEST BERLIN	
	Jun .. 16-23	Feb 18-26	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26	Jun 16-23	Feb 18-26
Should have the right	35%	35%	36%	39%	36%	29%	30%	35%	53%	61%
Should not have the right	48	55	45	50	49	62	52	55	41	37
No opinion	$\frac{17}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{19}{100\%}$	$\frac{11}{100\%}$	$\frac{15}{100\%}$	$\frac{9}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{6}{100\%}$	$\frac{2}{100\%}$

Relationship of resistance to a draft to opposition to a German defense contribution is close, as might be surmised.

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

For it Against it No opinion No. of Cases

"In case not enough German men volunteered for German contingents in a West European army - should the West German government then have the right to draft German men or should it not have this right?"

Should have the right	65%	13%	11%	340
Should not have the right	30	80	35	382
No opinion	$\frac{5}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{54}{100\%}$	72

The question of what the public reactions would be if the Federal government actually went ahead to pass a draft law was not included in the present survey. Results to such an inquiry are reproduced below from a recent report* to provide a broader perspective in assessing the implications of the present findings.

"Supposing West Germany would participate in the defense of West Europe and the Federal government would, in connection with it, pass a law according to which German men should be drafted for military service....

(Oct 1-10, 1951)	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
"I would welcome this decision"	17%	20%	16%	8%
"I would accept the fact, even if I would not be enthusiastic about it"	40	38	41	42
"I would oppose the decision completely"	35	33	36	42
No opinion / No answer	$\frac{8}{100\%}$	$\frac{9}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{8}{100\%}$

Probably the most important group comparison on the present issue relates to an age breakdown of the returns - particularly among men. Despite the limited number of cases in various groupings, the trend seems evident in the tabulations below for opposition to conscription to bulk largest in the younger age groups.

	I would welcome this decision		I would accept the fact, even though I were not enthusiastic about it		I would oppose this decision completely		No opinion No answer		No. of cases:	
Age:	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
18 - 24 years	14%	7%	43%	33%	43%	52%	-%	8%	51	60
25 - 34 years	14	13	42	37	44	41	-	9	55	92
35 - 44 years	24	11	39	41	33	37	4	11	79	96
45 - 54 years	22	10	47	37	30	35	1	18	79	82
55 - 65 years	31	18	45	37	22	34	2	11	54	56
65 years and over	33	15	38	40	21	19	8	26	48	47

* Report # 120, Series # 2, dated January 29, 1952, entitled GERMAN EVALUATIONS OF NATO with Other Opinions on European Defense Issues.

03133

Of all population groups compared only among CDU political adherents can a preponderance be found who would accord the German government the right to draft men for a West European army should not enough volunteers be obtainable.

"If not enough German men would volunteer for German contingents in a West European army, should the Federal government then have the right to draft German men or should they not have this right?"

	Should have right to draft		Should not have right		No opinion		No. of cases
	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	June 16-23	Feb. 18-26	
WEST GERMANY							
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	47%	41%	42%	54%	11%	5%..100%	367
Women	26	31	52	55	22	14	427
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	33	34	48	55	19	11	656
Beyond elementary	45	41	47	52	8	7	136
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 229 DM	32	35	49	54	19	11	483
300 - 399 DM	41	40	47	55	12	5	150
400 DM and more	48	37	41	60	11	3	123
<u>Age:</u>							
18 - 24 years	27	26	58	64	15	10	115
25 - 34 "	38	31	53	63	9	6	163
35 - 44 "	33	38	46	51	21	11	171
45 - 54 "	31	35	52	57	17	8	170
55 years and over	44	41	34	41	22	18	173
<u>Party Preferences:</u>							
SPD	42	28	50	68	8	4	184
CDU/CSU	45	55	42	42	13	3	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	39	49	44	45	17	6	49
Other parties	44	38	54	57	2	5	58
No party	28	31	52	62	20	7	193
Don't know	22	23	43	46	35	31	158
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	45	33	50	61	5	6	36
Businessmen	42	37	48	55	10	8	94
White-collar workers	32	33	57	58	11	9	88
Skilled laborers	31	28	57	63	12	9	145
Semi-skilled laborers	30	33	49	58	21	9	104
Farmers	45	29	39	52	16	19	90
Unemployed	35	47	65	40	-	13	47
Not employed; pensioners; students;retired;etc.	38	43	36	47	26	10	150
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, member	39	31	53	65	8	4	132
No	34	36	47	53	19	11	656
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	35	37	45	55	20	8	318
Protestants	35	35	49	53	16	12	443
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	34	33	48	57	18	10	624
Refugees, Expellees	40	43	47	45	13	12	170
<u>Veteran Status:</u>							
Yes	-	41	-	56	-	3	207
No	-	39	-	52	-	9	160

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WEST GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

FOLLOWING THE FORMAL BUNDESTAG DEBATE

III. National Versus Integrated Army

Report No. 131

Series No.

March 31, 1952

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

With the formal Bundestag debate of February 7th thru 9th, a new phase was initiated in the long standing issue of German participation in European defense. The German public was for the first time exposed to a full-dress discussion on the part of their political leaders to the pros and cons of a West German defense contribution. To assess the effects of this major political event the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, went into the field (between February 18th and 26th) with a detailed survey on defense issues. The present paper is the last of three reporting upon the returns.

The relevance of the present consideration - national versus integrated army - has been pushed considerably to the fore with the Russian espousal of a German national army. It is of obvious importance to measure the attractiveness of this calculated appeal to German nationalism versus the integrated European type of army espoused by the West.

To ascertain as promptly as possible what might be new developments in public thinking on the remilitarization issue, RAS employed its rapid sample - a 800 case representative probability sampling of West Germany. For comparative purposes a 200 case representative sample was gathered by DIVO, Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

SUMMARY EXCERPTS FROM REPORT

Present findings corroborate the indication from an earlier study that since October 1950 support for a national army has shifted from minority to preponderant status in West German preference.

Currently preference for a national army outweighs the integrationist sentiments among almost all population elements, and in no group is there preponderant preference for the European army concept.

The major criticism made of an integrated army by those who cast their vote for the more traditional national type, is that such would allegedly expose German troops to exploitation and abuse.

Germans who espouse an integrated army advance varied criticisms of a national army, the single most frequent of which is that an integrated army is stronger.

In an earlier report the hypothesis was advanced that the preponderant German preference indicated for a national arm, might not be so much a preference for such per se, but rather a reflection of lack of confidence in equality of treatment in an integrated army setup.

- a -

The above supposition was verified in the present study. The returns disclose that preponderant German support clearly shifts from a national to an integrated army if certain respondents can be convinced that West Germany would be granted full equality under the latter setup. The importance of engendering such a conviction among the West German populace is thus strongly underlined, if popular allegiance to the European army concept is to be attained.

Comments of respondents who persisted in their support of a national army even if equality were to be guaranteed in an integrated setup, reveal that notwithstanding assurances of equality many West Germans still feel that a national army would better safeguard German interests. ~~Others foresee misunderstandings and conflict in any integrated army.~~

Though with conviction of full equality of treatment support for a national army does not clearly preponderate in any sector of the population, it competes on fairly even terms with integrationist sentiments in several groups, i.e. among minor party adherents, skilled laborers, unemployed, trade union members, veterans, and finally the youth of the Hitler era (respondents 25-34 years of age).

The three quarters of the population who indicated belief that German defense participation is inevitable were asked in which form such participation is likely to occur. The findings demonstrate that whatever may be the extent of national army preference at the present time, few really expect a national army to ensue.

The single most frequent reason cited for believing that German participation is likely to be in the form of an integrated army is that the Western powers are opposed to a German national army, and under present conditions they have the say.

I. KIND OF ARMY PREFERRED

EARLIER TREND ...

In October 1950, a sample of 1,500 US Zone residents was asked to specify not only whether or not they were for German defense participation, but also what form this participation should take - participation in a European army or an independent army for West Germany. The results at the time indicated a preponderant preference for the European army concept.

"As you probably know, several West European nations and America have signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

"Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Western Europe. Would you then be for or against such a participation in a defense army?"

US Zone

(October 1950)

For	65%
Against	22
No opinion	13
	<u>100%</u>

If "For": "What do you think is better: the participation of West Germany in a European army for the defense of West Europe or an independent army for West Germany?"

West European army	40%
Independent army	19
No opinion	6
	<u>65%</u>

If "Against" or "No opinion": "Are you then in favor of an independent West German army or are you in principle opposed to any kind of German army?"

Independent army	6%
In principle opposed to any kind of army	19
No opinion	10
	<u>35%</u>

A year later, comparative preference for the two types of army was explored in a 1,200 case sampling of West Germany with results as tabulated below.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in a defense of West Europe - in case West Germany participated in the defense of West Europe, - which way would you consider preferable?"

(October 1951)

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone

A West German national army should be established	48%	51%	43%	50%
German troop contingents should be integrated into general West European army	20	20	21	18
Qualified replies	6	5	7	4
No opinion	26	24	29	28
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Despite the differences in lines of questioning and the use of US Zone returns for inferences about West Germany as a whole, the '51 findings suggest rather strongly that the trend has been a drop in favor of the European army concept to the point where preferences for a national army have come to preponderate.

- 1 -
R E S T R I C T E D

CURRENT FINDINGS ...

The indication turned up in the '51 survey was subjected to further investigation in the current study, using a slightly more precise specification of alternatives. The returns leave little room for doubt that as of the present time and with the alternatives as posed, Germans express a preponderant preference for a national army vis-a-vis a completely integrated European type.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe - which way would you consider preferable?"

	WEST GER.	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Ber- lin
A West German national army should be established which would participate in the defense of West Europe	43%	45%	39%	45%	41%
German divisions should be integrated in a general West European army	25	26	25	18	49
Neither one (no army at all)	5	5	5	5	3
No opinion	$\frac{27}{100\%}$	$\frac{24}{100\%}$	$\frac{31}{100\%}$	$\frac{32}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$

Group comparisons reveal that preferences for a national army preponderate among almost all population elements, and in no group is there preponderant preference for a European type of army.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe - which way would you consider preferable?"

	German national army	German divisions integrated into West European army	No army	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	55%	28%	4%	13%	367
Women	33	21	6	40	427
Education:					
Elementary school	43	22	5	30	656
Beyond elementary school	41	36	5	18	136
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	41	22	5	32	489
300 - 399 DM	48	25	6	21	150
400 DM and more	51	35	4	10	123
Age:					
Up to 24 years	44	24	4	28	115
25 - 34 years	51	27	6	19	163
35 - 44 years	39	23	6	32	171
45 - 54 years	46	25	5	24	170
55 years and over	36	26	3	35	173
Party Preference:					
SPD	47	30	6	17	184
CDU/CSU	42	34	2	22	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	55	35	-	10	49
Other parties	55	28	7	10	58
No party	47	19	8	26	193
Don't know	26	13	3	58	150
Occupation:					
Professionals	36	33	14	17	36
Businessmen	48	32	3	17	94
White-collar workers	43	27	6	24	88
Skilled laborers	52	22	5	21	145
Semi-skilled laborers	41	24	6	29	104
Farmers	39	15	4	42	90
Unemployed	59	9	-	32	47
No employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	34	31	3	32	150
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	54	25	8	13	132
No	41	25	4	30	656
Religion:					
Catholics	39	27	3	31	318
Protestants	46	22	6	26	443
Origin:					
Natives	44	24	5	27	624
Expellees, Refugees	40	25	5	30	170
Veteran Status:					
Yes	59	27	4	10	207
No	50	29	4	17	160

The major criticisms made of an integrated army by those who cast their ballot for the more traditional type is that the former would allegedly expose German troops to exploitation and misuse. Other points frequently made are that an integrated army would lead to inefficiency and confusion, and that German troops are better under German command.

"What do you have to criticize about solution B (German divisions should be integrated in a general West European army)
(Asked of those who preferred national army)

W.	Br.	US	Fr.	Ber-
G.	Z.	Z.	Z.	lin

An integrated army would expose German troops to exploitation and misuse: Solution B would mean that we are just cannon fodder; because our people would have no say anymore, we would be half a colonial army; the stupid Germans would have to be in the foremost front; if an army is to be established, then it has to be our own, otherwise we would have to pull other people's chestnuts from the fire; because then our soldiers would just be ordered about by the others; then the Germans would only be treated badly - if we are to have obligations, we want also to have rights - then we wouldn't have anything to say, just that we participate; because the Germans would be at the front, and the Americans would run because they don't like to stick their heads out; because the Germans would be sacrificed, they would be the assault troops and the others would sit behind the front; etc.

21% 24% 19% 19% 17%

An integrated army would create inefficiency and confusion: A national army has greater striking power, which would not be the case in solution B because the latter means alien leadership; that would never be an army with great striking power; we saw what happened with those nations fighting in our army, things would only get confused; in the event of war, cooperation would be better if the units are larger than divisions; one could not come to an agreement; in the event of war the German divisions couldn't carry through defense as if the army were composed of Germans only; those men thrown together from all nations couldn't make themselves understood; constant frictions would arise; etc.

8 7 7 10 6

German troops are better under German command: Leadership would be non-German under solution B; because our soldiers would be under alien supreme command; I just don't like the idea of German soldiers fighting under alien flags; as I'm German-thinking I can't acknowledge a command of foreign powers; because then our men would feel more at ease; etc.

6 7 5 4 5

Only a national army assures equality and independence: Because we wouldn't have equal rights then; we would become too dependent on other nations, the other way would leave us the sole right to decide in all military questions; because I want full sovereignty for Germany, ergo, full equality of rights; etc.

4 4 4 8 10

Prejudices still exist, therefore each nation should remain to itself for the time being: Resentments toward the Germans might be aroused; I think the German people want to be left alone, as France and some other nations have been our opponents during the last war; they don't like us and distrust us; they are our enemies, hatred toward us still exists, so it would do no good to be united; etc.

2 1 2 3 3

Others: Because a national army is larger; because I think war would more easily break out if German divisions would be integrated in a West European army - we Germans would be divided even more; etc.

4 4 4 3 4

No opinion/ No answer:

1 1 1 1 1
46% 48% 42% 48% 46%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

CRITICISMS OF NATIONAL ARMY ...

Germans who espouse an integrated army advance varied criticisms of a national type, the single most frequent of which is that an integrated army is stronger.

W.	Br.	US	Fr.	Ber-
G.	Z.	Z.	Z.	lin

A integrated army is stronger:

A unified army is stronger, Germany alone can't achieve much, also the European nations are stronger if unified; it would be far too weak and couldn't do much against the Eastern power; otherwise we would be solely confronted with the Russians, so we all have to cooperate; because a European army forms a stronger unity; we alone would be too weak; it would be too weak, we have to cooperate with the other nations; defending is easier in a general army because it is larger; etc.

8%	7%	6%	3%	6%
----	----	----	----	----

A national army raises the danger of a new militarism and misusing military power:

If we had a national army we would easily be in the midst of "Prussian drill" again; because I'm fed up with our military system and our "drillfield atmosphere", all this drill and this crass differentiating between officer and enlisted man should cease; I would be afraid that certain elements would take advantage of it and would ruin our progressing democracy; militarism would easily arise from it like it was in the past; a national army would be the same as in the past, with ranks and insignia, I don't want that; we want a European army, but no German militarism like in the past; because then Prussian militarism would rise again; etc.

5	5	6	5	14
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A national army would handicap European integration:

Solution A contradicts the conception of European thinking, national interests would again come to the foreground; I wouldn't consider solution A right in any country, because then the national interests of the individual nations would create discord again; taking solution A into consideration would mean that understanding in Europe wouldn't come to realization fast enough, as it would be the case with solution B; solution A is no more in line with today's problems as there is to be a European army rather than a national army; it would be in opposition to the European idea - a united Europe and one army; I'm for a united Europe, and for that we need the other nations too; I think European union should govern present development; that would be in contrast to understanding between nations, and would too strongly encourage national thinking; etc.

3	3	3	3	7
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A national army might produce inequities and quarreling:

Conflicts would arise from it; it should be agreed, otherwise quarrel would arise again; the Germans might be exposed to the most dangers; if a German army is established, the Germans have to fight in the most dangerous places; with a national army we might have to pull the chestnuts out of the fire; comradeship would be less (in a national army); cooperation will be much better in a European army than in a national army where the officers would have the most to say; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

2	3	2	-	2
---	---	---	---	---

W. Br. US Fr. Ber-
G Z. Z. Z. lin

A national army creates greater risk of war:

Having an own army is one reason for the Russians to attack us; it may cause war; solution A entails increased war danger; because that would be disadvantageous to maintaining peace; war might sooner break out with having a national army, because that would challenge the Russians even more; etc.

2 2 2 1 5

A national army would arouse suspicion among our allies:

The French are extremely distrustful, such a solution would mean offense, which we ought to avoid; if our own army would be established fear might arise among the other nations; solution B would overcome the fears of France - otherwise we would not come to an agreement with France; by a national army we might arouse the dislike of France and another war might break out between France and Germany; not to give to our neighbors any reason of fear being overpowered someday; etc.

2 1 2 3 6

With a national army there is greater danger of Germany being left in the lurch:

That would be disadvantageous to us - the others would leave us in the lurch in case of distress; I'm afraid the "confederates" would leave us in the lurch in case of a conflict; etc.

1 1 2 1 1

With a national army we could again be held responsible for war:

That we would once again be held responsible for it; if we were subordinated to other nations we could never be reproached later on for having started a conflict, that might be the case with solution A; etc.

1 1 1 2 1

A national army is too expensive:

An own army is more costly than a joint one; at present we are not in a financial position to do that; West Germany alone is not in a position to pay for an own army - we need our money more urgently for rebuilding; we can't afford such a thing financially; etc.

1 1 2 2 3

Others:

Because we would never be allowed to have an independent army again and therefore nothing else is left for us to do; we lost already two wars, we lost many individuals and much money, I don't want it to happen a third time; etc.

1 2 - - 4

Nothing to criticize:

1 * 1 - 1

No opinion / No answer:

1 2 1 2 3
28% 28% 28% 22% 53%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. KIND OF ARMY PREFERRED - IF EQUALITY GUARANTEED

HYPOTHESIS ADVANCED ...

In an earlier report * the hypothesis was advanced that the preponderant German preference indicated for a national army might not be so much a preference for such per se, but rather a reflection of lack of confidence in equality of treatment in an integrated army setup.

RESULTS ...

The above supposition was verified in the present study. The returns disclose that preponderant German support clearly shifts from a national to an integrated army if certain respondents can be convinced that West Germany would be granted full equality under the latter setup. The importance of engendering such a conviction among the West German populace is thus strongly underlined, if popular allegiance to the European army concept is to be attained.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe - which way would you consider preferable?

"A - A West German national army should be established which would participate in the defense of West Europe.

"B - German divisions should be integrated in a general West European army."

"Supposing you were convinced that West Germany would also be granted full equality under point B; would you then still be for point A or for point B?" (Asked of all respondents who did not express themselves as for an integrated army in the initial query)

	WEST GER.	Br. Z.	US Z	Fr. Z.	Ber- lin
For integrated army (in initial query)	25%	26%	25%	18%	49%
Conditionally for integrated army if full equality guaranteed	15	13	19	13	18
For national army even if full equality guaranteed in integrated army	27	28	22	30	22
Against any kind of army	5	5	5	5	3
No opinion	28	28	29	34	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* See Report Number 117, Series 2, Dec. 21, 1951, entitled "CURRENT GERMAN VIEWS ON A NATIONAL VERSUS A EUROPEAN ARMY, With Sidelights on Defense Participation Trends and East German Opinion

Though with conviction of full equality of treatment, support for a national army does not clearly preponderate in any sector of the population, it competes on fairly even terms with integrationist sentiments in several groups, i.e., among minor party adherents, skilled laborers, unemployed, trade union members, veterans, and finally among the youth of the Hitler era (respondents 25 - 34 years of age).

"Which kind of participation would you prefer?"

	For integrated army	Condi- tionally for inte- grated army if full equality guaranteed	For national army even if full equality guaranteed in inte- grated army	Against any kind of army	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	28%	18%	37%	4%	13%..100%	367
Women	21	13	17	6	43	427
Education:						
Elementary school	22	14	27	5	32	656
Beyond elementary	36	20	24	5	15	136
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	22	13	26	5	34	489
300 - 399 DM	25	17	34	6	18	150
400 DM and more	35	22	26	4	13	123
Age:						
Up to 24 years	25	17	25	4	29	115
25 - 34 "	24	15	35	6	20	163
35 - 44 "	24	15	24	6	31	171
45 - 54 "	25	13	27	5	30	170
55 years and over	26	15	20	3	36	173
Party Preference:						
SPD	30	14	31	6	19	184
CDU/CSU	33	16	25	2	24	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	35	28	31	-	6	49
Other parties	28	10	38	7	17	58
No party	19	16	29	8	28	193
Don't know	13	11	14	3	59	158
Occupation:						
Professionals	33	17	17	14	19	36
Businessmen	32	22	26	3	17	94
White-collar workers	27	16	27	6	24	88
Skilled laborers	22	15	37	5	21	145
Semi-skilled laborers	24	12	27	6	31	104
Dom. & prot. Service	23	9	18	5	45	22
Farmers	15	17	23	4	41	90
Housewives	17	17	28	17	22	118
Unemployed	8	15	30	-	47	47
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	31	11	20	3	35	150
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	25	17	36	8	14	132
No	25	15	25	4	31	656
Religion:						
Catholics	27	15	24	3	31	318
Protestants	22	15	28	6	29	443
Origin:						
Natives	24	15	27	5	29	624
Expellees, Refugees	25	15	25	5	30	170
Veteran Status:						
Yes	28	17	40	4	11	207
No	29	18	33	4	16	160

Comments of respondents who persisted in their support of a national army even if equality were to be guaranteed in an integrated setup, reveal that notwithstanding assurances of equality many West Germans still feel that a national army would better safeguard German interests. Others foresee misunderstandings and conflict in any integrated army.

"Supposing you were convinced that West Germany would also be granted full equality under point B (Integrated army), would you then still be for point A (German National army), or for point B?"

If "German National army": "Could you tell me why you even then prefer point A?"

WEST GER.	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	Ber- lin
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A national army would better safeguard German interests:

Because that would represent our interests better; then we would have the guarantee that our aims are being considered; I already said that - if we agree to point B we would be exploited; if we have our own German army we can decide ourselves for what it will be used; because then we can determine our own cause which would be impossible under point B; that will guarantee that we won't be ordered around; because then the other countries can't command us in any way; even if we had full equality we would still be under foreign leadership; etc.

8%	10%	4%	7%	4%
----	-----	----	----	----

An integrated army might lead to misunderstandings and conflict:

So there won't be quarrels; because I fear that they won't understand each other if they are mixed - I consider it better if everybody is by himself; I have already said that - Germans get along better if they are with each other; they won't get along; because everything will be mixed up then; it is impossible to fight side by side with other nationalities whom one doesn't understand; etc.

4	5	3	6	-
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Germans should be under German command:

In order to keep the discipline in the old-Prussian ideal - in order to train the youth in a German sense; because we have to have a German command for German troops; because then the command will be German; etc.

3	4	3	2	-
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A national army is more effective:

An own army has more striking power; because a national army has more striking power; it would be more advantageous for the defense; etc.

2	2	2	4	-
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST Br. US Fr. Ber-
GER. Zone Zone Zone lin

Without a national army Germany would not have equality - as other nations have them too;

Because under equality we would have the same rights as the other nations to a national army - otherwise it wouldn't be equality - the others have a national army and if we didn't have it we wouldn't have equality; we want to have our own national army just like England and France - we can join with them; I think that all nations have and should have their own army - why shouldn't Germany have her own army?; etc.

2% 2% 1% 2% 2%

German soldiers would do better among themselves:

If the Germans are among themselves they are better soldiers in my opinion; I consider the French soldiers - just as the other nations do too - as weaklings; etc.

2 1 2 4 5

Distrust in the promise of equality:

I don't trust guarantees - I don't believe in the promised equality - the true face of it would show pretty soon; under point B we would never get full equality; I fear that we won't have full equality after all; etc.

2 * 3 2 -

More confidence in a national army;

I have no confidence in solution B; the German people would have more confidence in a national army because we would be independent then; because one doesn't know who will be in command of the West European army and which interests will be represented; because one can't trust the others; etc.

1 1 2 - 1

Other opinions:

Alone is alone; an independent national army or nothing - that's my point of view and I'll stick to it; German soldiers will be something nicer looking than German soldiers in foreign uniform; many of the high-ranking and better officers would refuse to join the army under point B; I doubt whether the will for a Pan-Europe really exists; etc.

3 4 2 5 3

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{2\%}$ $\frac{*}{29\%**}$ $\frac{*}{2\%**}$ $\frac{-}{32\%**}$ $\frac{12}{23\%**}$

* Less than one half of one percent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

III. PREFERENCE ASIDE - WHAT KIND OF ARMY IS GERMANY LIKELY TO HAVE?

The three quarters of the population (74 per cent) who indicated belief that German defense participation was inevitable* were asked in which form such participation is likely to occur. The findings demonstrate that whatever may be the extent of national army preferences at the present time, few (8 per cent) really expect a national army to ensue.

"And in which form, do you suppose, will West Germany participate in the defense of West Europe?" (Asked of those who indicated belief that participation will come sooner or later, see second report in present series)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
A - (National army)	8%	9%	7%	10%	21%
B - (Integrated army)	44	42	47	42	54
No opinion	<u>22</u> 74%	<u>23</u> 74%	<u>20</u> 74%	<u>24</u> 76%	<u>9</u> 84%

* See preceding report in present series.

In no sector of the population, comparisons reveal, does as many as one in five indicate an expectation that West Germany will participate in European defense in the form of a national army..

"And in which form, do you suppose, will West Germany participate in the defense of West Europe?"

	National army	Integrated army	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	13%	53%	16%	18%...100%	367
Women	3	35	28	34	427
Education:					
Elementary school	9	42	23	26	656
Beyond elementary	7	52	18	23	136
Income(per month):					
0 - 299 DM	7	39	26	28	489
300 - 399 DM	12	52	17	19	150
400 DM and more	9	54	14	23	123
Age:					
18 - 24 years	9	49	19	23	115
25 - 34 "	9	51	22	18	162
35 - 44 "	8	43	25	24	171
45 - 54 "	9	45	20	26	170
55 years and over	9	33	23	35	173
Party Preference:					
SPD	10	50	18	22	184
CDU/CSU	9	45	25	21	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	10	67	12	11	49
Other parties	14	50	14	22	58
No party	8	43	26	23	193
Don't know	2	26	27	45	158
Occupation:					
Professionals	8	56	19	17	36
Businessmen	9	51	17	23	94
White-collar workers	6	51	20	23	88
Skilled laborers	14	50	16	20	145
Semi-skilled laborers	6	44	25	25	104
Farmers	8	29	33	30	90
Unemployed	6	40	28	26	47
Not employed;pensioners; students;retired; etc.	7	39	25	29	150
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member,	14	55	17	14	132
No	7	42	23	28	656
Religion:					
Catholics	7	49	20	24	318
Protestants	9	40	23	28	443
Origin:					
Natives	9	42	22	27	624
Expellees, Refugees	6	49	24	21	170
Veteran Status:					
Yes	15	55	18	12	207
No	13	52	13	22	160

REASONS FOR BELIEVING INTEGRATED PARTICIPATION WILL EVENTUATE ...

The single most frequent reason cited for believing that German participation is likely to be in the form of an integrated army is that the Western powers are opposed to a German national army, and under present conditions they have the say.

"Do you think it will happen in this form?" (Asked of those who think Germany will sooner or later participate militarily in West German defense in the form of German divisions integrated in a general West European defense army)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>The Western powers are opposed to a German National army:</u>					
Because the other nations are opposed to point A; I don't believe America will grant us an independent army - they want to control that; the French won't permit an independent German army; we are still the defeated and have to do what the victors prescribe; because they only want us to rearm under their control; because we have no peace treaty yet and that's the fault of the Allies - the others still want to command us; our government won't be asked about that; etc.	19%	18%	20%	19%	15%
<u>So Germany will be free of any suspicion of militarism:</u>					
We will be protected against possible accusations and can't start new quarrels; the government thinks it can prove this way that we don't have aggressive intentions; we don't want German militarism anymore; because nations are still afraid of us; because the other countries don't want a revival of Prussian militarism; so we won't be war criminals one of these days; etc.	8	6	10	7	11
<u>Because only an integrated army has the needed strength:</u>					
Our government knows exactly as I do, that an individual army can't accomplish anything anymore - our strength lies in unification; because we would be and are too weak on a national basis; because one can only resist the East with a combined army - alone we would be too weak against the immense power of Russia; etc.	4	5	4	3	6
<u>An integrated army guarantees cooperation and an equal sharing of burdens:</u>					
The young Europeans get to know each other better and will overcome nationalistic tendencies - this shouldn't mean though, that the individual nationalities should give up their traits - they shall keep those; because it is unfair that the army of one nation should sacrifice itself in certain points - the burdens should be shouldered commonly and everybody must realize that this is only possible in a mixed army; so all are on an equal basis and all of them stick together; because in a mixed army the interests of an individual country can't win the upper hand and I suppose that the other nations are of the same opinion; etc.	3	2	4	1	7

(cont'd on next page)
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WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

Because present plans call for an integrated army:

The Plevon plan foresees this development; because everything works toward the establishment of a European army; as far as I know they always talk that we are to contribute soldiers to such a European army; one could hear and read that such an army is to be established - they talk about the participation of an army; etc.

3% 3% 3% 3% 3%

An integrated army better serves our interest:

Because we'll be granted the most rights under that and can't be taken advantage of; because that will be for our best; several politicians are opposed to the rebirth of the old Wehrmacht. because it is better this way - our politicians know that too and therefore they'll do it too; because I suppose that the Bundes government will consider it the best for us; etc.

2 2 2 2 5

Integration is simpler and more economical:

Because we can't establish an army in the foreseeable future since we don't have the material and the money; because it is simpler for the government than to establish a national army - we don't need to put up the uniforms and the equipment - would be our advantage; etc.

2 1 2 4 -

Other opinions:

Because capitalism wants it too - all capitalists are Americans - and German nationalists are not influential enough; etc.

2 3 2 3 5

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{44\%}$ $\frac{1}{41\%}$ $\frac{1}{48\%}$ $\frac{1}{42\%}$ $\frac{4}{56\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR BELIEVING NATIONAL ARMY WILL EVENTUATE ...

The few who anticipate a German defense contribution in the form of a national army argue mainly that such must occur because this is the kind of army that Germans want.

"Why do you think it will happen in this form?
(Asked of those who think Germany will sooner or later participate militarily in West German defense in the form of a national army)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berl
<u>Because Germans want a national army:</u>					
It is most advantageous for Germany; because the government wants it; because we would be independent then; the government is compelled to establish a national army (in accordance with the people's wishes), otherwise it runs the risk of being overthrown - they are not representative of the people solely because they earn a lot of money; that corresponds to our mentality; because the Germans are slow to make decisions and would always prefer solution A, on account of the present negotiations, lest squabbling goes on forever; because they can't make a decision, and because that would not be the worst thing - the other nations are skeptical towards us anyhow, they don't want to join us; because the Germans don't particularly like to be ordered about by others; our military circles insist on it; etc.	3%	4%	4%	4%	9%
<u>The West prefers a national army for Germans:</u>					
Because the West urges it; the French and the British will not permit that our divisions are integrated in a West European army - we are to have our own army that is meant to protect England and France towards Russian aggression; etc.	1	1	1	1	2
<u>Because a national army is more effective:</u>					
Because we would have better and more effective protection towards the East then; because the Germans would defend their country better than foreigners; etc.	1	1	*	2	3
<u>Because German military leadership is best:</u>					
Because the leadership of the German general staff is superior to any other and the others see that; etc.	1	2	-	1	2
<u>Others:</u>					
Because otherwise we couldn't help ourselves; etc.	1	1	2	-	4
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{8\%}$	$\frac{1}{9\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{8\%}$	$\frac{-}{10\%}$	$\frac{4}{22\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answers.

**EAST ZONE FARMERS' REACTIONS
TO RIAS FARM BROADCASTS**

**With Sidelights on the Extent
of VOA Listenership**

• Report No. 132

Series No. 2

April 10, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

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INTRODUCTION

The present report is based on a survey conducted in Berlin in February 1952 during the Gruene Woche - an annual agricultural event attended by both East and West Zone farmers, for the purpose of exhibiting and demonstrating new agricultural methods and equipment. A sample of 267 East Zone respondents were selected at random from among farmers attending the event. Such a sample cannot be considered ideally representative of the East Zone farm population, but in the absence of any better sources of information offers a useful approximation to farmers' attitudes in the East Zone.

Interviewing of East Zone respondents was carried out in the same general way as was utilized during last summer's Berlin Youth Festival. That is to say, the Berlin interviewers in the course of a brief explanation of what polling is about alluded to themselves as coming from an "Institut fuer Meinungsforschung." Analysis was made in the Mehlem headquarters of RIAS.

The report deals with the Gruene Woche farmers' evaluation of an agricultural program broadcast by RIAS and the extent of their listening to VOA. In co-operation with the Bauernverband (Farmers' Association in Berlin), RIAS has for about a year been broadcasting a series of agricultural guidance hours, with the purpose of giving practical instruction to East German farmers and of pointing out difficulties relating to East Zone economy and suggesting methods of overcoming them.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

Two main findings emerge from this report. First, the evidence is building up that RIAS, and through it, VOA, have wide coverage in East Germany. Corroborating the findings obtained in sampling of East Zone youth radio listenership, RIAS by a ratio of nine to one leads its nearest competitor (NWDR) in popularity among the East Zone farmers interviewed. RIAS farm broadcasts appear to enjoy a similar high rating as against other competing agricultural programs, particularly those beamed from East Zone stations.

- ... 84 per cent of the farmers from East Germany interviewed during the Gruene Woche name RIAS as their favorite station; NWDR follows with 9 per cent mention.
- ... 75 per cent state that they rely mainly on RIAS for farm programs, and 10 per cent list it as their secondary source. NWDR has a total coverage of 26 per cent for its agricultural broadcasts, while Leipzig and Radio Berlin are each named by 5 per cent as secondary sources of information about farm problems.
- ... 85 per cent of the East Zone farmers sampled say they tune in on VOA programs. Four in ten state that they listen to the Voice as often as six or seven times a week, and practically all of them say they tune in at least once a week.

Second, also corroborating previous East Zone findings, is the indication that adherence on the part of U.S. propagandists to a "Campaign of Truth" pays heavy dividends in rapport and allegiance to the West among people behind the Iron Curtain. The farmers, a broad sector of the East German population, appear to prefer RIAS primarily because they are confident that what RIAS broadcasts is factual and truthful. They rely on it as a welcome relief from the endless propaganda and distortions emanating from East Zone transmitters.

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I EAST ZONE FARMERS' REACTIONS TO RIAS FARM PROGRAMS

RIAS IS FAVORITE STATION...

The East Zone farmers' evaluation of RIAS repeats what has now become the familiar pattern of audience reaction to that station. Among East Zone farmers, as with the West Berlin public and East Zone youth,* RIAS far outranks any other stations, East or West, in popularity. The farmers name it as their favorite station by a nine to one preponderance over its nearest competitor (Nordwest); it enjoys a similar lead as the main channel of information on agricultural matters.

"Do you listen to the radio?"

Yes	97%
No	$\frac{3}{100\%}$

"Which stations do you like best?"

RIAS	84%
NWDR	9
Leipzig	**
Other East Zone stations	2
Other stations (Swiss, English, etc.)	3
No opinion	1

"From which stations do you mainly hear farm programs?"

"And from what other stations do you hear farm programs?"

	Mainly	Secondarily	Total Average
RIAS	75%	10%	85%
NWDR	8	18	26
Eastern stations	1	10	11
Other West stations	4	-	4
Don't hear farm programs	10	-	10

Thus as far as the present sampling is indicative, it appears that the RIAS farm broadcasts reach 85 per cent of East Zone farmers, with 75 per cent stating they mainly rely on it for agricultural information. Again it outdistances NWDR, its nearest competitor, which has a total audience of 26 per cent for its farm programs. East Zone stations do somewhat better as secondary than as main sources of information, with Leipzig and Radio Berlin each being heard by 5 per cent, respectively.

* In Report 109, Series 2, "Radio Evaluations and Recommendations of East Zone Youth," 72 per cent of East Zone youth reported mainly listening to RIAS, and 19% "sometimes" listened to it. Ninety-eight per cent of the West Berlin radio audience name RIAS as their main outlet.

** Less than one half of one per cent.

REASONS FOR POPULARITY OF RIAS FARM PROGRAM...

The popularity of the RIAS agricultural broadcasts beamed to East Zone farmers is based primarily on their informative value regarding both farming methods and ways of coping with Soviet-enforced rules and regulations (44%). The objectivity and lack of political emphasis are also praised (24%). Other, less positive, reasons for preferring RIAS are that the Eastern stations are propaganda-ridden and inspire no confidence in their degree of fact or truth - thus forcing the farmers to turn elsewhere for radio information. In sum, then, as with the East Zone youth, East Zone farmers prefer the "Campaign of Truth" rather than any emulation of Soviet propaganda techniques.

Reasons for Listeners' Preferences for RIAS Farm Programs

Because it is informative and enlightening: They predict what will happen here within two weeks; they announce the new laws pertaining to agriculture and tell us what counter measures we can take; because it is important for agriculture in the zone - it gives us good advice on how we can fulfill the laws best; RIAS appeals directly to the people in the zone - besides they know exactly what is happening here; because it brings such good programs about farming in the zone; it offers a lot of informative programs about agriculture in the West; because of the prices - the comparison of agricultural prices in the East and the West; because it is more interesting and more informative; the RIAS advice is good and useful; Radio Berlin is completely uninteresting to us - the advice by RIAS is useful sometimes; because RIAS as a source of information is important for me as a farmer; it offers good programs pertaining to the subject - farmers with diplomas who know their subject speak to us; because it offers most for our economic interests; etc.

44%

Because it is objective and truthful in contrast to the Eastern stations: Because our stations bring only political nonsense while RIAS brings programs pertaining to the subject; because it concerns itself with farming only; because there are no politics in it; because RIAS tells the truth; tells the truth without a political taint; because RIAS is objective - brings facts and not so much propaganda; because it doesn't contain so much politics; because RIAS brings the farm program without any political tendency; because it lies the least; because we hear the truth from it; because it brings facts; etc.

24%

Because the Eastern stations are dishonest and propagandistic:

Because our stations bring only lies - everything is pictured differently from what it really is; because everything else is nonsense - we just get excited; because what the Russians tell us is always the same nonsense - what they want to dictate to us we have known for a long time; because our stations cite percentages only and make propaganda, they never offer anything useful; because our stations only inform us about Russian working methods and we don't want to hear anything about that; because we only hear about Russian methods from Leipzig; I got to know the Russians, and I don't want to have anything to do with them; principally because we don't want to hear any Eastern stations - we are fed up with that; we don't want to hear anything from the East - they evidently lie; etc.

Because it is better (general): Because it's the best station; it's 100 times better than the Eastern farm program; because we learn more from it than from the Eastern station; because it brings us everything we need; because it concerns us most; etc.

7%

Because the time of the program is favorable and its reception is good: Because the time of the program is best; it has favorable times for its program; the reception is best; I can hear that one best; because that station is the loudest one; the time of the program is more favorable than that of the others; etc.

6

RIAS is the only one we listen to: We only listen to RIAS - we don't hear any other station; listen to RIAS only; etc.

3

Other opinions: They are experienced people - the ones in the East are lazy and don't understand anything about it; because I have to know the weather forecast; the Leipzig station doesn't interest me and I can't hear another one; I have grown up in freedom and because of that RIAS offers most to me; etc.

3

No opinion / No answer:

 $\frac{2}{97\%}$ *

* Some respondents gave more than one reason.

PRACTICAL ADVICE GIVEN BY RIAS APPRECIATED...

As previously stated, the primary aim of the RIAS broadcasts is to give to the farmers practical information and advice on agricultural science with specific regard to their particular situation and needs. Attainment of this goal is evidenced by the appreciation of this purpose shown in comments of the farmers in their evaluation of the programs. Most frequently cited as the most valuable aspects of the programs are information and practical instruction on modern machinery, soil cultivation, cattle raising methods and so on. Also mentioned (by 18%) is the information given by RIAS concerning plans and purposes of the DDR, with advice and suggestions for possible countermeasures for the farmers to take.

"What part of the farm program by RIAS is most valuable for you?" ("And what else?")

Information on modern soil cultivation (fertilizers, seeds, horticulture): Methods of cultivation, instruction about methods that have proved useful; soil cultivation; about spring planting; crop-rotation; new suggestions about linseed planting; advice about planting; about nurseries; general cultivation; about agriculture; modern soil cultivation; preparation of the soil; techniques of sowing; seed, and cultivation of seed; fertilizers; about fruit trees; the programs about gardening; etc.

25%

Information on innovations in agriculture (techniques, machines, etc): Innovations in agriculture; the innovations in the technical aspect of agriculture - a survey of agriculture from all over the world - so we aren't cut off completely; the reports about innovations in agriculture - new machinery - new experiments; etc.

15

Information on livestock (cattle raising, poultry, etc.):

Economical breeding of pigs and cattle; everything about cattle breeding - I am a specialist in that; cattle breeding and feeding; programs about modern methods of feeding and especially cattle breeding; cattle - basic fodder; special programs about poultry raising; about poultry - they haven't offered much about that so far; tips on how to overcome the shortage of fodder for animals; etc.

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Information about agriculture in the West (comparison of East and West): Agriculture in the West zone - the attitude in the West zone; the freedom of agriculture in the West - how freely they can grow everything; comparison of agriculture in the East and West; what agriculture in the West is like in comparison with here; explanations about agriculture in the West; what things are like in the East and the West - they tell us how things really are here; comparison of the prices of agricultural products and machinery in the West and the East; about prices in the West; the wheat prices - that they are so high in the West; etc.

8

Practical advice (general): Practical advice to the farmers; the practical advice in every field; practical advice on how to build a hay stack or a chaff-cutting engine; advice to the farmers; economic advice; practical tips; things pertaining to agriculture; vermin control; proposals about building; about the constructions of hog sties; etc.

6

Information on prices and the situation of the market: Prices of cattle and wheat; cattle market and the wheat market; the prices of cattle; the prices of agricultural products; etc.

2

News about the true conditions in the DDR (tips on what counter-measures to take): Announcements of new laws which are refuted by RIAS; pointing out of new laws; enlightenment, warnings; what they tell us about the events in the DDR - the tips they give us; the tips on how to get around governmental orders; they explain to us how much we have to deliver and how we should behave; about the quota - everything for the farmer; the tips on how the farmers can help themselves - announcements; the tips on how to act - the practical aid; the advice on how to fulfill the quota; see the advice - what they tell us about our difficult situation - everything is important for me there; the advice they give us in regard to the plans of our government; the news about the corruption in the zone; programs about conditions in the East zone - warnings about measures against, and arrests of, farmers; what is going on behind the scenes here; etc.

18

Reports on political and economic questions: Enlightenment about everything political; politics; enlightenment about economic and political questions; etc.

2

Other opinions: One just listens to all the good things that are said, but one can't make use of it - our hands are tied; they give us good tips, but it's of no avail because we can't follow their advice; the itinerary for the week; about working methods; the advice on Sunday mornings; the news about agriculture; etc.

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Everything is valuable:

12%

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{2}{109\%}$ *

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

BROADCAST TIME CONVENIENT FOR MOST...

At the present time RIAS broadcasts its agricultural program once a week on Sunday between 12:30 and 12:50. That this broadcast hour adheres fairly closely to listener preference is apparent in the time following table. More than half (54%) name a corresponding to the present broadcast time as the most suitable hour - 38 per cent preferring the noon hour, 6 per cent Sunday, and 10 per cent "the same time as at present". On the other hand, were an additional program to be broadcast, the most propitious time would probably be in the evening from 6 to 10, since these hours are mentioned by 38 per cent as the most favored.

"Which time of the day would suit you best for the farm program?"

At noon; same time as present; Sunday	54%
In the evening - 1800 to 2000 hrs.	48
In the morning - 0500 to 0800 hrs.	11
Later in summer	10
Earlier in summer	2
No opinion	6
	<u>131%</u> *

* Some people gave more than one answer.

II East Zone Farmers' Reactions to VOA

LARGE MAJORITY LISTEN TO VOA...

A large majority (85%) of the Soviet Zone farmers interviewed during the Gruene Woche say they listen to Voice of America broadcasts. This return tends to corroborate the indication of widespread VOA coverage in the East Zone turned up in an earlier study which disclosed that 70 per cent among East Zone youth sampled in connection with the recent East Berlin festival, reported listening to VOA regularly or occasionally.

"Do you hear the Voice of America through RIAS or through another Western radio station?"

Yes	85%
No	$\frac{15}{100\%}$

* See Reactions Analysis Report 109, Series 2, previously referred to (p.1).

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But even more indicative of the impact of VOA in East Germany is the fact that as many as four in ten (39%) appear to tune in on almost every broadcast, claiming to listen as often as six or seven times weekly. Practically all (82%) hear the program at least once a week.

"Approximately how often during the week?"
(Asked of those who said they heard VOA)

Less than once a week	2%
Once to three times weekly	29
Four to five times weekly	14
Six to seven times weekly	39
Indefinite	<u>1</u>
	85%

REASONS FOR NOT HEARING VOA...

Of the 14 per cent who never hear the Voice of America, half (7%) either have no radio or the reception is poor or they have no time. Five per cent say they are simply not interested.

"Why do you not listen to the Voice of America?"

Lack of interest: I am not interested in it - that is only about America and not about Germany; because it doesn't interest me; that are political matters in which I am not interested - I am only interested in Germany; I am only interested at the moment in educating myself further in my field; etc. 5%

Lack of radio or opportunity: I don't have a radio; sadly enough no opportunity; I can't listen to the radio because they always cut the electricity off in the evenings; can't listen to it because they always cut the electricity off at this time; etc. 3

Can't receive RIAS too well: The reception of RIAS is so poor; the transmission is poor; I can only receive Leipzig; etc. 2

Lack of time (at the hour of the program): 7 o'clock is too early - I don't have time then; lack of time; etc. 2

No opinion / No answers: 2
14%

EAST ZONE FARMERS WANT TO HEAR MORE ABOUT U.S. FARMING...

Not surprisingly, when the farmers are asked what they would be most interested in hearing about the U.S.A., close to half (43%) cite some aspects of the American agricultural scene - either technical achievements, statistical data on production and export, or the economic life of the farmer. Other frequently mentioned subjects about which the farmers would like to hear are politics - including U.S. policy toward Germany - American industry, and the economic and social set-up in the United States.

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"What would you be most interested in hearing about America?"
 ("And what else?")

About agriculture in the USA: Economic conditions in agriculture in America; I am interested in everything concerning agriculture; the economic side of it - how the farmers live there - what kind of machinery they have and what their profits are; about techniques in agriculture; the situation of American agriculture - vermin control and fertilizers; programs about big chicken farms and larger farms; agriculture - what they produce and what they export - especially what the statistics say about it; about problems in forestry, i.e. planting of wastelands; about nature - what nature is like there, and agriculture; etc.

43%

Political information about USA: Political discussions, political lectures on world events; about the democratic structure of the state in USA; about the trade unions; politics; how they visualize their political future - that's what we are more interested in; the attitude of the USA on the European question; I would like to know what their attitude is toward us if things come to a head; daily politics and America's relationship with Germany; German policy; racial problems; etc.

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About industry in the USA and scientific developments: About industry in the USA; technic and economics; everything about economics - the whole structure, technical conversions; technical progress - progress in sciences; what the economy over there is like; technical innovations and problems; etc.

15

The general living standard in the USA: About the living standard of the American worker - comparisons between America and Russia; the American way of life and the economic conditions; what conditions are like over there - how the people live over there; what kind of housing the workers have; the financial situation of the worker; about working conditions; what the people can accomplish for themselves; etc.

15

About cultural life in USA: Music, dance music; about the origin of America - how the first ships arrived and how they started to settle; about the population and its customs; etc.

9

Everything is of interest: Actually everything - every subject about a foreign country is important and informative for me; everything - one is interested in everything; actually everything - it's something else than always hearing about Russia; etc.

9

Nothing is interesting: Nothing; I know what's going on there - I wished all four of them would leave us alone - should give us a peace treaty and then leave - I learned enough about America in geography and the other things I learn from the newspaper; I don't want to hear anything - all four occupations are bad and don't want the good for us; etc.

2

Other opinions: The letters to the VOA; reports about experiences by those who were over there; etc.

5

No opinion / no answer:

6

120%

ARE EAST GERMAN FARMERS RESISTING COLLECTIVISM?

**A Study of Farmers' Evaluation
of East German Agriculture**

Report No. 133

Series 12

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R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This report on East Zone farmers' evaluation of the agricultural conditions in East Germany is based on a survey conducted in Berlin in February 1952 during the Gruene Woche - an annual agricultural event attended by both East and West Zone farmers, for the purpose of exhibiting and demonstrating new agricultural methods and equipment. A sample of 267 East Zone respondents were selected at random from among farmers attending the event. Such a sample cannot be considered ideally representative of the East Zone farm population, but in the absence of any better sources of information offers a useful approximation to farmers' attitudes in the East Zone.

Interviewing of East Zone respondents was carried out in the same general way as was utilized during last summer's Berlin Youth Festival. That is to say, the Berlin interviewers in the course of a brief explanation of what polling is about alluded to themselves as coming from an "Institut fuer Meinungsforschung."

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The "creeping collectivism" of agriculture in the Soviet Zone of Germany is abundantly apparent in the account rendered by the East German farmers interviewed during the Gruene Woche, of the pressures and regulations imposed on them by their political leaders. The strains and stresses of trying to farm in the face of ever rising quotas, regulations designed to serve political, not agricultural, ends, shortages and red-tape are interpreted by these East Zone farmers as aimed at destroying them economically in order to facilitate collectivization, or if not that, the end of all traces of private initiative. The picture they present of farming conditions in East Germany is reminiscent of the era of the 1920's in Soviet Russia on the eve of the final Communist drive to complete the collectivization of Russian agriculture. Whether or not it is in fact the intention of Soviet occupation authorities and their East German puppets to collectivize East German agriculture, most of the farmers interviewed believe this is the goal. Almost without exception, they are opposed, as they are in general to all of the agrarian "reforms" introduced into East Germany since 1945. To the extent that the Gruene Woche respondents can be considered representative of East German farmers, it appears very clear that the Communist planning has failed not only from the economic, but from the political point of view. The findings are summarized as follows:

- ... The much-heralded Five Year Plan is seen as having disastrous consequences for the farmers by the majority interviewed at the Gruene Woche. Seventy-five per cent state that they expect they will be "much worse off" as a result of the plan than they are at present. Only 4 per cent anticipate an improvement in their situation.
- ... This bleak outlook on the possible consequences of the Five Year Plan is underscored by the fact that the majority of farmers already consider themselves worse off than a year ago. Four in ten say they are much worse off than formerly, and as many say their situation has deteriorated somewhat.
- ... The ever-increasing state-imposed quota, with the virtual disappearance of "free" quotas (surpluses which can be sold on the open market) appears to be the main grievance. High taxes and interest rates, high prices and shortages are also serious problems. Many of the farmers believe these difficulties are deliberately fostered to pave the way to collectivization.

- a -

- ... The Gruene Woche farmers also enter a disclaimer regarding the new unitary cooperative system (BHG). Seventy-two per cent assert they prefer the old (Raiffeisen) cooperatives to the new system, thus casting extreme doubt on the Communist claim that the BHG was a voluntary movement. The farmers see the BHG as an agency not designed to help them as the old cooperatives did, but as an instrument through which the State hopes to capture control.
- ... Notwithstanding the fact that the political intentions of BHG are obvious to most of the farmers interviewed, over half (52%) deny that it has any political influence, though 17 per cent grant that it does.
- ... Three quarters (73%) believe that it is the intention of the East German government to collectivize farming.
- ... Though the farmers sampled in this study are so generally dissatisfied with East Zone conditions, they are not entirely prepared to return to the old ways at such time as they are free of Soviet control. Though a majority (57%) recommends a return to the old system of land ownership, and only 4 per cent want the present system retained, as many as 37 per cent believe that land reform should remain with certain modifications. Compensation for the former owners and larger allotments to new settlers are modifications frequently suggested by this group.
- ... The four major agrarian organizations instituted by the East German government are, however, rejected by large majorities. In the event of German unification and the end of Soviet domination, seventy-five per cent say they would completely end the "People's owned" (nationalized) farms; 77 per cent would discontinue MAS (state-owned machinery lending stations); 80 per cent would discontinue the unitary cooperative system, and 81 per cent, the "Village Economic Plan," the agency which coordinates farming activities with SED and FDJ organizations and other political groups.
- ... The Soviet policy of "divide and destroy" has not been entirely without success, however, despite all the reservations the farmers have toward the East Zone program. Relations between the "new settlers," that is, those persons settled on allotments of former large estates, and the old farmers are considered from fair to bad by the preponderance (43%), though 39 per cent describe relations as good.
- ... But the lot of the new settlers appears to be not too happy a one. The large majority of farmers interviewed report that half or more of the new settlers are dissatisfied; and another large majority claims to know of new settlers who have given up their farms and left because they were unable to cope with their many difficulties. (The most frequently made estimate is that about a fifth have quit.)
- ... Unlike the situation between the new and old farmers, the East Zone authorities have not succeeded apparently in driving a wedge between the large and small farmers, though certainly if the Russian example can be taken as a precedent this could be expected to be a cardinal aim of the Communist authorities. Six in ten report that relations between the two groups are good, largely, it is said, because they mutually recognize the need to resist the common enemy, the State. They also realize that only by helping each other can each continue to exist.

- b -

R E S T R I C T E D

MAJORITY SEE. PRESENT SITUATION AS WORSE THAN LAST YEAR'S ...

That the Communists have not lulled the East German farmer into a false optimism concerning his role in, and alleged benefits from, the "creeping collectivization" of farms is evident in the attitudes expressed throughout this study. The Soviet agrarian policy of the merger of "cooperatives" into one state-controlled organization, VDCB - BHG (Farmers' Mutual Aid Society - Farmers' Trade Cooperation), and its consequent limitation on free enterprise, has had the increasing effect of discouragement and dissatisfaction for both large and small farm owners, both "new settlers" (those who have been given small farms) and old established farmers.

When asked to compare their current situation with that of a year ago, as many as six in ten see their present situation as worse than it was formerly, and four in ten assess it as "much worse today."

"If you look back to your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you or worse? (Somewhat worse or much worse?)"

Better today	17%
Somewhat worse today	20
Much worse today	41
Just the same	<u>22</u>
	100%

QUOTA DELIVERY SYSTEM MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR WORSENEED SITUATION ...

Deterioration is primarily attributed to the rise in state-imposed quotas for delivery which become increasingly more difficult to fulfill, and which results in the partial or complete elimination of free quotas (produce over and above the quota which can be sold on the free market). In addition to the greater pressure from above to deliver excessive quantities, are higher taxes, interest on state loans, and prices for industrial products. Shortages in materials and manpower have also been severely felt by the farmers, making even more difficult the fulfillment of assigned quotas.

R E S T R I C T E D

"In what respect is your situation worse today?"

Rise in quota (elimination of free quota):

We have to deliver everything, we don't meet the quota (Soll) and so we have no free quotas and consequently no money; through rise in quotas, no free quota is left; the quota is ninety per cent higher; we have to deliver a higher quota - six hundred pounds of meat more than in the past year, and we get no fodder or bran; because the quota has been raised 10 per cent; the quota has been raised, most of the farmers will be ruined by the end of the year; the situation is continually getting worse because the quota is steadily rising; one couldn't exist at all if one didn't profit by sending goods to the West; we have to fulfill a higher quota, but don't get any return deliveries (Ruecklieferung) - last year we had 25 per cent of delivered pork returned, today we don't get anything - for two pounds of meat we get two pounds of grain; the quota is higher and more difficult to fulfill - there is no more reciprocal buying (Rueckkauf); in the past year we were still able to manage well and have some free quota, this year we won't have any; because this year I have to deliver almost twice as much as last year; because the middle-size farmers are looked upon as capitalists - therefore our quota is much too high; etc.

49%

Low farm prices, high taxes, high prices of industrial goods:

Pressure increases, decreasing pay for our crops, a pair of shoes costs 100 marks, that is thousand pounds of rye - after two years we will be ruined; I'm a new settler - we get less and less every year - prices are too high and what we sell doesn't bring any profit; prices for grain are the same as 50 years ago, taxes and insurances are fivefold as high; I am a new settler, I rebuilt my house and am indebted, now they demand interest but what we receive in our business is not enough - one has to invest in business (Locksmith) what one saves from the household money; the financial situation - prices for industrial goods are triple the prices for agricultural (-producer) goods, wages and taxes are likewise three times as high as in the past; money is scarce because paying by check has been introduced; earnings are somewhat better, but we are worse off because of high prices and purchases; etc.

13

Shortage in spare parts and materials:

Because we can hardly get any spare parts; because there is a shortage of goods, so we have to buy nails and scythes in West Berlin - they are very expensive there; it is difficult to get any material - I'm a locksmith and have a farm besides that; we can buy neither fertilizer nor cowchairs; because there are neither machines nor steel ware; because nowadays I can't buy any farm machinery or twine; one can't buy anything, not even twine; etc.

7

(cont'd on next page)

Shortage in manpower:

Lack of workers; most workers are being transferred to people-owned plants; shortage in manpower is too great; etc.

24

Worsening through dispossession and dismissals:

We have been dispossessed from our farm because we couldn't fulfill our quota - my father was imprisoned and I am working now in East Berlin; I've been a tenant for 18 years, then they took my land away from me, which is now a people-owned farm; I had to give my farm away because my husband is missing and it was regarded as ownerless, now I own nothing, another man runs the farm and needn't pay anything; I have been dismissed from a committee appraising land (Bodenschätzungs-kommission) because I was in Western captivity; etc.

2

Political pressure:

The pressure, the terror, and the brutal power burdened upon us are terrible - I get along all right economically because I own a model farm which has good soil and is situated favorably, besides I could keep all my cattle; we do hard labor and don't receive anything for it; the political and economical pressure has increased - we just have to deliver and to cry "Hurrah", we aren't human beings anymore; etc.

3

Others:

Because the Russians take everything away from us; on account of the cut-off of electricity - the cattle can hardly be fed in the dark; etc.

$\frac{3}{79\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

... The relatively small group of farmers who see their situation as better today than a year ago (17%) point to the elimination of rationing, the increased availability of necessary products, and in a few cases, to higher salaries. But it will be noted that their farm earnings are, in these cases, augmented by incomes from other jobs.

"In what respect is your situation better today?"

Betterment of general supply and food supply, fall in prices:

Today I can buy more for the same salary; one can buy more things, for instance hobnails, - one needn't buy things for expensive Western money anymore; the living standard has improved; one can buy more things now than a year ago; the ration card system has improved, we can buy many things freely or we can buy in the HO shops (trade organisation shops); the living standard has improved, no more rationing, HO prices have gone down, so we can buy more; the supply situation has improved, prices have gone down, rationing has been abolished; the food situation has somewhat improved; etc.

8%

Betterment through initiative and diligence on own farm:

Because we are much better off through a plan for cattle breeding, we have to see to how we are doing, so we apply ourselves to cattle breeding; I worked day and night and so I accomplished something; a year ago we did have land but didn't own a farm - now we can keep much more cattle; because I have reached my goal now - I'm a new settler and can sell my free quota; the living situation has improved somewhat, I'm a new settler and get some facilities; if one is diligent one gets ahead gradually; as a small farmer I'm in a position to deliver more free quota ("freie Spitzen") - our quota is lower than that of the large farmers; etc.

5

Betterment through higher earnings:

Higher earnings; as a teacher in a professional school I'm financially better off than when I was a new settler - but now I have to withstand more political pressure; one year ago I was a farm laborer in the West and didn't earn nearly as much money as today in a plant in the East; etc.

3

Others:

Because I gave up my new farm so I wouldn't have responsibility at least; because our harvest in the past year was so good we were able to fill our quota without any difficulty; I have some friends who cancelled my quota - I've filled it, and there's an end to it; I'm slaughtering unregistered cattle, but am afraid it is going to be noticed some day - the authorities fear the population quite a bit; because then I had just returned from captivity; etc.

$\frac{2}{18\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AND FUTURE LOOKS EVEN DIMMER ...

Even more discouraging than his view of the past year's developments is the farmer's anticipation of the future. That propaganda for the famed Five-Year Plan has had little positive impact on the Soviet Zone farmers is evident in the fact that three out of four farmers visiting the Gruene Woche predict that their personal situation will be much worse at the end of the plan. Added to this figure are the 10 per cent who think it will be "somewhat" worse and those who see no change (6%). Almost none (4%) see any improvement through the plan.

"Do you believe that your personal situation will be better or worse than it is today at the end of the Five-Year Plan?"

Better after Five-Year Plan	4%
Somewhat worse after Five-Year Plan	10
Much worse after Five-Year Plan	75
The same	6
No opinion	5
	<hr/> 100%

QUOTAS AND COLLECTIVIZATION HELD RESPONSIBLE ...

Half (51%) anticipate a steady increase in state-determined quotas to the point of eventual ruin for the individual farmer. Others (21%) predict an inevitable elimination of private ownership with the concomitant introduction of the Kolkhoz (collective) system. Throughout these comments it is obvious that the increasing pressure of the state, the compulsory mergers of small farms and breaking up of large farms which are unsuccessfully clothed in the guise of "voluntary" acts, are more and more strongly felt by the East German farmer. The very small group (4%) who are optimistic about the future, predict a decrease in prices for industrial products and increased production on the farms.

"In what respect do you think your situation will be worse?"

The quota will be even higher then (exploitation of the farmers) no opportunities for an existence left:

The constantly increasing quota is ruining us; the quota is constantly increasing and nothing is left for us; we can't bear the quota - it's increasing and will be too high for us; the quota is increased every year with the plan and it will be hard to meet it; the quota is increased from year to year and we won't be able to fulfill it anymore; then I won't have any hopes left - I won't have any cattle left and no grain either because the quota will be steadily increased; we have to deliver more and more - more meat, more products, more potatoes - the feeding situation is very bad - by that time we won't have any cattle left; the quota will be increased more and more - all compensations for beasts to be slaughtered will be eliminated so that we won't be able to meet the quota anymore; we fear that we'll have lost our farm by that time - the farmer is being exploited more and more; then we won't even exist any longer; if things go on as they are, even the best farmers won't be able to continue more than two years - then we'll be finished - if it continues I won't have my farm in five years; etc.

51%

Private ownership will be eliminated - the collective farms will be introduced:

Because the Five-Year Plan aims at collectivism - then I will lose my property too; we are to be exploited to the end by the plan, so that we'll have to quit and then they'll introduce collectivism; everything seems to point toward the introduction of the Kolkhoz system - then we'll just work for a few pennies - we can see the example in Russia; a Kolkhoz economy will be established and the farmer will be ruined; then we'll be finished completely - not only the farmers but the whole private economy - everything is pointing to the Kolkhoz; if the Five-year Plan still exists then, private property will be eliminated, because they want to exploit everything to the end by increasing the quota, until everything is impossible - then they'll "generously" take over; because we won't have private property any longer - the quota is raised from year to year until we can no longer fulfill it, and then they'll take everything away from us; by then we farmers will be finished - we won't have our farms any more - they raised the quota so high so they'll have the Kolkhoz by 1953; when the Plan is finished there'll be no farmers left, only Kolkhoz - nobody can meet the quota; etc.

21

The financial burden will be too great (prices, taxes, etc.):

Because the taxes will be so high, that it will be unbearable for us; because we haven't got anything left - all the money goes into taxes - we are finished; then we won't even be able to touch our money; we are practically working for nothing now - and in five years it will be so terrible that we will no longer even get money; the taxes are increasing too and we can't fulfill that either; we will be completely in debt then; they demand more and more from us and then the farms will be in debt and we will lose them; etc.

8

(cont'd on next page)

Shortage of materials (machines, coal, fertilizers, etc.) will have increased:

Then I'll have nothing but the shirt on my back because there won't be an import of raw materials anymore; because we won't import from the West and the tools that are being produced in the zone are no good; because all raw materials and products are getting scarcer; it's a slow retrogression - they have cut off electricity again and we don't get any coal - everything goes to Russia; we can buy less and less clothing for our work on the farm - the Five-Year Plan is just empty talk; etc.

7%

The lack of farm workers will have increased:

The lack of man power will steadily increase; the reconstruction, of which there is so much talk, isn't taking place at all - the wheat spoils because there aren't enough workers - the straw is spoiling too; because it is impossible to find workers; etc.

4

Other opinions:

I don't care for the plan at all - we can only get ahead again if they are gone (meaning the Communists); the longer the Russian occupation stays here - the worse it gets; because of the pressure - one is forced to go along - if one doesn't, as I did, one would be worse off; this Five-Year Plan is only a preliminary affair - they just want to see how much they can get out of the country; etc.

⁶
97%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In what respect, do you think, will your situation be better?"

The supply of goods will be better - we will be able to buy more (because of the decline in prices):

We will be able to buy even more then - we will have better supplies; the food might become cheaper; there will be more to eat; then there will be even more goods on the market and much cheaper - then one can buy even more; we will be better supplied and the prices will decline; it might be better economically - but not as good as we would like to see it; the quota will be higher then, but the living standard will rise too because there'll be more profits then; slowly the prices will become normal; etc.

3%

Reconstruction will be continued - production will increase:

Through steady increase of production; we will keep our work and continue to reconstruct - there is progress - one must only be satisfied with the conditions; etc.

1

Other opinions:

Things must get better - it depends on the individual and how he gets ahead; etc.

$$\frac{1}{5\%}$$

*One respondent gave more than one answer.

MOST THINK FORMER COOPERATIVES SERVED INTERESTS OF FARMERS MORE THAN PRESENT BHG ...

It is fully evident that, in the opinion of the farmers interviewed, the reorganization of the former "cooperatives" into the new VDGB-BHG was not the allegedly voluntary measure the Communists claimed it to be. Freedom of trade, political and economic independence, and independent buying and selling power are being slowly but totally eliminated by the new structure and replaced by state-controlled trade, state determined quotas, and state-determined prices - in short, complete dependence on the state-run BHG.

Despite the incessant Communist lip-service given to the democratic aims of the new plan - protection of the farmers' interest by regulating production, providing material aid and technical instruction, etc. - the farmers themselves are not convinced. Only 4 per cent of the Gruene Woche farmers believe that the present organization - the BHG - is more favorable to the farmers' economic welfare than the former cooperatives were. Seven in ten claim that the old system protected the interests of the farmers to a greater extent, 8 per cent say one is the same as the other, and 3 per cent think neither system safeguards the interests of the farmer.

"In your opinion, which safeguards the economic interests of the farmers better - the former 'cooperative society' (Raiffeisen, etc.) or the present BHG (VDGB)?"

Former cooperatives	72%
Present BHG	4
Both the same	8
Neither	3
No opinion	<u>13</u>
	100%

The impression gained from reading the farmers' reasons for preferring the old cooperatives over the present set-up is that elimination of free enterprise and free trade brought about by the reorganization of collectives into the state-controlled BHG is apparently the greatest thorn in the farmers' side. It is evident throughout their comments that little credence is given to the often-reiterated Communist assurance that the reorganization was designed, not to increase state profits, but to increase production for the sole purpose of raising the standard of living for the farmer and the working classes. It is obviously quite clear that most of the farmers believe that the real aim of the GDR is to gain complete control, through the BHG and other sub-organizations, of the farmer's economic and political life. In contrast, the former cooperatives are seen by most of the farmers to have truly had the interests of the farmer at heart. Not only were they considered non-political organizations, but, according to many, they provided adequate material and experienced agricultural experts, maintained equitable and stable prices, and in general represented the interests of the farmer rather than of the state.

"In what respect did the former cooperative societies safeguard the interests of the farmers better?"

The cooperatives did not exert any pressure - everybody could sell or buy as much as he wanted to:

They did not exert any pressure - everybody could sell what he wanted to sell while today everything is dictated; they could work freely - today there is no competition and every farmer is dependent on the BHG; it was a non-political and voluntary organization; those were merely private enterprises without pressure and politics - one could buy more and buy more freely in the past; the farmer had a free hand in the past; there was free trade in the past; one could trade freely with the cooperatives formerly; there was no planned economy under Raiffeisen - there was free trade then - one could get as much as one wanted to; one could buy machines and fertilizers as much as one wanted to - there was free buying and selling in the past; one could buy fertilizer at any time, now we have to take what we get; it used to be the affair of the farmers in the past - today it's a political matter - it was a cooperative on a voluntary basis; there was healthy competition in the past and one was treated as a customer; etc.

27%

The cooperatives provided what was needed; distribution was fair:

We used to get fertilizer, commodity goods, and coal in the past - now we don't; we were better provided with seed and cattle in the past; they at least provided material for us; they tried to serve us adequately and decently - they got things for us while today we are told that things we need are not there; they were just - everything was distributed equally; better distribution; the cooperatives used to procure all the machinery for us; they delivered more goods and machinery; one could get everything - and of top quality too - not as it is today; we really got good seed which we could rely on in the past; they provided a fertilizer of better quality; we got everything we needed through the former cooperatives - artificial fertilizer and machinery; etc.

18

Cooperatives had a serious economic interest in the farmers - they supported them (general) and employed good and experienced experts:

They gave better support to the farmers in the past; they were interested in furthering the economy; Raiffeisen could help us better - it was really interested in us; the former cooperatives gave us economic support; there were farmers on the committee who had our interests at heart - they wanted to represent us and not live on us; the farmer had a part in it - he could have a say in it too; the relationship with the farmers was a friendly one - everything was based on service to the customer; the cooperatives in the past existed for the interest of the farmers only; they represented our interests better - it was mutual help - today it's not; the employees of Raiffeisen only saw the interest of the farmer because they earned their living through them; because they were on the side of the farmers and worked for the farmers; they were all experts and knew how to work - they stuck with the farmers; they had real knowledge of their job and a true feeling of responsibility - it was good to work with them; they were officials in the past, experts, who worked hand in glove with the farmers and advised them; they represented our private interests; etc.

19

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The cooperatives paid in cash and granted credits:

They helped to increase business by lending money - they gave us credits in the past; today we get only a certain amount of money during the month depending on the size of the farm - in the past we could get as much money as we wanted to from the cooperatives; by granting credits - one could get money right away; they took more interest - if a farmer was in need they lent him 500 marks all at once; they gave us credits - and we didn't have to pay it back so quickly; there we got our money from the bank; in the past one delivered the goods, got a paper for it and then went to the cashier; etc.

16%

The cooperatives were honest - they had favorable and stable prices for the farmers:

Because they existed on an honest basis; there weren't so many parasites among them; because the former cooperatives didn't make so much money from our production; the former cooperatives didn't take any interest; in the past, Raiffeisen used the money only for the farmers; we weren't cheated so much in the past; in the past we used to have more favorable prices and better profits; the Raiffeisen had stable prices; Raiffeisen adjusted the prices according to the harvests - they were lowered even more and those who worked economically could sell for very good prices; in the past everything was regulated and orderly - today the accounts don't match and we don't see the accounts right away; etc.

11

Criticism of the BHG:

We have to pay for the large staff of the BHG, and besides that, the BHG earns too much money; the whole staff of big shots, in the past they only had two employees - always those who have the money have to give the securities - we have more and more burdens today; the BHG is poorly organized - no storage room and much of the staff is spoiling; the new cooperatives don't render profitable work - they have too many idlers on their staff; etc.

6

The cooperatives represented the interests of the farmers to the government:

They took the complaints of the farmers to the government; because they had representatives in the government and they could safeguard the farmers' interests; etc.

1

No opinion/No answer:

1
98%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY ANTICIPATES INTRODUCTION OF COLLECTIVIZATION ...

Although plans for collectivization of East Zone farms are repeatedly and vehemently denied by the state propaganda machine, that this is the eventual goal of the Soviets is believed by most East Zone farmers. The first steps of such a system - economic dependence of the farmer on the state, and quota and price control, have already been implemented and are obviously patterned on the Soviet system. Almost three in four of the Gruene Woche respondents think that the Kolkhoz system (the Soviet plan of state-run collectives) will be introduced in East Germany - eliminating the last vestiges of independent farming.

"Do you think that the DDR will introduce the Kolkhoz system (collective farm)?"

Yes	73%
No	23
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

BUT MORE THAN HALF CLAIM BHG STILL HAS LITTLE POLITICAL INFLUENCE ...

But although the BHG (Farmers' Trade Cooperative) has increasingly tightened its grip on the economic life of the East German farmer, leaving him little hope for future independence, the political campaign of indoctrination does not appear to be meeting with the same success. In view of the fact that many observers see the primary aim of the BHG as a political one - to win the farmers over to Communist thinking, it must be discouraging to the organization to find as many recalcitrants still existing. According to more than half (52%) of the Gruene Woche farmers, the BHG has no political influence whatsoever on the farmers. About a quarter (26%) say that its influence is small, and only 17 per cent claim that the organization has a strong influence politically.

"Does the BHG in your community have political influence on the farmers or not?"

Strong influence	17%
Small influence	26
No influence	52
No opinion	5
	<u>100%</u>

Exactly how the farmers in some regions avoid political pressure is not certain, but it can be fairly reasonably assumed that some of the local BHG organisations are less efficiently run than others, since in many sections there seems to be considerable political activity. Farmers are not only compelled to join the BHG - and presumably to go along with the political aspects of it - but they are also 'encouraged' to attend political meetings and lectures, and are watched over by the careful eye of the trained Communist observer.

"In what is this influence evident?"

Political meetings and training lectures are held:

They repeatedly hold meetings dealing with politics; they tell us a lot at the weekly farmers' meetings - we are all supposed to become true Stalinists; at meetings people are politically trained; the farmers are politically trained; they hold political lectures; training lectures and political speeches; in the political training on the part of the advisers on soil cultivation; every meeting is politically tinged, and what they say is aimed at us; now they have training pertaining to farming in winter (Winterschulung); etc.

16%

The farmers are compelled to join the BHG (political organizations), and to attend political meetings:

They try to force the farmers into political organizations, like FDGB (Free German Trade Union) or SED; because all farmers have to be in some organization; no farmer owning more than 20 hectares is admitted, unless he is a member of the SED; one who is not a member of the BHG, or who does not participate in political training cannot buy any machinery or tools; so-called "Mangelwaren" (scarce goods) are given only to members (of the BHG); party members are privileged - the old established farmers don't get anything for instance, machinery; they force us into the VDGB, otherwise we won't get any fodder allotment; in the handling of all business matters - new settlers, being politically unobjectionable, are privileged in regard to everything, unlike the old established farmers; one who is not a member of the BHG doesn't get anything, for instance, light bulbs or fertilizer; we all had left the VDGB previously, now we are compelled to join the VDGB again through the BHG; etc.

14

The authorities exert personal influence on the farmers, or watch over them:

Recently there has been a political secretary who watches over the farmers and reports on every single one to the county town; the political secretary exerts influence but not many meetings are held; several weeks ago a political secretary was appointed to whom, however, we offer resistance; they say: do this and do that, and if one doesn't do it, one is called a saboteur; the board of directors is mainly composed of functionaries, influence is exerted by those at the top, they force their wishes on the farmers; they have a political secretary who trains the people - he is a glass-blower though politically well-informed, he is more than a manager and has the highest salary; political leaders of the BHG visit the farmers in order to discuss political matters and to make propaganda; etc.

6

They propagandize for the East and abuse the West:

All meetings of farmers are sponsored by the BHG, at those meetings we are always incited against the West - they tell us that things are only good in the East and reunification will be brought about from here, also that everybody owning land is bound to be against the war-mongers; they always point out the war preparations of the West and tell us that with this in view, any difficulty the farmers are involved in is easy to bear since it helps in maintaining peace; they want to persuade us of the political necessity of it; Michurin's methods are said to be the only right ones; the Soviet people and Soviet agriculture are praised as ideal; they propagandize for Russia; all subject matters deal only with Soviet-German friendship; propaganda in favor of the Five-Year Plan; etc.

5

Others:

They publish newspaper articles running down the farmers;; they try to (exert influence), but it's of no use; they can't do anything; although we are but medium farm owners, we are regarded as big farm owners, and pig-breeding contracts are forced upon us; etc.

4
45%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THERE ARE MANY "NEW SETTLERS" ACCORDING TO FARMERS ...

One of the more ambitious programs of Land Reform is the resettlement of workers on small, "privately owned" farms. That this plan has already been effected to a considerable extent is indicated by the estimates of the farmers interviewed for this study. Almost two-thirds (65%) claim that there are "many" of these new settlers in their regions, and another quarter (25%) say there are some. Only one in ten claim there are no newcomers near them.

"Are there any new settlers in your vicinity? (Many or few?)"

Yes, many	65%
Yes, few	25
None	10
	<u>100%</u>

BUT MOST NEW SETTLERS REPORTED AS DISSATISFIED ...

But the psychological effect has apparently been considerably less successful than the practical execution of the resettlement. Despite the extensive propaganda for the plan, and the fact that the new settlers were not only granted land, but also - at least at first - special consideration and privileges of limited quotas, extensive loans, etc. which are not accorded the old established farmers, satisfaction with their new situation appears to be very limited. Estimates made of the extent of dissatisfaction among these new farmers could hardly be considered gratifying to the Communist planners. Four in ten (39%) estimate that nearly all of the re-settled farmers are dissatisfied, and an equal proportion make estimates of half or more. Only 4 per cent consider any figure under half as representative of the number of dissatisfied "new farmers."

"Approximately what per cent of these new settlers are satisfied in your estimation and what per cent are dissatisfied?" *

	Dissatisfied
Under 20 per cent	1%
Under 50 per cent	3
Between 50 and 90 per cent	39
More than 90 per cent	39
Don't know	8
	<u>90%</u>

* In order to phrase the question as objectively as possible, respondents were first given the opportunity of estimating the proportion "satisfied." As would be expected, estimates were in inverse ratio to those in the above table.

"In what is this dissatisfaction evident? (What are they doing)?"

They complain in private:

They just talk and talk; they complain - they can't dare to do more; they complain - that's all; the burden of the little people increases - they complain and protest, that's all; they complain - otherwise they let things go on as they are; they complain to each other - but nothing happens publicly - they can't; if we are among each other we complain - we don't dare to say anything at meetings; we all want to protest, but we can't say it openly in discussions - we talk among ourselves at home - nobody wants to go along any further; they complain a lot - but not publicly, because they are all afraid of being arrested; they don't have enough money, and therefore they complain, but not publicly - only among people they know; etc.

29%

They are leaving their farms and seeking other work:

Many have left their farms behind because they couldn't keep them up; they discontinue reconstruction and leave everything; most of them just run away because they can't fulfill their quota; they are leaving their farms; most of them place their lots at the disposal of others - they are giving up; many have given up and gone to work in the shipyards - they earn more money there; many who used to work for big estates in the past want to return; they complain and would rather be workers than just that; they offer themselves as workers at meetings; they quit their jobs as new settlers and leave their farms; etc.

26

They complain in public:

They debate and argue with the political director of the MAS; they are dissatisfied with the terrific amount of farm work and that they don't have intermissions and free time in the evenings - their dissatisfaction is evident in their debates with the mayor and the old established farmers; they complain to our mayor - that's all they can do; they complain openly in meetings - they no longer want to go along; they complain about the economic situation, the rise of the quota - they argue and resistance increases more and more; they all complain about the high quota - they protest at the farmers meeting; they protest and complain at the farmers meetings; they complain at meetings; the farmers complain all the time - quite in the open; etc.

22

They don't and can't do anything:

All of them are keeping quiet and biting their thumbs; they can't do anything - they hardly dare to complain; they are too suppressed - they can't do anything - too many stooges around in the villages - they all have to keep quiet; can't do anything - everybody has one foot in the concentration camp anyway; they can't do anything - they have to go along as long as possible; they can't talk openly and just go along - flight or prison are the last choices; they don't do anything - they just hope that there will be a unification of Germany and with that improvement; they don't do anything; etc.

8

They do not attend meetings - they cheat the government - they quit the SED:

They don't attend the meetings; nobody goes to the meetings; they try to sell some of their goods underhand in order to get around the high quota and to keep themselves above water; they try to defraud the government - they cheat the party; 89 new settlers here were members of the SED and 59 of them have already quit; etc.

5

No opinion/No answer:

2
92%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MANY NEW SETTLERS HAVE ALREADY ABANDONED FARMS ...

Further evidence that the resettlement plan is meeting with limited success is the fact that many of the "new settlers" are said to have already left their farms. Estimates made by the farmer respondent are varied, but 68 per cent claim to know of at least some new settlers who have left during the past year. The majority (58%) estimate that at least half have abandoned their farms, but the largest single group (38%) say that less than two in 10 have left.

"Do you know of any new settlers in your vicinity who left their farms during the past year? (Approximately what per cent?)"

Yes	68%
None left	17
No opinion	15
	<u>100%</u>

Under 20%	38%
20 - 29	11
30 - 39	7
40 - 49	2
50 - 59	4
60 - 69	1
70 - 79	1
80 - 89	-
90 - 100	-
Indefinite	4
	<u>68%</u>

WITHDRAWAL OF FORMER PRIVILEGES SEEN AS MAIN REASON FOR ABANDONING NEW FARMS ...

Withdrawal of the privileges which at first had been accorded the new settlers (free quotas, interest-free loans, etc.), and the resulting difficulty in fulfilling assigned quotas and in meeting financial demands, are cited by the majority of farmers as the major reasons for the new settlers' abandoning their farms. Others attribute their leaving to the shortage of manpower and machinery (6%), or to the fact that many of them were not farmers to begin with and could not cope with the difficulties involved in their new occupation (7%).

"Why did they leave their farms?"

They couldn't fulfill their quotas (privileges for new settlers have been abolished):

Because they couldn't fulfill their quota; because the newly established farms and the new settlers have no privileges any more; because the quota is too high - I intend also to give up farming; they couldn't fulfill their quota, the reason for that is the planned economy, nobody wants to take over the abandoned land; because most people weren't able to fulfill their quota, those who didn't fulfill it are being punished; previously they had privileges (low quota, free quota), that is abolished now so they can't make ends meet; because they can't fulfill the quota - they are supposed to keep a big stock of cattle, but don't have enough fodder and are not allowed to slaughter any cattle; the quota is too high, besides it is forbidden to slaughter; through the high quota, they hardly had enough to eat and had no money to buy anything; etc.

24%

Economic and financial ruin:

Because of the difficult economic situation, they couldn't make both ends meet; people realized that they couldn't make a living - they had to give their products away cheaply, while they had to buy expensively; they weren't able to cover their expenses on account of poor harvest and poor managing; they didn't know a way out because the financial burdens were too high - one of them once was a big shot of the party, then all of a sudden he disappeared to the West; they couldn't get along financially because the prices of agricultural goods (producer) are too low while the prices of industrial goods are too high; they were all indebted - credits were exhausted; they could no longer exist - their obligations were higher than their receipts, besides they never received ready money because the bank always took the money in; etc.

19

Because they couldn't get on (without specific reasons):

Because they would have collapsed there - they had to make a living, but it was impossible this way; because it was impossible to get on; because they were finished - a lot of other farmers would have liked to give their farm away, but the provisions for it are too difficult - they have to have a substitute who will take the farm over; they couldn't manage it; they couldn't get on, couldn't earn a living; etc.

8

Because they were unqualified for farming:

Some of them were not real farmers and didn't understand farming; some of them weren't even farmers, they misused farming for profiteering, now work is too hard for them and they clear out; because they weren't skilled farmers - they expected too much of it; because they were not farmers - there are enough people who do like it to take over those farms; because they weren't qualified, they mis-managed the farm, now they are no longer interested in farming; some of them didn't know much about farming; etc.

7

(cont'd on next page)

Shortage of manpower; shortage of farm equipment:

They weren't given enough seed and machinery to till the soil; couldn't get ahead because of general difficulties - no machinery, no manpower; no possibility to go on farming; no team of horses, no cows; they couldn't keep their farms because of shortage in cattle and lack of adequate buildings; the pigs perished of cold, everything was only makeshift; they had no teams and no solid farms, they couldn't stand that; etc.

6%

Because they had better opportunities to make a living in other trades:

Because they can't get ahead, they are happy if they can be unskilled laborers again; they have nothing to eat, no money - they prefer to be laborers again; because they have no means of living - most of them report for due; etc.

4

Because the soil was poor and the area for cultivation too small:

Because they realized they couldn't earn a living on twenty or thirty acres; they couldn't make ends meet, and so they left their farms under cover of night - the soil is poor and does not yield much; the soil is very poor, they couldn't make a living; they could not get along economically - they would starve on their own farms, especially if they had poor soil; etc.

3

For personal reasons (because of illness or old age):

Because of old age - one of them couldn't do it anymore; one left for family reasons; some went to the West to join relatives - they were new settlers who aimed at joining their families; they were old people mostly who couldn't stand the strain; etc.

3

Others:

Many of them went to the West for political and economic reasons; several people would like to get rid of their farms, but none of them ventures to do so - no one else takes it over voluntarily; etc.

²
76%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

RELATIONS BETWEEN OLD AND NEW FARMERS SEEN AS "FAIR TO BAD" AS OFTEN AS "GOOD" ...

That the Soviet policy to "divide and destroy" as applied to East Zone agriculture has not been entirely without success is suggested by the Gruene Woche respondents' estimate of the present relationship between the new settlers and the old established farmers. Though only a minority (13%) go so far as to say relations between the two groups are actually bad, as many as three in ten consider them only fair. (Comments of the majority of this group stress strained relations, which suggest that the connotation of the term "fair" tends toward bad rather than good.) However, the largest single group (39%) say relations between the new farmers and the old are good.

"How is the relationship between the new settlers and the old established farmers in your community - good or bad?"

Good	39%
Fair	30
Bad	13
No opinion	18
	<u>100%</u>

Mutual aid and cooperation against a common enemy is the most often cited (by 35%) manifestation of a good relationship. Common economic and political problems have apparently had the effect of binding together the old and new farmers - particularly since the partiality originally shown the new settlers by the state representatives has been reduced.

The farmers who assess the general situation as "fair" cite the same evidence on the positive side, but the majority (21%) tend to emphasize the negative aspects. These are primarily based on the differences which still exist in demands from above (quota differences, etc.), differences felt by the old farmers in the experience and ability of the two groups, and the fact that many of the old farmers consider the new settlers a burden on them.

"How is the relationship between the new settlers and the old established farmers in your community - good or bad?"

If "Good": "How is this evident?"

They give mutual aid:

That is evident in the aid given by the old established farmers to the new settlers with horses, machines, etc.; they work together and lend each other machines wherever they can; the old established farmers help the new settlers if they have difficulties; the old farmers have wood and we help them with the horses in return for that - the relationship is better than between the old established farmers themselves; the old farmers see the difficult situation of the new settlers and support them; we have to get along with each other - the new settler helps the old established farmer with his work and the old established farmer lends his machines to the new settler; we support the new settlers with wood and teams; very good in general - we plow for the new settlers because they aren't satisfied with MAS - aside from that everybody helps each other; they lend each other the machines because MAS is unreliable; through cooperative work - they help each other because MAS is too expensive and too uneconomical; etc.

23%

Their common plight causes them to cooperate:

They stick together at the meetings, etc. - since the favoritism with the quota was dropped, everybody is in the same situation again; the relationship is normal, because the new settlers are as badly off now as the old established farmers - in the years before they had certain compensations, lower quota, credits, etc.; no quarrels - they are all in agreement about the present situation; the new settlers are real farmers from Silesia - the old established farmers help them with tools - they all know that they belong together and the common need makes them realize this; we are all facing death - the old established farmers are ruined sooner than we - we don't have grudges against each other because we are equally in distress - we help each other; by mutual help - they buck the current by sticking together politically; they go along - they agree with us on political measures, i.e. the election of a BHC secretary; good cooperation through mutual help-eight times we were going to lose our property and the workers and settlers helped us out (while my father was in jail); they have the same interest in meetings - they argue for the same things against the functionaries; etc.

12

They are friendly toward each other - differences do not exist:

They say "Good day" and "have a nice time" and that is all; there are no differences; etc.

2

They retain old acquaintanceships and friendships:

We all stick together - we knew the new settlers in the past - they used to work here as farm workers; the friendly gathering - many of the new settlers used to work for the same boss in the past; etc.

1

Their relations are good because the economic situation has improved:

The new settlers here now are not dependent on the help of the old established farmers - therefore the relationship is good; etc.

1
39%

"How is the relationship between the new settlers and the old established farmers in your community - good or bad?"

If "Fair": "How is this evident?"

Because the new settlers have certain preferences, tensions exist:

They yell at each other because the new settler gets certain favors; some of the new settlers have wood and the old established farmers have none - they have to buy their wood and that's why they begin to hate each other; because the MAS has always given preference to the new settlers - that embitters us; the new settlers get many benefits, that fosters disagreement; the old farmers are envious because the new settlers have a lower quota - the land of the new settlers is better because it used to belong to the large estates; etc.

75

The old farmers consider the new settlers a burden and don't want to help them:

The new settlers expect too much help from the old established farmers - the latter have machines and horses and work to the limit of their strength and don't always have the time to help the new settlers - we realize that they need help but can't do it sometimes and then they report us; the new settlers don't have the tools and have to borrow them from the old farmers and that sometimes results in quarrels - sometimes they break something and can't replace it and that brings on differences; there is no direct hatred - but the old farmers don't like to help because they won't get anything for it; etc.

7

The old farmers don't want to have anything to do with the new settlers:

The old farmers consider themselves better - we are just refugees; the old farmers are old-fashioned and very conceited - they don't want to have anything to do with us; the new settlers can't keep up with the speed of the work - they were farm workers who were used to being driven at their work and alone they don't get on so well - that's why the farmers don't respect them too much; sometimes the farmers help the settlers but the relationship is somewhat tense because the settlers used to be former farm workers for the farmers - those settlers who were farmers in the past are respected - the others are not; etc.

4

Political differences between the two groups:

Most of the new settlers are SED members and the old established farmers don't understand them; etc.

3

They lend mutual aid to each other:

They support each other in everything; they lend each other horses and machinery; they get along with each other; the new settlers need advice and help with machinery; they work together in some cases - the old farmers lend their horse-teams; if the new settler needs something he'll get it - they all have the same opinion more or less; etc.

3

The common plight causes them to cooperate:

Necessity forces them to cooperate; they get along - they are all in the same boat; they have to cooperate; etc.

3

They retain old acquaintanceships and friendships:

Those whom one knows from the past are easy to get along with; the new settlers are no strangers here - they are former farm workers; many of them grew up here and they are peaceful - some of them help each other; etc.

1

They are friendly toward each other - differences do not exist:

They are friendly toward each other; the new settlers are just as respected as the old farmers - nobody makes a difference; they complain about the old farmers, but they get along in general; etc.

1

Other opinions:

Those dissatisfied with the regime get along well with the old farmers - only the functionaries are hated; the new settlers from Poland and Upper Silesia are a group by themselves - they haven't established roots here - they are in the minority; they sit alone at their tables and are envious of the big farm owners; etc.

2
314

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"How is the relationship between the new settlers and the old established farmers in your community - good or bad?"

If "Bad": "How is this evident?"

Lack of mutual understanding:

They always quarrel - they always want the old farmers to help them and they have enough to do for themselves; I hear enough of that - the old farmers have their thrashing quota and their machinery and are supposed to help the others and they don't want to; because everybody thinks of himself first - the old farmers are just fed up with always having to help the new settlers; the new settlers always rely on the old farmers and the latter get angry about it; the old farmers consider the new settlers a burden - it is their duty to help each other in a village community; they don't understand each others plight; the old farmers have to help the new settlers all the time and the latter are often angry about it; etc.

6%

Political differences between the two groups:

The new settlers vex the old farmers and inform on them politically; they further this split consciously from above because the old farmer is politically disinterested, while the new settler is politically dependent since he'd lose his farm otherwise; etc.

3

Tensions exist; because of quota discrepancies:

The quota the new settler can't fulfill has to be met by the old farmer - therefore morale is low and quarrels begin; the old farmer has a much higher quota than the new settlers - that creates tension; because the old farmers always have to pull the new settlers through with the quota - the unfilled quota has to be filled by them; the mayor is one of the new-comers too - he presses the quota on the old farmers - and therefore they are angry about the new settlers; etc.

4

The old farmers are reserved toward the new settlers:

Most of the new settlers are refugees and personal quarrels ensue because they are strangers here; the new settlers are all strangers - the old farmers are all related to each other and therefore they don't help us - they'd rather see us leave today than tomorrow; etc.

$\frac{1}{14\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LARGE AND SMALL FARM OWNERS SEEN AS GOOD BY MOST ...

Although it may be assumed that the goal of the East Zone government is the elimination of the "big farmer," it has not yet been realized. These farmers have apparently retained considerable independence despite the general policy of the GDR which is demonstrated in consistently favoring the small and middle farmer while discriminating against the large farmer. In view of the policy, however, (to whatever extent it is being successfully implemented) it would not seem unreasonable to suppose that considerable tension would be felt between the different farmer classes. That this does not appear to be the case is found in the figures and comments obtained in the present study and presented on the following pages. Six out of ten (59%) of the East Zone farmers interviewed express the view that the relationship between big farmers and small farmers is generally good. Only five per cent feel it is poor, and 16 per cent assess it as fair.

"How is the relationship between the big farm owners and the small farm owners in your community - good or bad?"

Good	59%
Fair	16
Bad	5
No opinion	20
	100%

Resistance against a common enemy - the State, necessity of mutual aid in meeting quotas and obtaining farm equipment, and a mutual understanding and sympathy stemming from long-term friendship, are the most frequently mentioned bases for the good relationship obtaining between the big and small farm owners.

Those who assess the relationship as only fair or as bad, see the discriminatory policy of the GDR toward the two groups as the chief cause of friction. Variance in political views is also mentioned as a source of tension, but the chief bone of contention seems to be economic - the large farm owners are, on one hand, better off than the small farmers, but on the other hand, they are subject to greater pressure from above in terms of assigned quotas, as well as constant discrediting and verbal abuse from the press and from state functionaries.

"How is the relationship between the big farm owners and the small farm owners in your community - good or bad?"

If "Good": "How is this evident?"

They get on well together and help each other:

We all work hand in hand, mutual help without distinguishing between big and small farm owners; they support each other - the small farm owners can make their quota more easily than the big farm owners so they help each other; they exchange grain with each other - the big farm owners help the small owners in every way possible; the small farm owners need the big farm owners on machinery, so the former give help; many farms have burnt down, so they help each other with horses, etc. - but only the older ones do it; they help each other with manpower and machinery; they are very helpful to each other - lending of machinery, seed, and horses for breeding; etc.

36%

They stand together because they have to endure the same pressure:

They are agreed, they are all German people who hold together against the government; we stick together - we jointly rejected a proposal on fulfilling the quota in advance of the deadline; everybody is on the ball - they help each other in selling goods and buying spare parts in the West, also in misrepresenting the number of their cattle - all this is done jointly in order to successfully ship those goods, and they (BHG) never find out about it; they agree in every respect, they help each other, none of them is a faithful SED adherent; they all have the same cause - also the workers have the same attitude; they help each other, especially in fulfilling their quota, both have to stand the same political pressure; etc.

15

They stand together because they are old acquaintances:

Their relationship is the same as in peace times, they all have known each other a long time; as old farmers they have known each other for years - they stick together in every way; they have always been farmers and stick together; most of them are related to each other, so they hold together; etc.

4

They get on well together because they don't need each other:

Up to now everyone gets on well and needs no help; because they all work independently, nobody needs the other - they all are waiting for a change, as the farms over fifty hectares will be caught this year because they can't fulfill their quota; etc.

1

Others:

The big farm owners can't make a living in spite of their efficiency, but there is no way to help them out - there is no ill will, but we have enough to do for ourselves; etc.

2

No opinion/No answer:

1
59%

"How is the relationship between the big farm owners and the small farm owners in your community - good or bad?"

If "Fair": "How is this evident?"

They stand together, lend mutual assistance, are independent of each other, get along well:

By mutual help; they are agreed with each other; they help each other in fulfilling their quota, the big farm owners help those who are short in grain and milk; lend machinery to each other; the small farm owners also have machinery and aren't dependent on the big farm owners; they don't hurt each other, everyone lets the other have his way; etc.

3%

They do not get along well because of different handling of the quota:

Through differentiating - if one of them can't fulfill his quota, the others have to take it over, because of that people get somewhat upset at times; the differentiation in the quota creates ill-feelings; the big farmers have to fulfill a greater quota, that creates friction; the quota of the big farm owners is so high they can hardly fulfill it, also they are not allowed to slaughter anything - as the small farm owners have a lower quota, they slaughter each year, naturally the big farm owners are not delighted about that, so strained relations arise at meetings; tensions arise through the different quotas; etc.

8

They both stay to themselves:

Each group stays very much to itself, each lets the other take care of itself; everyone does all he can for himself; there is always a certain distance, no real cooperation; everyone thinks of himself first; etc.

2

They do not get along well, because the big farmers hold themselves apart:

The former arrogance still exists among the big farm owners; it has always been that way - the big farm owners think they are better than the small farm owners; etc.

1

They do not get along well because the government - the SED - incites them:

The small farm owners are mostly members of the SED, while the big farm owners are opposed to it, so they aggravate each other; through the party (SED) which always provokes the big farm owners; etc.

1

They do not get along well because the big farm owners take advantage of the small farm owners:

The big farm owners take advantage of the small farm owners, they have been helped by us with threshing and in the field, but if they are asked to help us in turn, they have no time, or they pay poorly; etc.

Others:

One doesn't dare to talk openly with the other, there is constant distrust - the small farm owners take a malicious joy in the big farm owners being so badly off now; the small farmers work less and have more money than the big ones, that causes anger; etc.

1
16%

"How is the relationship between the big farm owners and the small farm owners in your community - good or bad?"

If "Bad": "How is this evident?"

Quota discrepancies cause ill-will:

There is always some discord, the big farm owners have higher expenses because the MAS tariffs are extremely high for them; the big farm owners envy the small farm owners because the latter have more privileges from the government; there are always frictions about the quota, the small farm owners can sell free quota, thereby booming the quota more and more; the big farm owners' quota is three times as high as the small farm owners', that makes them envious; etc..

2%

Better circumstances of big farmers causes ill-will:

The big farm owners have better soil, the small farm owners have to give good soil away at a command of the big farm owners; they envy each other and don't cooperate - the small farm owners envy the big farm owners; etc.

2

Exclusiveness of the big farm owners causes ill-will:

The small farm owners are new settlers and are considered intruders; etc.

1

Government (SED) - inspired tensions cause ill-will:

They are incited against each other by the differentiation in quota, that's what the government aims at; etc.

5%

MANPOWER SHORTAGE ON FARMS SEEN BY ALMOST ALL ..

The shortage of manpower on East Zone farms, mentioned in other sections of this report, is clearly emphasized in the responses of the Gruene Woche farmers to a question directly concerning farm workers. Nine in ten (88%) say there is a lack of farm workers in their communities.

"Is there a lack of farm workers in your community or not?"

Yes	88%
No	12
	<u>100%</u>

Almost as many (79%) estimate a decrease in manpower from the situation as it was a year ago.

"Is the lack of farm workers greater than a year ago or smaller than a year ago?"

Greater today	79%
Smaller today	2
The same	9
No opinion	10
	<u>100%</u>

MOST CITE GREATER ADVANTAGES OF OTHER OCCUPATIONS, BUT SOME BLAME STATE ...

This dearth of farm help is attributed by more than three in four (77%) to the fact that other jobs - in industrial plants, mining, the People's Police, etc. - not only offer higher wages, but also demand less strenuous hours and less work. Others (13%) claim that the shortage is part of a government plan to undermine the farmers' independence and eventually force them into complete submission and dependence on the state - in other words, to prepare them for a "voluntary" acceptance of the final stage of the Kolkhoz system. .

"Is there a lack of farm workers in your community or not?"

If "Yes": "What is the reason for it?"

Many workers go to industrial plants, the MAS, VEB (people-owned concerns), and VOPO (People's Police), because those institutions pay higher wages for less work:

Most people go into mining because they earn more money there - the farmers aren't in a position to pay higher wages; many of them work on canal building now because they get better pay; because we can't observe the eight-hour day on farms, so people run off to industrial plants and to the rolling-mill where they earn their living much more easily; the farmers can't pay them enough, so the workers leave to work on building airfields where they get paid more; the people-owned plants are in a position to pay higher wages because they are supported by the government; the workers go off to people-owned farms because those can pay more; the people-owned plants and the police force pull a lot of them over - the farmers can't bear the wages and the social burdens; the youths take up jobs with the police or the fire department where they receive a good pay and liquor and needn't work much; because the plants pay more for less work, so everyone takes jobs there; young people go into heavy industry or into town where they earn more money; because the farmers aren't in a position to pay as high wages as industry does; industry is taking them away - a big coke processing plant is established nearby, everybody is starting to work there, they are required to work only eight hours, and earn more money; because they get better paid in industrial plants, so the clever people go to Henningsdorf - even children try to work there; the farmers have neither money nor food to hire workers; etc.

77%

The government deliberately creates manpower shortages:

The labor offices encourage people not to work in agriculture; the government is seeing to it that people take jobs in industrial plants or with the police; those at the top are not interested at all, they are aiming at the Kolkhoz system only - if they don't get enough people they plainly socialize everything; we believe that the government hasn't suppressed us yet - they want to achieve that by causing a lack of farm workers; the government takes that course on purpose - they draw manpower over to the industrial plants in order to get the farmers in a jam - they can't fulfill their quota if they haven't got enough workers; it's cooked up by those at the top - people are just drawn over to the People's Police and to the Wismuth company to finish us up, then we can't fulfill our quota; they are influenced against the farmers by the FDJ (Free German Youth) which instructs them to sabotage the big farm owners; etc.

13

Lack of manpower in the East is caused through migration to the West:

Because all refugees have migrated to the West; politics cause it - mainly the youths fear that they will be drawn into any kind of work, so they instead leave to the West; the farm-hands and girls are to blame for it - if one of them is drawn, four to five others would run away the next morning, because they are afraid; etc.

2

Conscription of workers by the Russian occupation forces:

Most workers are drawn for the Russian barracks here; the Russians don't release any workers, they are all taken to Aue or into the People's Police; etc.

1

Others:

They don't like to be under political control on the farms; previously the farmers employed foreign laborers from Poland, Hungary and Silesia, those are not available today; etc.

3
96%

- *- Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"How is the relationship between the big farm owners and the small farm owners in your community - good or bad?"

If "Bad": "How is this evident?"

Quota discrepancies cause ill-will:

There is always some discord, the big farm owners have higher expenses because the MAS tariffs are extremely high for them; the big farm owners envy the small farm owners because the latter have more privileges from the government; there are always frictions about the quota, the small farm owners can sell free quota, thereby booming the quota more and more; the big farm owners' quota is three times as high as the small farm owners', that makes them envious; etc..

2%

Better circumstances of big farmers causes ill-will:

The big farm owners have better soil, the small farm owners have to give good soil away at a command of the big farm owners; they envy each other and don't cooperate - the small farm owners envy the big farm owners; etc.

2

Exclusiveness of the big farm owners causes ill-will:

The small farm owners are new settlers and are considered intruders; etc.

1

Government (SED) - inspired tensions cause ill-will:

They are incited against each other by the differentiation in quota, that's what the government aims at; etc.

*
5%

GENERAL EVALUATION OF EAST ZONE AGRICULTURAL POLICY ...

The East Zone farmers' rejection of Soviet Zone agricultural policies already indicated in this report is underscored in the replies to two summary questions calling for a general evaluation of the agrarian program and the degree of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with four specified aspects of the program. Both questions ask for proposals for an agricultural system to be followed in the event of Germany's reunification, when presumably Russia will no longer be in control in Eastern Germany.

NEITHER OLD NOR NEW SYSTEM ACCEPTED UNCONDITIONALLY ...

It is noteworthy that, despite the extreme dissatisfaction with the current organization, almost four in ten would not be willing to return to the system as it was before the occupation. Although 57 per cent would accept a reestablishment of old ownership, and only 4 per cent favor land reform as it exists now, the remainder seek other solutions.

"Should, after the reunification of Germany, the land reform in the DDR be left in existence, should the old ownership be established again, or should another solution be sought?"

Land reform should stay	4%
Old ownerships reestablished	57
Other solutions sought	37
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

Counter-proposals consist largely in variations on one or the other plans. The general tenor of these proposals is a desire for equitable distribution of land, to be obtained by enlarging the small farms and limiting the size of the large estates, providing both large and small farm owners with the greatest opportunities possible. It should be emphasized again, however, that some form of land reform is thought by a considerable minority to be more satisfactory than the system existing before 1945.

"Should, after the reunification of Germany, the land reform in the DDR be left in existence, should the old ownerships be established again, or should another solution be sought?"

If "Other solution": "What are your proposals?"

The allotments should be enlarged:

The farms of the settlers should be enlarged in size so they are able to survive - those of 5 - 7 hectares should be enlarged to 15 - 20 hectares; should create profitable farms of a larger size - approximately 20 hectares according to the conditions of the soil; the land reform created farms that are too small (40 acres), everybody should have at least 60 acres so that he can feed horses; the new settlers who voluntarily want to return to the East should be allowed to go back and their farms should be converted into medium sized farms; a new land reform, a more reasonable one - farms that are able to survive with sufficient land - not under 100 acres, otherwise everything will be ruined; the small farms should be brought together - such small farms are unprofitable - one should create estates which bring a lot of returns; etc.

13%

Restoration of the old ownerships in limited size:

The big "Junkers" should not reappear, nor should the big estate owners - they should return the farms with 4000 - 5000 acres and surrender half of them - the smaller ones which had only 300 - 400 acres should be returned to the owners; the large estates should be limited to 400 acres - the rest of the land should be split between us; they could return the land to the former owners, but the estate owners should not have more than 250 hectares - the people's-owned properties should be returned to the former owners but only in the size of 100 - 200 hectares; they should leave the large estates of 4000 - 5000 acres settled, but the smaller disowned properties should be restored; the rest of the estate to the former owners, the other part for the rest of the settlers - what should become of the settlers otherwise?; etc.

10

Reimbursement, rent-payments, or return of the property to the former owners:

The former owners should be reimbursed and the settlers should be allowed to remain on their farms; I would give the former owners the opportunity to get their estates back, or I would buy it from them and then pass it on and split it up for credits; the former owners should be given the right to live and a certain compensation - the newly settled farms should be left in existence; one should leave everything as it is - the new settlers should have to pay rent to the former owners; the original owners should have some means of existence - I don't know how this could be done, but things can't go on as they are now and the old ownership can't be reestablished either; etc.

8

(cont'd on next page)

On consideration of certain social, human, and other viewpoints the property should be returned to the former owners:

If the former owner returns, they should give him his land back, if he doesn't, it should be left to the settlers; only then should the estate owners get their land back when all refugees can return to their home countries; the old ownership should be restored again- there should still be a reform so that nobody will be expelled from his property - there are and were farms which didn't have an owner formerly and those can be split up; the big estate owners should get their land back because they can raise crops more cheaply - but only those owners who didn't exploit the workers - there should be a middle class - one should have a free hand in everything; they should make a new regulation with consideration to ownership - they should sell the land freely for a decent price; etc.

5%

A solution for both parties concerned should be sought:

A solution must be found - one can't say today though that this has to be done this way or that way; should seek a compromise between both parties with the aim of making German food supplies independent from other countries; etc.

2
60

Other opinions:

Farmers who own their farms - the big estate owners should be professional farmers too and not as it was in the past where they inherited the farm and didn't know anything about farming; capable people should be employed in farming and the incapable ones should be put back into city jobs; many of the resettlers will have to give up their farms because they are unprofitable - the land should then be turned into farms for seed; many of the old owners are not alive anymore and those farms should be split up differently; a free democracy; etc.

6

No opinion/No answer:

1
45%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FOUR MAJOR PLANS WOULD BE REJECTED BY MAJORITY ...

But further underlining the East Zone farmers' dissatisfaction with the present agrarian policy is the fact that the large preponderance of farmers would, following German unification, discontinue the four major agricultural organizations now in effect in East Germany.

- 1) The "People's-Owned Farms" (VVG), that is nationalized farms, an organization set up in 1949 with the purpose of creating model farms and resettling new farmers on land which previously had belonged to the Laender, Kreise, etc., or on the property taken over during Land Reform which had not already been allotted to individual farmers.
- 2) The "Union of People's Owned Machine Lending Stations" (VVMAS) whose purpose it is to provide machines and other agricultural equipment for the small and medium farmers. Equipment which cannot be afforded by these farmers are rented by the MAS and manned by employees trained in special schools.
- 3) The unified cooperatives - a reorganization of the old "Raiffeisen" cooperatives into a single nationalized organization, the VDGB. This new set-up retains little semblance to the old cooperatives and has a virtual monopoly on agricultural trade.
- 4) The Village Economic Plan, whose purpose is to coordinate the activities of such organizations as the VGDB, the SED unit for farm women, the FDJ for farm youth, etc.

On the average, eight in ten of the Gruene Woche respondents would reject completely the four plans, the most unpopular being the Village Economic Plan which almost nine in ten would discard. Fewer than 6 per cent, on the average, would advocate retaining the various schemes as they stand, but somewhat more would settle for modified versions.

"Should some of the innovations in agriculture be completely, or partly, or not continued after the reunification of Germany?"
(CARD)

	Not at all	Retained partially	Retained entirely	No opinion
People's owned(nationalized) farms 75%		17%	6%	2%...100%
MAS (People's Owned Machine Lending Station) 77		16	5	2
Unified cooperatives (Einheitsgenossenschaft) 80		8	7	5
Village Economic Plan (Dorfwirtschaftsplan) 87		6	4	3

"Should some of the innovations in agriculture be completely or partly or not continued after the reunification of Germany? (What should be continued?)"

PEOPLE-OWNED FARMS:

All state-owned farms and all city-owned farms (as formerly):

All state-owned farms which existed previously; in a limited extent as state-owned domains; as state-owned farms, with skilled farm-workers, like it was previously; as city-owned farms; the former state-owned farms; all farms that were state-owned formerly; etc.

8%

As farms raising cattle and cultivating seed (experimental farms):

For breeding horses and for growing seed; for applying new methods in growing and supplying seed, though it should be managed better; those farms growing seed; as far as it concerns experimental farms; those farms breeding cattle or growing seed; etc.

7

Without political tendencies:

Without political background; etc.

1

Others:

As far as they are profitable; if they are managed better; etc.

1

No answer:

2

19%

MAS:

As a better organized technical installation:

As a technical installation with farm-management that pays for itself; it should have better machinery; should have MAS keep those machines that aren't used so often: steam-powered machinery, seed cleaning, plants, and commonly used large bull dozers, because the individual farmers can't afford to buy that kind of machinery; if it would be more efficient and would work more precisely;

5%

To a limited extent (as a temporary solution) until the agricultural situation has improved:

At the beginning, yes, because nobody owns any teams; as a temporary solution until lack in machinery is removed; should exist till sufficient horses are available, that would be cheaper then; to a small extent, because the MAS can help the farmers, its present extent is unprofitable; not as large as it is now, but some help would be useful; it wouldn't harm if a small pool of machinery were on hand, in order to help the small farm owners; plough work with consideration to one's financial means; etc.

4

Without political tendencies:

They should retain lending of machinery, but not in the present form - without political ties; it should be carried through in the right way - we lack bull dozers and those people who utilise MAS, have to be in political line - all these things should be abolished - I know MAS from England where it was all right; lending farm machinery, but without being involved in political matters.

3

On cooperatives or private basis:

But only on the basis of cooperatives; for furthering private initiative; etc.

2

Others:

It is an establishment that helps people, if it can be retained it would be all right; its machinery pool is all right, but under other provisions; etc.

03198

15

No answer:

2
17%

UNIFIED COOPERATIVES:

Without political tendencies:

Without political sections; in the old economic, but unpolitical way; should be re-organized, but without political tendency; etc.

3%

On cooperatives or private basis:

Yes, as a cooperative, but private undertakings should also be permitted, a private establishment would be better; etc.

3

With limited administrative machinery:

Should run it without a costly administration; etc.

1

Others:

We can't simply do away with such an establishment, but should gradually bring it to the old status; as far as they are profitable; etc.

1

No answer:

2
10%

VILLAGE ECONOMY PLAN:

Without political tendency and without compulsion:

Within the community, on a non-political basis, the same, without compulsion; etc.

2%

As a common plan of all farmers of the village (to a reasonable extent):

As a common establishment of the village for the interests of everybody, it's all right for joint undertakings of the village; it should be reasonably planned so that everybody can participate in planning; in a form compatible with farming so it can be carried out; etc.

5

No answer:

1
8%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

FARMERS URGE AID IN EXPELLING RUSSIANS AND REUNIFYING GERMANY:

When asked what they think the West could do to improve the situation for farmers in the Soviet Zone, about half of the respondents mention action which is directly or indirectly concerned with reuniting Germany and ridding East Germany of Soviet control. A quarter (25%) say that the West should see to it that Germany is united, and 17 per cent urge the West to liberate the East Zone from the Communists and throw the Russians out. Another ten per cent think that the West should press for free elections, thereby eliminating Russian occupation. Another frequently mentioned suggestion is that the West should continue their efforts in reaching the East Zone, through radio, pamphlets, etc. with objective information concerning East and West policy and conditions. A full twenty per cent, however, see no possibility for Western aid as long as the Communist regime exists in the zone.

- - - - -

"What could the West do to improve the situation of the farmers in the DDR? (And what else?)"

Eliminate the zonal borders and reunite Germany (peacefully):

Should see to it that there will be a united Germany soon; should provide for the unification of Germany; should press for the reunification - we'll do our part in it too; should reunite Germany on a peaceful basis - nothing else can be done because nobody can cope with the regime; should try everything to eliminate the zonal borders; one should exert more pressure in order to eliminate the zonal borders; etc.

25%

Throw the Russians out - exterminate Communism - liberate the East Zone:

The only thing is to throw the Russians out - otherwise nothing can be done; the Russians won't leave without war - the Russians should be thrown out; should take care as speedily as possible that the Russians leave Germany, because they are our ruin; should try to eliminate Communism; should liberate us - nothing else; should give us our freedom; should dissolve the government - otherwise nothing can be done; etc.

17

Inform and propagandize about corruption in the East - about conditions in the West:

Should inform us about the laws in the East and show us the back doors for getting around them-general enlightenment over the radio; should point out the corruption in the East and point it out on the radio; should inform us through the radio and give us moral support through programs about and speeches by statesmen; by making propaganda - leaflets should get here, that would really boost our morale; should tell us in time - if the West knows something that's going to happen - so the farmer is informed; should give us tips concerning our work and should advise us even more what countermeasures to take against Eastern measures; should make it clear to all farmers, that the Western farmers are much better off - that gives us strength to hold out; through press, radio, literature, etc. they should inform us politically in the same manner as the East; should enlighten them politically even more - should picture the conditions of the farmers in the West, because many of our farmers believe the Eastern propaganda and that they are better off than in the West; etc.

13

(cont'd on next page)

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Farming machinery and materials should be delivered to the farmers (through interzonal trade) (privately):

Should support us with machinery and fertilizers; should send commodity goods - should start drive for sending packages to the East Zone with seeds and similar stuff; they should give us the opportunity to get tools and materials; we should get machinery from the West; should deliver more phosphates - we can hardly get them here; should deliver parts for farm machinery here - that is the A and O - for the farmer; should get us twine and barbed wire - it would be good if the interzonal trade would really exist; they should renew the interzonal trade agreement, so we get machinery again; should keep the East-West trade up in the interest of the farmers (parts, machinery, fertilizers); should deliver twine, feed, machinery, parts, through the interzonal trade; should try to establish trade relations with the DDR, so we get farm-machinery; etc.

11%

Should provide for free, secret, all German elections:

Should press for "real" elections; negotiate until there will be free elections and the Russians leave; should see to it that there are all-German secret elections, so the people in the East Zone will be liberated; a free election - then the system here will be ousted; should try to press for free elections; the only thing: free elections, so the Russians will have to leave; should prepare the way for free elections; etc.

10

Lower the exchange rate, create a unified currency:

Should lower the exchange rate; exchange rate 1:1; should lower the prices for agricultural goods (prices for nails and mowers) - rate of exchange should be lowered; should make it possible for us to buy cattle in the West on a 1:1 basis, so we get decent cattle again; should give us the same money as in the West, so we can buy things here; a unified currency; etc.

6

The West should increase its military and political power and further European unity:

The West should be united and strong - militarily and politically; should further European unification - the stronger they are and the more military power they have, the better - then the Russians have to decide - either they want a war or they have to retreat; etc.

3

Other opinions:

Doesn't need to do anything - the farmers are well off; should liberate us from this terrible quota; should prevent the reparations that go to Russia from the DDR; etc.

5

The West can't do anything - any kind of aid is prevented by the East:

Nothing - the aid would be "swallowed up" by our government; nothing, as long as Communism isn't exterminated; I don't think anything could be done; sadly enough nothing; the Russians wouldn't permit it; nothing can really be done - the East won't accept any help; nothing at the moment; as long as the division exists nothing can be done; etc.

20

No opinion / No answer:

3
113%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

HOW ARE WEST BERLINERS REACTING
TO THE ECONOMIC BLANDISHMENTS
OF EAST BERLIN?

Report No. 134

Series No. 2

April 29, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This report on West Berlin residents' appraisal of the economic situation in East Germany and the lure of East Berlin bargains is based on findings obtained in a larger study evaluating West Berlin morale*. The survey was made in December 1951 by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, utilizing a probability sample of 600 cases representative of the populations in the three Western sectors of Berlin.

As usual, interviews were gathered by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The two main findings disclosed in this study are:

- ... First: The efforts of Soviet Zone authorities to use East Berlin as a show case to demonstrate the superiority of the Communist economic system over that of the West have so far failed to convince the West Berliners. The rubble-clearing and re-building in East Berlin, as well as the bulging shops are recognized by West Berliners as, in effect, one, huge Potemkin village, a mere facade built by force and at the cost of the continued poverty and misery of the East German people.
- ... Second: At the same time, a not inconsiderable proportion of West Berliners have by their own statements been unable to resist the lure of the bargains available in East Berlin shops. And while the great bulk of West Berlin residents are aware that such buying is more harmful to the West than the East, even more people than now admit to East Zone shopping, believe that under stringent economic circumstances it is permissible to do so regardless of the ethics involved. As West Berliners apparently see the issue, shopping in the East implies no decline in ideological loyalty to the West, but merely an advantageous use of the weaknesses of the East. If the low prices in East Berlin shops are the sugar on a Russian propaganda pill, it would seem that many West Berliners are taking the opportunity to eat the sugar and leave the pill. The findings briefly detailed follow:
 - ... Eight in 10 say that during the past year West Berlin has made greater economic progress than has East Berlin.
 - ... Nine in 10 are of the opinion that East Berliners are better off economically than other East Zone Germans, largely because the latter have had to pay for the Russian attempt to keep up appearances in East Berlin.
 - ... As to the effect of West Berliners' shopping in the East, nine in 10 assert that this practice hurts the West more than the East.

* See, Report No. 125, Series No. 2, "The Current State of West Berlin Morale" (February 29, 1952)

RESTRICTED

- ... But only three in 10 say that such shopping is entirely and completely inexcusable. The remainder feel that it is justifiable under certain circumstances, particularly under conditions of extreme economic necessity.
- ... Half (55%) assert that they personally would cross the sectoral borders for bargains if the economic pinch became severe.
- ... Three in 10 admit they already shop in East Berlin -- one in 10 says "frequently." Food staples are the items most frequently purchased.
- ... The majority claims that Eastern buying is on the increase. The alleged increase is largely attributed to the rising cost of living in West Berlin.
- ... The fear that West Berlin residents who shop in the East may be less loyal than others to the West is not borne out by the findings of this study. In general, shoppers and non-shoppers share similar views on political issues and Western integration.

- b -

RESTRICTED

ECONOMIC PROGRESS -- WEST VERSUS EAST BERLIN...

For months, shop windows in Berlin's East Sector have been padded with goods, and workers have been pressured into extensive rubble-clearing and building activities in an attempt to make the capital of the Soviet Zone a show case to the West. From the propaganda viewpoint, these efforts have neither succeeded in impressing the West Berliners nor affected their attitudes toward the Eastern system. When asked to compare the economic progress made by the East Sector of Berlin with that in the Western sectors during the past year, eight in ten West Berlin residents judge that more progress has been made by the West.

Reasons given by the West Berliners for thinking that their part of the city has made greater strides than the Soviet sector indicate not only a loyalty to the West, but also considerable awareness of actual conditions in the East. One respondent remarked, "The workers in East Berlin can't afford the prices in the HO" (Soviet run stores); another said, "An unemployed person in the West lives much better than a worker in the East." Comparing the reconstruction activities of the West and East, one person observed: "Everything can be expertly reconstructed in the West with new material -- there is no material in the East and everything is being repaired provisionally with old material." These questions were asked:

"In general, which part of Berlin has made more economic progress during the past year: East - or West Berlin?"

West Berlin	81%
East Berlin	7
Both the same	3
Neither of them	2
No opinion	7
	<u>100%</u>

Reasons Given for Thinking More Progress Made by West Berlin:**General Economic Situation Better in West - Better Quality of Goods - Lively Business Activity - Stability and Value of the West Mark):**

Because we haven't had the ration card system for so long; the stores are full in West Berlin - one can't buy oranges for instance in the East sector; the workers in East Berlin can't afford the prices in the HO; because we can get everything without rationing - textiles on the installment plan; because we have better food. An unemployed person in the West lives much better than a worker in the East; the store windows, the people, their clothing, etc; we can eat and drink what we want - the material for clothes (suits) is very good - they keep their promises here; the general living standard is higher than in the East; even the less wealthy classes can afford to buy things; there is only backwardness in the East - everything is worthless - though goods are scarce in the West, they are of good quality; our industry has really made a good start; because we West Berliners can buy much more for our money in the West - we live much better than the people in the East; the money has greater value here - we can buy much more; that our currency is still valuable and that we can buy something for the D Mark; the people in the East earn money but they don't get anywhere - the money has more value here; more goods are being produced; there is more production and more trade; the export of goods - in the technical field - good tools and machines; radio, light bulbs (Osram); general economic progress; etc.

60%

Reconstruction More Advanced in West - Debris Better Cleaned Up - More Homes Built:

Reconstruction is greater - schools are being restored - churches repaired - houses are built; youth hostels and stadiums are being erected; one can see that from all the construction going on - there are many new homes being built; that is apparent in the whole housing construction program - the bridges are being repaired too; reconstruction of homes, construction of movie houses and theaters for the entertainment of the working class; everything has been cleared away - the ruins are cleared - the streets are clean - there is much more building going on; the big shopping centers that were reconstructed; because of the many beautiful parks in West Berlin - the swimming pool in Luebars - the clearing of rubble is farther advanced in West Berlin; the cleanliness and the parks - the housing programs and the street lighting; everything can be reconstructed expertly in the West with new material - there is no material in the East and everything is only being repaired provisionally with old material; one can see that by the reconstruction of the stores - the streets are being repaired too; the houses are well built; etc.

39%

Better Provision for the Poor in West Berlin:

They provide better for invalids and pensioners; they do more for the poor and those in need of relief; the unemployed get more in contrast to the unemployed in the East where they don't get anything after $\frac{1}{2}$ year; they provide better for people socially; etc.

3

Better Traffic Conditions in the West:

Better traffic safety; the new transportation system of the BVG (Berliner Verkehrs-Gesellschaft); we can see that from the means of transportation - the trains that run in the West are in better shape than those in the East; improvement of the traffic conditions; etc.

2

The Decrease in Unemployment - the Efforts to Eliminate Unemployment:

They try to locate work for everybody; the number of unemployed has not increased; more people found work during the past year; the number of unemployed has decreased; through the reconstruction more opportunities for work; etc.

2

It Is Evident from the Projects Carried Out with the Aid of the Marshall Plan:

It's evident in buildings erected with the aid of ERP and also certain industries were reconstructed; the many Marshall Plan building projects in industry and private economy; Marshall Plan buildings; etc.

1

Other Opinions:

We have cultural centers like the Schiller Theater; cultural activities; high living culture; they won't let anybody get ahead in the East - since there is no freedom, economic progress can't be made; over there (in the East) the people are so sad and afraid - it's self evident that they aren't well off; etc.

1

No Opinion:

I have the feeling that things have improved in the West and that they will improve even more; etc.

 $\frac{1}{109\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The handful who thought that more signs of economic progress were to be seen in the East than the West allege reduction of prices, increased building activity, and low rate of unemployment in the East as evidence for their position.

Reasons Given for Thinking More Progress Made by East Berlin:

Reduction of Prices (At Least No Increase of Prices) in the East:

Electricity, gas and coal are cheaper than over here; reduction of prices; HO has cut the prices; also potatoes are much cheaper over there; the East has not increased the prices; etc.

3%

Increase of Building Activity in East Berlin:

The percentage of newly built houses is greater; much more has been rebuilt in East Berlin; the housing field, - they build many more; etc.

2

Low Rate of Unemployment in the East:

They haven't got as many unemployed in the East; everybody has work in East Berlin; less unemployed than in West Berlin; it is work done in the factories - they haven't got as many unemployed; there is work; etc.

2

Better Supply of Goods and Raw Materials, (Clothes, Utility Goods, etc.):

The supply of food and clothing has improved; the coal shortage has ended; also the supply of utility goods is now quite good; etc.

1

Increased Buying in East Sector - by East Zone Population and West Berliners:

The West Berliners have enough unemployed who are forced to go shopping in the East Sector - this is much to the disadvantage of the western business people, especially the bread and textile industries, hairdressers and tailors; textiles; all the West Berliners go shopping in the East Sectors, this clogs the progress of our own economy; they make better business than we do, everybody goes shopping there; the East Berlin business people make better business than we do, because they got the Zone behind them and many West Berliners go shopping in the East Sector; etc.

1

Their Reconstruction is Carried Out by Their Own Efforts in the East:

Over there they do more out of their own force; East Berlin has not got as much, but they have borrowed nothing; etc.

1

Higher Wages in East Berlin:

The wages are higher than in West Berlin - an East Berliner can afford almost more than a West Berliner; etc.

*

Other Opinions:

Speaking of progress in the East Zone generally, - they were much worse off a year ago, their situation has slightly improved.

1
11% **

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

EAST BERLIN NOT TYPICAL OF ZONE...

The great bulk of West Berlin residents are aware of the fact that economic conditions in the East Sector are not typical of the Soviet Zone -- 89% think the people in East Berlin are better off than other residents in the Soviet Zone. And the majority of those interviewed ascribe the difference to political motivations of the Russians. As they explain it, the accessibility of the Eastern Sector to Western residents, and, conversely, the accessibility of the West to Eastern residents, compels the Russians to "keep up appearances" in an attempt to impress the Western population, and to pacify the Eastern.

"In your opinion, who is better off economically -- the people in the East Sector or the people in the East Zone? (Equally good - equally bad?)"

Better off in East sector	89%
Better off in East zone	1
Both equally well off	1
Both equally bad	5
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

"In your opinion, what are the reasons that the people in the East Sector are better off economically (than those in the East Zone)?"

For Political and Propagandistic Reasons - Russians Must Keep Up Appearances - Because of Proximity of Western Sectors:

Political motives of the Russians; to win the Berliners over; for political reasons those people from the East Zone don't know at all what's going on in the Western Sectors, while the people from the East Sector are always present; it's Russian propaganda, because the West Berliners can easily enter the East, and because propaganda is to be made for the unification of Germany, in the Russian way; the Russians provide better for it in order to assimilate it more to the West; because the East sector is accessible to the West, it is to "represent;" they (the Russians) want the people of the East sector to side with them - that would perhaps be of more advantage than to side with the people from the Zone because more people live in the sector; because they know the West better, the Russians try to use the East sector as an advertisement towards the West; the East is forced to maintain face (keep up appearances), because the sector is watched by the West; they (the people) get stuffed with anything the Zone is deprived of, so that it looks like the East has got everything; the Russians help the sector more because it is too close to the West; etc.

59%

Because of better Supply and Ration in East Sector:

Because the East sector, as a large city, gets higher rations; because the population from the East sector gets higher rations; in the East sector they get better rations - at least they get some meat once/a while; the Russians take everything away from the Zone, also for themselves - they are afraid to do the same in the sector because the people would go to the western sector; there are HO stores which are better provided with goods than those in the Zone; because the East Zone has more self-supporters, (the rations in large cities are higher than the rations in the country, and it sometimes happens that self-supporters have to deliver part of their rations in order to fill their quota); etc.

10

To Prevent Unrest and Dissatisfaction in the East Sector:

They (the Russians) dread dissatisfaction of the East Berliners, because that might easily result in unrest in the Eastern sector; because they stuff the HO-shops at the cost of the East Zone, to prevent the people in the Eastern Sector mutiny; the people in the Eastern Sector are provided with more goods because the East Berliners have to be pacified, since the people in the West watch those things; East Berlin is stuffed with anything to keep them in good spirits; the people in the Zone are kept down, while the East Berliners offer more resistance; etc.

9%

Better Opportunities for Earning Money and for Getting Jobs in East Sector than in Zone:

People earn more money than in the Zone; opportunities for earning money are better - wages are higher; because they have jobs; they have better opportunities for getting a job and therefore have higher incomes; East Berlin has better opportunities for earning money than the Zone has; because the income is higher than in the Zone - through it they are enabled to buy more food in the HO-stores; the people in the Sector earn more money because they mostly work in industrial plants and get higher wages than they would get in the agricultural Zone; in Berlin the income has always been higher than in the country; etc.

8

Because of Purchasing and Trading Opportunities with West Berlin:

They can easily buy things in West Berlin; they have more to eat because they can buy additional food in the West; they can buy things in the West; because they have an opportunity to buy in the West; because those people having enough money can buy in the Western sector; they have better opportunities to buy lard, coffee, or tooling materials now and then; they can trade directly or indirectly with West Berlin -- being in the vicinity of West Berlin makes things easier for them; through East-West trade; the wealth of the West, and the flourishing trade with the West, is to the benefit of the people in the Eastern Sector; they can make more money through East-West trade; the businessmen can do business with the West so that they earn some extra money; etc.

7

To Induce the West Berliners to Buy in the East Sector:

All goods are brought into the Eastern Sector at the cost of the East Zone, to induce the West Berliners to buy there; because the sector is well provided from the East Zone - the Zone is pressed into filling its quota, and to challenge the West Berliners to buy in East Berlin; because the West Berliners support the stores in the Eastern Sector; the West Berliners come to the sector, therefore the stores are crowded with goods; by the West Berliners buying in East Berlin - naturally that furthers the whole East Berlin economy; etc.

3

Because of Opportunities for Jobs in West Berlin and for Getting Western D-marks:

Part of them have jobs in the West; many people have jobs in the West and are paid with Western D-marks; because they work in West Berlin partly; the East Berliners are partly working in West Berlin and they earn 10 per cent in Western money; etc.

1

Through the Help of the West Berliners:

Because they have advantages through West Berlin - they help each other; because the Eastern Sector is closer to us, it's easier to help them; they are supported by friends from the West; etc.

1

Other Answers:

The salesmen in the Zone are always telling that; they have better possibilities to buy things; etc.

1

No Opinion:

1

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

100%

AWARENESS OF EFFECTS OF BUYING IN EAST BERLIN...

West Berliners are repeatedly requested not to buy in the Eastern Sector, and are told that heavy buying would impair the economy of West Berlin. As indicated by the results of one of the queries, this line of reasoning is accepted by the vast majority of West Berliners -- as many as 90 per cent think that the Western economy would suffer more than the Eastern if West Berliners shopped in the East.

"What do you believe - which is hurt more if West Berliners buy in the East - the Eastern economy or the Western economy?"

West	90%
East	4
Both the same	3
Neither	2
No opinion	1
	<u>100%</u>

The fact that so many West Berliners believe that crossing the sectoral borders to shop would damage their own economy makes a direct approach to the problem difficult. To ask a West Berlin resident if he has made purchases in the East is tantamount to questioning his loyalty to the West -- if not his morality.

For this reason, the first approach to the issue was to ask West Berliners under what circumstances they would consider it justifiable to buy in the East.

CONDITIONS JUSTIFYING BUYING IN EAST...

About three in ten (28%) thought that such shopping was entirely and completely inexcusable while as few as 2 per cent thought it could be justified under any or all circumstances. "All people who have a mind for business will do it -- it's human to try to take advantage of a situation, in spite of political ideologies," was a typical comment of this fractional group. Most of those queried, however, were of the opinion that extreme economic necessity -- unemployment, meager pensions, etc. -- justified making purchases in the East. A few were cynical: "The Senate does not exert enough controls - only the little people are controlled when they buy their bread in the East - but the big business concerns buy their goods in the East by the trainload."

"In your opinion, under what circumstances is it justified to buy in the East?"

Justified Under No Conditions:

It's not justified in any case; under no conditions - a West Berliner must not buy in the East; if I get my pension here I can't carry my money somewhere else; it's not justified - we are to support the West not the East - we receive West money; under no conditions - anybody who buys in the East contributes to the increase of the currency differences and supports Communism; under no conditions - one shouldn't support the Russians and inflict (economic) damage on the West; etc.

28%

Justified for Unemployed - Those Receiving Pensions:

If somebody is unemployed and can't get along with the little money he has; unemployed people with or without children; people who are unemployed and earned only small wages in the past and therefore receive very little relief money now; if somebody is unemployed and has many children; I can't hold it against the unemployed; if somebody is badly off - i.e. pensioners who get the smallest relief allotments; at the most people who receive social

relief money and don't have enough to buy what they need; pensioners who don't have enough money to buy potatoes here; actually it is not right at all, but the pensioners are pressed by their need; the pensioners don't get enough help - they must look for the cheapest way to live; if the family is very large and the income not sufficient - i.e. pensioners; if somebody receives a pension - I am very much opposed to it - but one can't blame the people for doing it, they would really perish otherwise; etc.

40%

Justified If Economic Need Great Enough:

If one does not get along financially; if somebody has a very small income and does it because he is pressed by his need; because the poor people can't make a living and don't have enough to eat otherwise; if somebody has no money at all; if I want to keep a decent living standard and can't do it here; if I am in extreme need; if somebody faces starvation and cold; if somebody has so little money that it is impossible for him to live decently here; only then, if it is impossible to get along in the West with the Western money one earns; if prices are too high here - as they are right at the moment; because prices are too high; because the West drives the poor into the East sector with the high potato prices - one does not have enough money here in the West; etc.

20

If People Earn East Money:

If somebody earns East money by working for the railroad or in the East; the railway employees who don't earn West money only; if somebody earns money in the East - students from the East zone with a scholarship (Waehrungsstipendium); if somebody crosses the border everyday - that is works in the East zone; if somebody gets part of his wages in East money; only if somebody works in the East but lives in the West - others who do it almost commit a crime against humanity; only railroad workers and people who have to cross the border every day; etc.

11

Justified Under All Conditions:

Because everything is so expensive here; why do we live in a democracy now if not to buy where it is cheapest? - we have to pay too many taxes anyway; owing to the bad economic situation and the inflation everybody shall have a chance to save a few Groschen; all people who have a mind for business will do it - it's human to try to take advantage of the situation in spite of political ideologies; as far as I am concerned anybody can do it since it is cheaper; it would be justified for all Berliners since it is cheaper over there; I can understand why the people do it - they don't get along on the money they have and they get twice as much for one D Mark over there; West money stays in the West anyway - it's justified because I don't harm the Western economy by that - others make good for my shortcomings, because they buy with West money here which they got from the money exchange - the only thing I mustn't do is buy in state owned stores - they shouldn't make any profit from me; etc.

2

In Case of Shortages in the West (Coal, etc.):

If one can't get something here that is urgently needed - like coal at the moment; only if the situation is pressing - like at the moment - we haven't been able to obtain coal for four months now; if one doesn't have any coal left; etc.

1

Other Opinions:

Because the Senate permits many Berlin businessmen to buy in the East on a large scale; only then if one notices that the trade in

West Berlin profits by it and sells Eastern goods for West money; because it is too easy for the people to buy in the East; with such items where it is suspected that the Western businessman gets the better of us and buys then in the East; because the Senate does not exert enough controls - only the little people are being controlled when they buy their bread in the East - but the big business concerns buy their goods in the East by the trainloads - it can happen that one buys Eastern goods in the West; because the storeowners buy in the East too - why should they be the only ones that earn the money?; as long as the money exchange business makes good profit and the stores accept East money; only those people who are in favor of the East; etc.

2

No Opinion / No Answer:

1
105% *

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

MANY WILLING TO BUY IN EAST IF ECONOMIC STRESS GREAT...

Those who were able to think of circumstances under which East Berlin shopping was permissible were asked if they thought that they personally would do so if they found themselves in a similar situation. Over half answered affirmatively. It appears reasonable to conclude, then, that potentially over a million West Berliners regardless of ethical considerations would bargain-hunt in East Berlin shops if they felt the economic pinch. It is of interest that men and women, people in higher and lower income groups, the well educated and the lesser educated, do not differ as to readiness or resistance to buying in the East. However, as many as 75 per cent of the younger people -- those under 30 -- say they would patronize Eastern stores if they felt it was an economic necessity - which may possibly indicate either greater frankness or less devotion to the West.

"Would you personally buy in the East under such circumstances or not?"

Yes	55%
No	14
Undecided	3
Believe that buying in the East is not justifiable under any circumstances	28
	<u>100%</u>

"Would you personally buy in the East under such circumstances or not?" (Asked of those respondents who indicated in previous question that buying in East would be justifiable under certain conditions.)

	Yes	No	Qualified answer No opinion	Not asked question	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	58%	9%	4%	29%... 100%	275
Women	53	17	2	28	325
Education:					
Elementary school	54	13	2	31	445
Beyond elementary school	60	14	4	22	155
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower class	53	13	2	30	406
Middle and upper class	56	14	4	26	194
Income: (per month)					
0 - 299 DM	54	14	2	30	415
300 - 399 DM	60	9	2	29	91
400 DM and more	60	11	5	24	75
Party Preference:					
SPD	55	13	2	32	262
CDU/CSU	57	13	3	27	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	56	16	3	25	68
Other parties	71	17	-	12	24
No party	64	12	4	20	83
Don't know	39	15	7	39	54
Occupation:					
Professionals	60	17	6	17	30
Businessmen	38	8	5	49	37
White-collar workers	52	7	5	36	60
Skilled laborers	67	6	2	25	64
Semi-skilled laborers	62	11	1	26	71
Housewives	59	16	1	24	94
Unemployed	59	14	3	24	99
pen., stud., retired, etc.	48	22	2	28	116
Religion:					
Catholics	54	16	4	26	77
Protestants	55	14	2	29	407
None	54	12	3	31	116
Origin:					
Natives	54	14	3	29	517
Expellees, Refugees	58	9	4	29	83
Age:					
Up to 29 years	75	8	1	16	103
30 - 39 years	65	12	2	21	111
40 - 49 years	53	12	5	30	150
50 - 59 years	44	16	3	37	114
60 years and over	42	19	2	37	122
Working Status:					
Employed	55	14	3	28	472
Unemployed	59	14	3	24	99

SOME ADMIT BUYING IN EAST...

When asked directly, "Do you sometimes buy in the East, or not?" about one third answered "Yes," with as many as one in ten admitting that they do so frequently. Although people in the lowest income bracket (37%) more frequently than others say that they buy in the East, 18 per cent of those earning 400 DM or more also make a similar admission. Almost half of the unemployed (48%) and youth under 30 (47%) do not deny taking advantage of the favorable shopping situation in the East.

"Do you (or your family) sometimes buy in the East or not?"
 ("Frequently or seldom?")

Yes, frequently	11%
Yes, seldom	21
No	68
No opinion	*
	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent

"Do you (or your family) sometimes buy in the East or not?"
 ("Frequently or seldom?")

	Yes, frequently (What?)	Yes, seldom (What?)	No	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	11%	17%	72%...100%	275
Women	11	25	64	325
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	11	22	67	445
Beyond elementary school	11	21	68	155
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	13	24	63	406
Middle and upper class	8	15	77	194
<u>Income: (per month)</u>				
0 - 299 DM	13	24	63	415
300 - 399 DM	8	20	72	91
400 DM and more	7	11	82	75
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	8	25	67	262
CDU/CSU	12	21	67	109
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	7	18	75	68
Other parties	29	13	58	24
No party	18	22	60	83
Don't know	9	13	78	54
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	10	10	80	50
Businessmen	3	22	75	37
White-collar workers	10	10	80	60
Skilled laborers	11	20	69	64
Semi-skilled laborers	10	20	70	71
Housewives	12	23	65	94
Unemployed	15	33	52	99
pen. stud., retired, etc.	14	22	64	116
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	9	17	74	76
Protestants	12	21	67	407
None	10	25	65	117
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	10	22	68	517
Expellees, Refugees	16	18	66	83
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	17	30	53	103
30 - 39 years	12	21	67	111
40 - 49 years	11	19	70	150
50 - 59 years	10	24	66	114
60 years and over	7	14	79	122
<u>Working Status:</u>				
Employed	11	20	69	472
Unemployed	15	33	52	99

Staples such as bread, flour, potatoes and vegetables -- the most obvious necessities of life -- are the items on sale in the East which appear to have the greatest attraction to West Berliners. Very few say they buy anything that might be considered luxuries, - such as flowers, beer, toys, etc.

Items West Berliners Say They Sometimes Buy in East:

Bread, Flour, Potatoes, Vegetables:

Bread, potatoes, vegetables; bread - otherwise I couldn't make both ends meet, with my 23,- D-marks the week; potatoes and some rolls; bread and flour; bread and potatoes, when I was near starving; etc.

23%

Other Food:

Fruit; sausage; meat; cake; milk; I'm a border-crosser and therefore I'm bound to buy all food there, provided they are cheaper than in the West; etc.

6

Coal:

Fuel; coal; etc.

4

Personal Effects (like Cosmetics, Professional Supply, etc.):

Flowers; beer, since I have a job in the Eastern sector; cigarette paper; pastry; toys for the children; handicraft items; matches; etc.

3

Household Effects and Household Cleaning Material:

Household furniture, like stands, lamps, hand-trucks; for the household; etc.

1

Textiles:

1

Other Answers:

I stock goods, so I'm able to provide my parents in the East Zone once⁷/₈ while; I buy my fare because I live very close to the Eastern sector and it's convenient for me; etc.

2

Services (Hairdresser, Shoe-repair, Tailor, etc.):

Hairdresser; would have my dress dyed; etc.

1

Anything I need and that is cheaper in the East:

1

No Opinion:

*
42% **

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents admit buying more than one kind of item.

SHOPPING IN EAST SAID TO BE INCREASING...

Those familiar with the Berlin scene appreciate the fact that most of the purchasing West Berliners do in the East is done covertly. Notwithstanding, when queried on the subject, the majority of West Berlin residents have the impression that more people from the Western sectors shop in the East than did a year ago.

"In your opinion, do more West Berliners or fewer buy in the East today than a year ago? (Many more or a few more?)"

Yes, many more	45%
Yes, few more	18
Just as many	9
Just as few	1
Fewer	11
No opinion	16
	<u>100%</u>

The high cost of living in the West -- a rise in prices without a concomitant rise in wages -- is the reason the largest proportion of West Berliners give as an explanation for the increased East sector shopping. Some point to the improved economic situation in the East, indicating that shopping there has only recently become practicable. Others merely state that the favorable rate of exchange makes shopping in the East more economical. Only a few thought considerations other than economic -- human weakness, greed, bad examples by businessmen and officials -- were the causes for increased East sector buying.

"In your opinion, for what reasons do more West Berliners buy in the East today?"

Because of the Decline in the Economic Situation in the West (Unemployment, Lack of Money, Low Wages, and Pensions):

Our prices have gone up and one gets less and less for one's money; the high price of potatoes in the West; the rise in prices here, especially that of the basic foods; prices have gone up so much here and the wages haven't been raised accordingly; because the increase in prices of daily necessities has been very high, while the wages and salaries are still on the same level as last year; because the economic situation in the West has grown even worse - they don't do it just to support the HO - they are forced by necessity because there are more idle people now and therefore the need has increased; because the unemployed don't get enough compensation - in contrast to the price increase; because the pensioners and the unemployed don't get along on their money; etc. 45%

The Money Exchange Rate - It's Cheaper in the East for the West Berliners:

Because it's cheaper over there if they change their money; it's cheaper over there after the money is changed; they have more money when they exchange their West money and they buy cheaper over there accordingly; because the currency difference is so great; everything is cheaper in the East; because everything is cheaper if one changes West money; the advantage of getting more for one's money and being able to get along with it; etc. 12

The Improvement of the Economic Situation in the East Sector - Decline in Prices, Greater Choice of Goods:

Because prices were lowered in the East; prices have gone down so much that it is really worthwhile; because the HQ lowered the prices; because the East offers so many goods; because we get more in the East now - especially potatoes; because vegetables and potatoes are no longer rationed; etc. 11

Human Weaknesses like Greed, Cheap Advantages, etc. - In Order to Earn Some Easy Money:

The businessmen, in order to get advantages; some people want to make profits; human greed - they don't need to, but they do it because of greed; some of the unemployed do it for compensation and that should be prohibited; etc. 3

Bad Examples - Lack of Self Respect - Moral and Political Scruples
Are Pushed into the Background:

One tempts the other; one of them buys over there and so the other does the same, though many of them don't need to; it gets around that it is cheap to buy over there; the Berlin business circles don't set a good example; because they have little self respect; the ideological considerations of a year ago have vanished in the face of economic considerations - people think of their personal advantages first; etc.

3%

Too Few Controls:

They can do it too easily; the temptation is too great; the control is too lenient; the unemployed have a lot of free time; etc.

2

Other Opinions:

The general need; the small chances of political betterment here; a certain curiosity on the part of the people; the social welfare agency should have given them "Bons" (shopping coupons) instead of cash at Christmas - then the money would have stayed in the West; etc.

 $\frac{1}{77\%}$ *

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

LITTLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUYING IN EAST AND IDEOLOGY...

The fear that West Berlin residents who shop in the East may be less loyal to the West, or to the principles the West is trying to engender, is not borne out by the results of this study. Almost as many of those who say they buy in the East as those who say they don't, think that West Germany should side with the West in the present East-West conflict, and think West Germany should contribute troops to the West European defense effort.

Somewhat more of the East Sector shoppers than non-shoppers think the Western powers could do more to ease the distress of Berlin. And slightly more preference for a government guaranteeing economic security to political freedom and for the SRP is found among the group which shops in the East. But, by and large, it appears that a segment of the West Berlin population is simply taking advantage of the cheap goods in the East Sector to help make ends meet, without their political ideology being seriously involved or impaired.

Those saying they buy in East Those saying they do not buy in East

Prefer a form of government which guarantees...

Economic security	54%	65%
political freedom	43	32
undecided	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%

Would like to see the SRP

have strong influence in Germany	3%	1%
have medium influence	3	1
have small influence	4	3
have no influence	34	43
undecided	<u>56</u>	<u>52</u>
	100%	100%

Think Western Powers...

are doing what they can to ease distress of Berlin	54%	65%
could do more	43	32
undecided	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%

In present conflict between East and West, think West Germany should...

side with the West	65%	70%
side with the East	1	*
try to stay out	26	24
undecided	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100%	100%

Think West Germany...

should participate in West European defense	71%	75%
should not participate	27	22
undecided	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent

CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT VERSUS RUSSIAN UNITY PROPOSAL**A Preliminary Report on West German Views**

Report No. 135

Series No. 2

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

April 30, 1952

RESTRICTED

DIVISION OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

The present findings are based upon a "Flash" survey conducted throughout West Germany between April 18th and 21st 1952. Overall tabulations were presented in a Special Flash Report dated April 22, 1952. The present report embodies an amplified presentation of the returns along with population group comparisons. A more extensive study of similar issues is now in the field and will be reported upon when completed.

The sample in the present survey embraced 400 cases and was of the representative probability type. As usual, interviews were gathered under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

Properly to interpret the results of the present study it is important to understand that the questions were phrased so as to encourage respondents as far as possible to stand up and be counted on one side or another - for Western integration or for the Russian unity offer. The objective was to obtain a division on the basis of a showdown vote between the Western and the Communist proposals, and avoid a tendency apparent in prior RAS surveys to postpone making decisions by advocating further negotiations.

CONCLUSION IN BRIEF

The conclusion indicated by the present preliminary "flash" survey is that West German orientations toward the projected contractual agreement are preponderantly favorable and that the recent Russian unity proposal has achieved no more than marginal success in disrupting rank and file receptivity to the present course of German-Allied negotiations.

- a -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

100 TO 100 AWARENESS AND REACTIONS TO THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT
 HALF INDICATE AWARENESS OF CONTRACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS

Currently half in West Germany - three quarters among more educated and alert population levels - indicate they have heard about the German-Allied negotiations in progress on a contractual agreement.

"Have you heard about the negotiations on the contractual agreement between the Federal government and the Western powers which is supposed to grant greater independence to Western Germany?"

	WEST GERM. (395)	British Z. (208)	US Z. (145)	French Z. (42)*
Number of cases:				
Yes, heard about it	53%	54%	55%	48%
No, have not heard anything about it	$\frac{47}{100\%}$	$\frac{46}{100\%}$	$\frac{45}{100\%}$	$\frac{52}{100\%}$
	Yes, heard about it	No, have not heard anything about it	No. of cases:*	
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	74%	26%...100%	199	
Women	32	68	196	
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	52	312	
Beyond elementary	76	24	81	
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	36	64	78	
150 - 299 DM	53	47	141	
300 - 399 DM	54	46	81	
400 DM and more	74	26	80	
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	77	23	22	
Businessmen	64	36	47	
White-collar workers	67	33	70	
Skilled laborers	64	36	66	
Semi-skilled laborers	40	60	53	
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	46	54	56	
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	54	46	91	
30 - 49 years	53	47	171	
50 years and over	54	46	133	
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	61	39	75	
CDU/CSU	46	54	86	
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	26	19	
Other parties	61	39	56	
No party	53	47	99	
Don't know	42	58	50	
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	51	49	314	
Expellees, Refugees	62	38	80	

* It is to be noted that in a 400 case flash survey the number of cases in many population groupings becomes exceedingly limited, and hence returns for these categories are to be interpreted only as suggestive. In the same connection some occupational groupings have been omitted as too few for tabulation.

MANY AWARE OF DEFENSE PARTICIPATION COROLLARY ...

Most, but not all of the West Germans who expressed awareness of contractual negotiations in progress, also indicate awareness of the fact that West Germany is expected to join the West European defense army in connection with the agreement. Ignorance of this corollary condition appears to be relatively greatest among the hard-to-reach population elements - particularly the women and the lowest income group.

"As far as you know, are there any conditions which West Germany must meet before the contractual agreement can be concluded?" (Asked of 53% aware of contractual negotiations)

If participation in European army not mentioned:

"Do you know whether West Germany is expected to join the West European defense army in connection with this agreement?"

WEST GERM, British Z, US Z, French Z.

	Aware of defense participation cond.	41% <u>12</u> 53%	41% <u>13</u> 54%	41% <u>14</u> 55%	43% <u>5</u> 48%
Unaware					
	Aware of defense participation condition	Unaware of defense participation	Not asked as unaware of contractual negotiations	No. of cases	
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	63%	11%	26%...100%	199	
Women	18	15	67	196	
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	35	13	52	312	
Beyond elementary	64	13	23	81	
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	20	16	64	78	
150 - 299 DM	40	13	47	141	
300 - 399 DM	45	9	46	81	
400 DM and more	62	12	26	80	
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	68	9	23	22	
Businessmen	45	19	36	47	
White-collar workers	56	12	32	70	
Skilled laborers	52	12	36	66	
Semi-skilled laborers	30	9	61	53	
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	30	16	54	56	
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	41	13	46	91	
30 - 49 years	40	13	47	171	
50 years and over	42	12	46	133	
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	44	17	39	75	
CDU/CSU	38	8	54	86	
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	69	5	26	19	
Other parties	41	20	39	56	
No party	39	13	48	99	
Don't know	32	10	58	50	
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	40	11	49	314	
Expellees, Refugees	44	18	38	80	

Among the West Germans with some awareness of the contractual agreement in the making, favorable reactions to the course of negotiations are distinctly more prevalent than unfavorable. But just as many believe that the agreement will only mark a "small step" toward German independence as believe it will be a "great step," and only half as many go so far as to hold that West Germany will become "Almost independent" as a result of the agreement, as expect less.

"Have you the impression that in general these negotiations are developing favorably or unfavorably for Western Germany?" (Asked of those indicating awareness of contractual negotiations.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Favorably	26%	29%	23%	26%
Unfavorably	8	7	9	7
Neither-Nor	5	3	8	3
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>
	53%	54%	55%	48%

"Would the conclusion of the contractual agreement mean a great step forward on the way to West Germany's independence or only a small one?" (Asked of those indicating awareness of contractual negotiations.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
A great step	21%	22%	17%	31%
A small step	18	19	20	5
Almost nothing	3	2	5	5
No opinion	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>
	53%	54%	55%	48%

"Would West Germany become almost independent or not?" (Asked of those saying "great" or "small" step to prior query and including as negative answers all who said "almost nothing.")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Almost independent	13%	16%	6%	14%
No	25	23	31	22
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	42%	43%	42%	41%

COMPARATIVE REACTIONS AMONG POPULATION GROUPING ...

Group comparisons (see page following) reveal that judgments that the contractual negotiations are developing favorably for Germany are most frequent among the opinion leading population elements - the men, the better schooled, and the higher salaried. In no population group do adverse judgments achieve a preponderance. However, it is equally true that in no population group* does the opinion preponderate that West Germany would become "almost independent" as a result of the contractual agreement.

* With the exception of people of professional occupation - for whom the number of cases is far too few to take seriously.

"Have you the impression that in general these negotiations are developing favorably or unfavorably for Western Germany?"

Favorably Unfavorably Neither No Not aware No. of
nor opinion of contract-cases:
ual nego-
tiations

	Favorably	Unfavorably	Neither nor	No opinion	Not aware of contract- ual nego- tiations	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	38%	11%	7%	18%	26%...100%	199
Women	15	4	4	10	67	196
Education:						
Elementary school	21	8	5	14	52	312
Beyond elementary	47	5	6	19	23	81
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	17	5	5	9	64	78
150 - 299 DM	26	9	3	15	47	141
300 - 399 DM	25	10	6	13	46	81
400 DM and more	40	6	9	19	26	80
Occupation:						
Professionals	45	9	5	18	23	22
Businessmen	32	-	9	23	36	47
White-collar workers	36	12	7	13	32	70
Skilled laborers	29	15	5	15	36	66
Semi-skilled laborers	17	9	4	9	61	53
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	27	5	-	14	54	56
Age:						
Up to 29 years	28	5	6	15	46	91
30 - 49 years	25	9	5	14	47	171
50 years and over	27	7	5	15	46	133
Party Preference:						
SPD	29	12	5	15	39	75
CDU/CSU	31	2	1	12	54	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV -	48	-	5	21	26	19
Other parties	20	16	11	14	39	56
No party	22	8	6	16	48	99
Don't know	22	2	4	14	58	50
Origin:						
Natives	24	7	6	14	49	314
Expellees, Refugees	34	9	2	17	38	80

R E S T R I C T E D

"Would the conclusion of the Contractual Agreement mean a great step forward on the way to West Germany's independence or only a small one?" (Asked of those indicating awareness of contractual negotiations)

	A great step	A small step	Almost nothing	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	28%	26%	6%	14%	26%	199
Women	15	10	-	8	67	196
Education:						
Elementary school	18	15	4	11	52	312
Beyond elementary	35	27	2	12	24	81
Income (per month):						
0 - 129 DM	16	8	3	9	64	78
150 - 299 DM	20	17	4	12	47	141
300 - 399 DM	17	22	6	9	46	81
400 DM and more	34	26	1	13	26	80
Occupation:						
Professionals	32	27	5	14	22	22
Businessmen	15	26	2	21	36	47
White-collar workers	37	20	3	7	33	70
Skilled laborers	20	29	3	12	36	66
Semi-skilled laborers	19	11	4	6	60	53
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	21	12	4	9	54	56
Age:						
Up to 29 years	19	17	5	13	46	91
30 - 49 years	21	18	2	12	47	171
50 years and over	23	18	4	9	46	133
Party Preference:						
SPD	19	29	4	9	39	75
CDU/CSU	26	13	-	8	53	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	37	21	-	16	26	19
Other parties	21	20	7	13	39	56
No party	18	13	6	15	48	99
Don't know	18	16	-	8	58	50
Origin:						
Natives	21	17	3	10	49	314
Expellees, Refugees	24	20	4	15	37	80

"Would West Germany become almost independent or not?" (Asked those who said "great" or "small step" to prior query and including all who said "almost nothing")

	Almost independent	No	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	18%	39%	4%	39%...100%	199
Women	7	13	5	75	196
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	11	23	4	62	312
Beyond elementary	19	39	5	37	81
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	7	16	5	72	78
150 - 299 DM	13	25	4	58	141
300 - 399 DM	12	32	1	55	81
400 DM and more	19	33	9	39	80
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	37	22	5	36	22
Businessmen	10	36	-	54	47
White-collar workers	20	30	7	43	70
Skilled laborers	11	38	5	46	66
Semi-skilled laborers	10	20	2	68	53
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	7	21	9	63	56
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	11	26	4	59	91
30 - 49 years	11	27	3	59	171
50 years and over	15	23	6	56	133
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	12	34	7	47	75
CDU/CSU	15	19	5	61	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	32	-	42	19
Other parties	10	39	4	47	56
No party	12	23	2	63	99
Don't know	8	18	8	66	50
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	11	26	4	59	314
Expellees, Refugees	19	24	5	52	80

SHOULD AGREEMENT BE ACCEPTED OR REJECTED? ...

Obviously the key evaluational query about the contractual agreement is the German recommendation as to Bundestag acceptance or rejection. To obtain this important judgment from all respondents, those unaware of the contractual negotiations were briefly informed and then asked to make a decision along with the rest. The results, under these circumstances, were 55 per cent recommending Bundestag acceptance, and only 14 per cent recommending rejection. The remaining 31 per cent expressed no opinion.

"What would you prefer, should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?" (After all were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany almost complete independence and at the conclusion of the agreement, West Germany is to become an equal partner in West European defense.")

	WEST GERMANY	British Z.	US Z.	French Z.
Accept it	55%	62%	46%	50%
Reject it	14	9	23	7
No opinion	<u>31</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>43</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The almost four to one preponderance of acceptance over rejection certainly bespeaks a dominance of favorable attitudes in the present connection among the West German public. However, it must be kept in mind that the description of the contractual agreement incorporated in the above inquiry refers to it as granting West Germany "almost equal independence" and that concomitantly West Germany is to join West European defense "with equal rights." To the extent that the realities, when they emerge, reveal any obvious departures from these characterizations, less favorable reactions are, of course, to be anticipated. For comparative purposes attitudes are being studied in a less favorable framework in the study now in the field.

It may be noted, however, in the cross comparisons below, that even those who initially indicated belief that contractual agreement would not result in almost complete independence for Germany still recommend acceptance over rejection by a two to one margin.

	Accept agreement	Reject agreement	No opinion	No. of cases:
Entire sample	55%	14%	31%...100%	395
Respondents unaware of contractual agreement until told about it	39	9	52	184
Respondents aware of contractual agreement before being informed	68	19	13	211
Previously indicated belief that almost complete independence would eventuate	92	2	6	49
Previously indicated belief that almost complete independence would not eventuate	64	26	10	100

Moreover, those who had indicated prior awareness of the defense participation corollary to the contractual agreement, and hence in a better position to make up their own minds on the degree of German equality, appeared to be just as much in favor of accepting the agreement as respondents just newly informed of the defense tieup.

	Accept agreement	Reject agreement	No opinion	No. of cases:
Respondents priorly aware of defense tieup	52%	14%	34%...100%	216
Not priorly aware of defense tieup	54	16	30	36

GROUP COMPARISONS ON ACCEPTANCE VERSUS REJECTION ...

Recommendations that the Bundestag accept rather than reject the forthcoming contractual agreement are particularly widespread among opinion leading population elements. And in no group examined - even among SPD adherents whose leaders have been working in opposition - does rejection sentiment exceed three in ten.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?"

	Accept it	Reject it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	63	17	20...100%	199
Women	47	11	42	196
Education:				
Elementary school	51	15	34	312
Beyond elementary	69	10	21	81
Income (per month):				
00 - 149 DM	45	13	42	78
150 - 299 DM	53	17	30	141
300 - 399 DM	53	14	33	81
400 DM and more	72	14	14	80
Occupation:				
Professionals	55	27	18	22
Businessmen	66	4	30	47
White-collar workers	67	10	23	70
Skilled laborers	53	27	20	66
Semi-skilled laborers	57	11	32	53
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	50	13	37	56
Age:				
Up to 29 years	56	21	23	91
30 - 49 years	57	12	31	171
50 years and over	51	13	36	133
Party Preference:				
SPD	61	23	16	75
CDU/CSU	66	5	29	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	79	16	5	19
Other parties	52	21	27	56
No party	46	14	40	99
Don't know	42	8	50	50
Origin:				
Natives	54	14	32	314
Expellees, Refugees	56	14	30	80

WHY SHOULD AGREEMENT BE ACCEPTED? ...

The most frequent argument advanced for espousing acceptance was that thereby independence and equality would be more easily realized. Security advantages came in second place in number of citations.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?"

If "Accept":

"Why should the Bundestag accept it?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
--------------	--------------	---------	-------------

Because independence and equality would be more easily realized:

It would be quite pleasant to be more independent; as a nation we are not incapable of standing on our own feet; in order to be free; then we would be independent, too; because otherwise we would not be independent at such an early stage; because we need equality if we want to survive; in order to be accepted as an equal partner in the family of nations; in order to be a sovereign state once more; in order to be equal and to have a say in European defense; etc.

20%	21%	19%	19%
-----	-----	-----	-----

Because security would be increased:

Because with the Western powers on our side we would be more adequately protected against the Russians; because otherwise we would be isolated in case of war; because our country would otherwise be occupied; in order not to be defenseless in case of an attack; in order to be safe from the East; because Germany is small and is helpless by herself; because this agreement guarantees protection against the East; we don't want Communism here, because we would then run the risk of having the Russians here some day; because the so-called democratic forces must rally against Communist forces; we need order and security; because they don't like the Russians, as in their zone you can't state your opinion freely; because European defense is an absolute necessity; etc.

13	16	11	7
----	----	----	---

Because there would be a chance to improve economic conditions:

In order to get back to normal at long last and be included in the economic system of Western powers; the economic situation would be improved; in order to stabilize economic conditions; because economically conditions could only be improved; only the West can offer advantages, certainly not the East; in order to stabilize our economy; etc.

6	9	3	5
---	---	---	---

Because alliance and cooperation with the Western powers is necessary:

Because today nations of similar ideologies can survive only if they group together, and we should take part in such an alliance; because it would mean an advantage for us; cooperation with the West is advantageous and necessary; I think then there would be unity; we should cooperate with the other powers; if you want equal rights, you have to shoulder equal responsibility; because we can't expect others to help us without contributing our share; we all have to rely on each other; etc.

6	6	3	7
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

General answers, expressing belief in progress and improvement:

Because then things might look up; because it would mean an improvement; in order to advance a step; because the situation might be improved fundamentally; we have to get out of this mess, even if it takes a long time; it effects any future development of a positive nature for Germany; even if it only is a small step ahead it means progress; etc.

5%	5%	5%	2%
----	----	----	----

Because Germany has no choice - it would be the lesser evil:

We don't have any choice; there probably is no alternative, we are too involved; because we have to sanction the agreement, they will turn on pressure; that is our only chance of survival at the present moment, we just have to sanction the agreement; they fundamentally incline towards the West, neutrality is impossible; it's the lesser of two evils; an alliance with the Russians would be worse; etc.

4	3	4	7
---	---	---	---

Because an army is necessary:

We need an army; I am in favor of universal conscription, the younger generation is slack; because it would mean having an army again; etc.

2	1	1	7
---	---	---	---

Because there would be a better chance of ultimate reunification:

Because there would be a better chance of reuniting Germany; thus reunification of Western and Eastern Germany might be more easily be realized; through it reunification might be brought about; there is a better chance of the territories we come from being returned to us if we enter into an alliance with the West; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Because we would save money:

Probably we would save a lot of money used now for the occupation forces; if we would be rid of the occupation forces we would save money which could be used for increasing the housing program and old age pensions; etc.

1	1	-	-
---	---	---	---

Others:

The problem is difficult, from whatever side you look at it; the opposition is opposed to it, as the government, however, is set on siding with the West, they have to stick to it because Germany cannot be excluded politically, due to her geographic location and for cultural reasons; etc.

1	1	-	3
---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

1 60%	1 67%	2 49%	- 57%
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHY SHOULD AGREEMENT BE REJECTED ...

The minority who recommended rejection of the projected German-Allied contract seem to be activated most frequently by opposition to rearming or fear of war.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?"

If "Reject":

"Why should the Bundestag reject it?"

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

I am against rearmament:

Because we will be forced to set up an army; if we agree, we must share in the setting up of an army and I do not want that, I lost my two legs; then there will be an army again and I am basically opposed to that; that would introduce compulsory military service and I do not want that at all; I do not want my husband to enter the army, he is in the drafting age; we do not want soldiers any more - or do you want to become a soldier again?; first they arrested and hanged the men and now they want the men back in the army - it is insolent to punish us in the first place for our being soldiers and now to want us to join an army again for their purposes; otherwise our men must become soldiers again and stick their necks out for others; I am fed up with militarism - I shall never forget that we soldiers were treated like criminals after the war; that will cost a lot of money and we have no money anyhow - I am very opposed to having an army; etc.

4% 2% 8% 2%

The West wants to exploit us for her own ends:

Because by this means we will get chained to the West using us simply as a bulwark; because I do not believe that Germany is to become independent, on the contrary, we are bound even tighter to the Western powers; because Germany only is the fifth wheel on the wagon and will have nothing to say after the conclusion of the agreement either; they want us to become their partner, but not with equal rights, why are we not allowed to produce heavy arms? - also we are more or less compelled to give in to this agreement and that rarely brings about a favorable effect; because the agreement will not produce any advantages for us, it contains quite a few disadvantages; because I don't believe that they are really honest with us; it is a prearranged plan of the Americans which certainly brings about no good results; because we would then have to sacrifice our men for the interests of foreign powers, and I certainly do not want to lose my boys for that reason; I cannot tell, but it will be nothing good coming from the West; etc.

3 2 5 3

(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

It increases the danger of war:

Because we will then have another war; because I know the horror of an army and these horrors could come up again - the horror of war; no more soldiers, so there will be no other war; I have two sons and I do not want to see them in another war - the best is to stay away from the whole thing; to be able to retain neutrality in case of a conflict; war has brought terrible sorrow upon us, as well as upon all other nations - to have an army will lead to a war sooner or later; I trouble myself about my two boys in case of a new war; everything else but war, I am still fed up with the last one; because I am against any war; etc.

3% 1% 6% 2%

Germany must be reunited first and conclude a peace treaty:

First the unification of Germany must be established; all of Germany should be united first; East and West both try to exploit Germany in a certain way; first the peace treaty, then everything else; etc.

2 1 3 -

To come to an agreement with the East will become more difficult:

I have some doubts because we completely draw away from the East; because it will only result in difficulties for Germany; by this means the hatred from the Eastern territory towards Germany will grow; etc.

1 1 1 -

Others:

We are not dealing with them, I am a Communist; not interested in present policy - including Germany in the European defense now looks somewhat untimely to me; etc.

1 1 1 -

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{15\%}$ $\frac{1}{9\%}$ $\frac{2}{26\%}$ $\frac{-}{7\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. AWARENESS AND REACTIONS TO THE RUSSIAN UNITY PROPOSAL

AWARENESS CONSIDERABLE BUT NOT EXTRAORDINARY ...

A 57 per cent majority of the West German population indicated awareness of the recent Russian proposal in regard to Germany. As awareness figures go, this is considerable but not extraordinary, and would tend to suggest that whatever the impact of the Russian overture, it has in no sense become dinner time conversation at every German table. Awareness was maximum, as is to be expected, among the typically more alert and informed population sectors.

"Do you happen to know if the Russians recently made a proposal in regard to Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Z.	US Z.	French E.
Yes, they did	57%	56%	57%	57%
No, they didn't	11	14	8	10
No opinion	<u>32</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>33</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Yes, did	No, didn't	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	74	8	18...100%	199
Women	39	15	46	196
Education:				
Elementary school	49	14	37	312
Beyond elementary	85	3	12	81
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	35	14	51	78
150 - 299 DM	54	13	33	141
300 - 399 DM	65	7	28	81
400 DM and more	76	8	16	80
Occupation:				
Professionals	68	-	32	22
Businessmen	77	8	15	47
White-collar workers	76	7	17	70
Skilled laborers	57	11	32	66
Semi-skilled laborers	47	17	36	53
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	39	16	45	56
Age:				
Up to 29 years	53	14	33	91
30 - 49 years	57	12	31	171
50 years and over	59	9	32	133
Party Preference:				
SPD	55	11	34	75
CDU/CSU	49	14	37	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	74	-	26	19
Other parties	71	11	18	56
No party	56	16	28	99
Don't know	48	6	46	50
Origin:				
Natives	56	12	32	314
Expellees, Refugees	59	9	32	80

03233

MAJORITY AWARE OF ODER/NEISSE CONDITION ...

Probably the major joker in the Russian proposal from the German point of view, is the recognition of the present Oder/Neisse line. The two questions below establish that a majority of the 57 per cent of the population aware of the Russian proposal (i.e. 38 per cent), were also aware of this condition.

"Could you tell me what this proposal was about? What are the details of the proposal?" (Asked of 57 percent indicating awareness of Russian proposal)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	French Z.
Reunification	23%	22%	24%	24%
All German elections	16	16	18	12
All German elections under Four-Power control	5	7	3	2
Peace treaty	14	13	13	19
Withdrawal of all occupation powers	12	11	15	9
The right to have an army	14	11	18	12
No military alliance, neutrality	5	5	3	10
Recognition of the present Oder/Neisse border in accordance with the Potsdam agreement, loss of the Eastern territories	13	16	11	10
Others	4	2	3	10
No opinion	14	15	12	17
	120%*	118%*	120%*	125%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And was anything said about the Oder/Neisse line in the proposal? (What?) (Asked of those who did not mention "recognition of Oder/Neisse line")

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	French Z.
Yes, recognition of the Oder/Neisse line in accordance with the Potsdam agreement	25%	25%	23%	26%
Yes (wrong)	3	2	4	2
No opinion, no	16	13	19	19
	44%	40%	46%	47%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Awareness of the Oder/Neisse clause was higher - by a considerable margin - among the generally more informed population elements.

"Could you tell me what the proposal is about? What are the details of the proposal?" (Asked of 57 per cent indicating awareness of the Russian proposal)

"And was anything said about the Oder/Neisse line in the proposal? (What?)" (Asked of those who did not mention recognition of Oder/Neisse line in prior query)

	Aware of Oder/Neisse condition	Unaware	Not asked be- cause unaware of Russian pro- posal	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	53%	20%	27...100%	199
Women	23	17	60	196
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	31	18	51	312
Beyond elementary	64	21	15	81
<u>Income(per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	23	13	64	78
150 - 299 DM	35	19	46	141
300 - 399 DM	40	25	35	81
400 DM and more	59	17	24	80
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	50	18	32	22
Businessmen	51	26	23	47
White-collar workers	59	17	24	70
Skilled laborers	38	20	42	66
Semi-skilled laborers	26	21	53	53
Not employed, pensioners, students, retired, etc.	23	16	61	56
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	34	19	47	91
30 - 49 years	39	19	42	171
50 years and over	40	17	43	133
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	40	13	47	75
CDU/CSU	32	17	51	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	63	11	26	19
Other parties	45	27	28	56
No party	40	18	42	99
Don't know	26	22	52	50
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	37	19	44	314
Expellees, Refugees	43	17	40	80

REAL CONCESSIONS OR ONLY PROPAGANDA? ...

The initial indication that the West German reaction to the Russian note was generally adverse, was the finding that only one out of ten (11%) voiced the belief that the Russians were now ready and willing to make real concessions. Sixty-seven per cent termed the proposal propaganda only, and the remainder gave no opinion.

"Do you have the impression that Russia is now ready and willing to make real concessions in regard to Germany, or do you consider the Russian proposal nothing but propaganda?" (Asked of all respondents after those unaware were told - "Russia recently made a proposal for the reunification of Germany")

WEST GERMANY Br. Z. US Z. French Z.

Real concessions	11%	11%	11%	10%
Nothing but propaganda	67	67	67	69
No opinion	22	22	22	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP COMPARISONS ...

Group comparisons in the present connection revealed few reliable indications of difference. In no group examined did the belief that the new proposal bespeaks a real willingness to compromise exceed one in five.

	Real concessions	Only propaganda	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	15%	69%	16...100%	199
Women	7	65	28	196
Education:				
Elementary school	11	67	22	312
Beyond elementary	12	69	19	81
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	4	73	23	78
150 - 299 DM	14	65	21	141
300 - 399 DM	10	72	18	81
400 DM and more	15	66	19	80
Occupation:				
Professionals	18	68	14	22
Businessmen	8	79	13	47
White-collar workers	16	61	23	70
Skilled laborers	20	60	20	66
Semi-skilled laborers	9	64	27	53
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	4	68	28	56
Age:				
Up to 29 years	15	65	20	91
30 - 49 years	8	70	22	171
50 years and over	12	65	23	133
Party Preference:				
SPD	13	72	15	75
CDU/CSU	12	66	22	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	11	79	10	19
Other parties	18	71	11	56
No party	8	62	30	99
Don't know	6	66	28	50
Origin:				
Natives	11	67	22	314
Expellees, Refugees	9	71	20	80

R E S T R I C T E D

ACCEPT OR REJECT RUSSIAN PROPOSAL? ...

Spelling out the major details of the Russian proposal did little to sweeten respondents' reactions. Under these circumstances again only 12 per cent would recommend acceptance of the proposal as it stands - with 66 per cent favoring rejection, and the remainder voicing no opinion. It has already been explained in the introduction that a choice of negotiating has been deliberately omitted from this and parallel queries to get at showdown opinion.

"The Russian proposal consists of the following points:
(presented to respondents on a card)"

1. A reunification of all Germany through free elections under Four-Power supervision.
2. Germany shall have the right to build up a limited army of its own, but shall not be allowed to make military treaties against any of the Four Great Powers.
3. Germany shall give up her claims to the former German territories east of Oder and Neisse.
4. Peace Treaty for Germany and withdrawal of all occupational powers.

"If the Western Powers had to decide to either accept or reject this Russian proposal as it stands, would you then prefer to see this proposal accepted or rejected?"

WEST GERMANY Br. Z. US Z. French Z.

Would prefer to see accepted	12%	12%	15%	5%
Would prefer to see rejected	66	69	61	64
No opinion	<u>22</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>31</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Preference for rejecting over accepting the present Russian proposal is particularly widespread among more important population elements, and in no group examined does support for the Russian offer exceed one in four.

"If the Western Powers had to decide to either accept or reject this Russian proposal as it stands, would you then prefer to see this proposal accepted or rejected?"

	Would prefer to see accept- ed	Would pre- fer to see rejected	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	12%	72%	16...100%	199
Women	12	59	29	196
Education:				
Elementary school	13	63	24	312
Beyond elementary	9	78	13	81
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	8	63	29	78
150 - 299 DM	15	63	22	141
300 - 399 DM	9	67	24	81
400 DM and more	17	79	4	80
Occupation:				
Professionals	-	86	14	22
Businessmen	11	70	19	47
White-collar workers	14	76	10	70
Skilled laborers	24	59	17	66
Semi-skilled laborers	13	62	25	53
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	5	68	27	56
Age:				
Up to 29 years	15	65	20	91
30 - 49 years	13	66	21	121
50 years and over	9	65	26	133
Party Preference:				
SPD	9	80	11	75
CDU/CSU	12	63	25	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	5	84	11	19
Other parties	25	68	7	56
No party	8	63	29	99
Don't know	16	50	34	50
Origin:				
Natives	12	65	23	314
Expellees, Refugees	12	69	19	80

R E S T R I C T E D

III. CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT VERSUS RUSSIAN PROPOSAL - SOLE DECISIONS

The prior sections of the present report delineated reactions to the contractual negotiations and to the Russian unity proposal taken singly. Three queries remain for discussion which involved comparative judgments.

ONLY MINORITY FAVOR SLOWDOWN FOR RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS ...

Among the 55 per cent of the population who expressed themselves as favoring Bundestag approval of a contractual agreement, it is significant that a larger proportion maintained that it would be better to accomplish the agreement as soon as possible, than held that the Russian proposal should be negotiated about first.

"What would be better for Germany: if the contractual agreement and military cooperation with the Western powers would be put into effect as fast as possible, - or if one would not hurry quite so much and first negotiate about the Russian proposal?"
(Asked of 55% who favored Bundestag approval of the contractual agreement)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Contractual agreement as soon as possible	30%	38%	20%	33%
Russian proposal first	17	16	19	17
Neither/nor	2	1	2	-
No opinion	$\frac{6}{55\%}$	$\frac{7}{62\%}$	$\frac{5}{46\%}$	$\frac{-}{50\%}$

GROUP COMPARISONS ...

Recommendations for celerity in concluding the contractual agreement were most widespread among opinion leading population elements.

"What would be better for Germany: if the contractual agreement and military cooperation with the Western powers would be put into effect as fast as possible, - or if one would not hurry quite so much and first negotiate about the Russian proposal?"
(Asked of 55% who favored Bundestag approval of the contractual agreement)

	The con- tractual agreement as soon as possible	Russian proposal first	Neither/ nor	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	37%	18%	2%	6%	37%..100%	199
Women	24	15	2	5	54	196
Education:						
Elementary school	28	17	1	5	49	312
Beyond elementary	43	19	2	5	31	81
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	24	9	3	9	55	78
150 - 299 DM	29	21	1	1	48	141
300 - 399 DM	32	14	2	5	47	81
400 DM and more	40	23	1	9	27	80
Occupation:						
Professionals	27	18	5	5	45	22
Businessmen	40	15	2	9	34	47
White-collar workers	41	20	-	6	33	70
Skilled laborers	29	21	1	2	47	66
Semi-skilled laborers	32	23	-	2	43	53
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	23	14	2	9	52	56
Age:						
Up to 29 years	27	24	2	3	44	91
30 - 49 years	35	15	2	5	43	171
50 years and over	29	15	-	7	49	133
Party Preference:						
SPD	36	21	1	3	39	75
CDU/CSU	37	20	1	8	34	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	16	5	5	21	19
Other parties	32	12	2	4	50	56
No party	25	13	1	5	56	99
Don't know	16	20	-	6	58	50
Origin:						
Natives	29	18	2	5	46	314
Expellees, Refugees	36	14	-	6	44	80

R E S T R I C T E D

PREPONDERANCE ANTICIPATE CONTRACTUAL SPEEDUP ...

Next all respondents were given an opportunity to indicate what they believe would in fact come to pass: a speedup in contractual negotiations or a pause for negotiations with the East. The former view considerably dominates the latter among those having opinions in the matter. And particularly among the opinion leading population elements is the opinion prevalent that a speedup in contractual negotiations will eventuate.

"And what do you think will happen - will the contractual agreement and military cooperation with the Western powers be put into effect as fast as possible, or will it not be hurried quite so much and negotiations first made about the Russian proposal?" (Asked of all respondents)

WEST GERMANY Br. Z. US Z. French Z.

Contractual agreement as soon as possible	43%	47%	39%	41%
First the Russian proposal	18	19	19	14
No opinion	<u>39</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>45</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Contractual agreement as soon as possible	Russian proposal first	No Opinion	No. of cases
--	---------------------------	---------------	-----------------

Sex:				
Men	54%	22%	24%	199
Women	32	15	53	196
Education:				
Elementary school	38	20	42	312
Beyond elementary	63	14	23	81
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	31	17	52	78
150 - 299 DM	47	17	36	141
300 - 399 DM	45	19	36	81
400 DM and more	51	23	26	80
Occupation:				
Professionals	59	9	32	22
Businessmen	51	11	38	47
White-collar workers	54	24	22	70
Skilled laborers	42	26	32	66
Semi-skilled laborers	45	15	40	53
Not employed; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	29	21	50	56
Age:				
Up to 29 years	54	17	29	91
30 - 49 years	47	15	38	171
50 years and over	30	24	46	133
Party Preference:				
SPD	51	17	32	75
CDU/CSU	35	29	36	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	-	26	19
Other parties	52	18	30	56
No party	38	16	46	99
Don't know	38	12	50	50
Origin:				
Natives	40	19	41	314
Expellees, Refugees	52	18	30	80

R E S T R I C T E D

CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT FAR OUTDISTANCES RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ...

The concluding inquiry in the present study asked respondents to compare the contractual agreement and the Russian proposal - to which they had already reacted to individually - and indicate which course of action they would prefer, had they to decide between them. The returns indicate under these conditions an eightfold victory for the West with 63 per cent expressing themselves in favor of the contractual agreement versus 8 per cent in favor of the Russian proposal. The remaining 29 per cent volunteered no opinion.

"Here is a short description of the contractual agreement (CARD)* and here one of the Russian proposals (CARD)*. Suppose one had to decide for one or the other, which proposal should be accepted?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Contractual agreement	63%	69%	54%	67%
Russian proposal	8	9	10	-
No opinion	29	22	36	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* As employed in the prior individual questions on these points.

GROUP COMPARISONS ...

Group comparisons reveal, moreover, that preference for accepting a contractual agreement with the West over accepting the Russian proposal is at its maximum among the opinion leading elements of the West German population.

	Contractual agreement	Russian proposal	Don't know	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	69%	10%	21%...100%	199
Women	57	7	36	196
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	60	9	31	312
Beyond elementary	74	9	17	81
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	64	4	32	78
150 - 299 DM	61	11	28	141
300 - 399 DM	58	9	33	81
400 DM and more	76	9	15	80
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	68	5	27	22
Businessmen	68	9	23	47
White-collar workers	71	11	18	70
Skilled laborers	57	17	26	66
Semi-skilled laborers	58	8	34	53
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	68	2	30	56
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	64	11	25	91
30 - 49 years	63	10	27	171
50 years and over	62	5	33	133
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	68	10	22	75
CDU/CSU	68	3	29	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	79	5	16	19
Other parties	64	14	22	56
No party	58	11	31	99
Don't know	56	4	40	50
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	62	7	31	314
Expellees, Refugees	69	14	17	80

HARD CORE REFUGEES EVALUATE THEIR SITUATION**A Study of Camp Inmates in Western Germany.**

Report No. 136

Series No. 2

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

As an attempt to appraise the present status and attitudes of Refugee Camp residents in West Germany - as distinct from refugees at large in the general West German population - the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, instituted a survey between 8 - 18 August 1951, employing a 700 case random sample, representative of the camp population in West Germany. Specific details of the sample may be found in the appendix following the text.

Interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

It should be noted that, although the respondents are referred to in the text as "refugees", they are more specifically "expellees" - that is, they were, in most cases, ethnic Germans who were ejected from their homelands after the war by the Russians, rather than having fled voluntarily from the East.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The refugees interviewed in this study very probably constitute the hard-core of the millions of people now living in Western Germany as a result of their expulsion from their former homes - the Sudetenland, Poland, Silesia, East Prussia, or because they fled from the Russians. They may be considered the hard-core not only because they have failed to assimilate into West German life (71 per cent have been in West Germany since 1946, and 83 per cent have spent all of their years in Germany in the camps) but because their non-assimilation appears largely voluntary. Much as one must be aware of and sympathize with the difficulties and hardships of daily existence of these displaced people, it is nevertheless clearly apparent that these camp refugees show little disposition to help themselves. On the contrary, they appear as a whole to be waiting with apathetic disgruntlement for someone else - charitable institutions, the West German government, the Western Allies - to do something for them.

Aggravating the difficult problem of integrating these camp refugees into West German society is the fact that many of them either are pessimistically certain that they will receive no help, or they feel that whatever assistance they do receive is insufficient.

Their most immediate problems are housing and jobs. Until they are assured of both, many are apparently fearful of leaving camp life, to which they cling despite discomfort.

More important, at least from the political point of view, is the fact that the camp refugees appear largely unreconciled to remaining in West Germany. The large preponderance desires to return to their homelands, and many expect to do so.

The potential explosiveness of this situation, added to their dissatisfaction with their daily existence, appears sharpened by the fact that their much desired return home is contingent on a change in the present Eastern governments. Many of them appear to believe that only a war can overthrow these Communist governments. A not inconsiderable minority is prepared to risk a war in order to facilitate their homeward trek.

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R E S T R I C T E D

I. THE CAMP REFUGEES AND THEIR PROBLEMS OF DAILY LIFE

- ... More than half of the refugees see the housing situation in the camps as their greatest remaining difficulty, and almost as many suggest improvements of these conditions as the most important changes to be made in the camps.
- ... But despite the fact that the refugees find much to complain about within the camps, only half think that leaving the camp would improve their situation. Furthermore, although two out of three are prepared to take the risk of moving, less than half (41%) have ever made any active effort to move. Their hesitation is based primarily on fear of economic difficulties incident to independent living in a new environment. Those who have tried to move have been balked by the housing shortage, lack of funds, unemployment problems, etc.
- ... Indications that many camp refugees feel forsaken by the outside world are corroborated by the fact that as many as 42 per cent claim they have never been helped by any relief or welfare organizations. Furthermore, even though many cite organizations who have helped refugees, as many are dissatisfied as satisfied with the aid given.
- ... Questioned about the causes of the widespread unemployment among their number, the largest single group of refugees (29%) spontaneously point to the alleged discriminatory policy of employers vis-a-vis natives and refugees. Others cite the disproportionate massing of refugees in certain areas, the over-population of the country and the general economic situation in Western Germany.
- ... On direct questioning, almost half (48%) claim that West German employers show preference to natives in their employment policy.
- ... Of the 22 per cent unemployed at the time of the survey, the largest proportion (15%) claim they have never been offered a job by the employment office. Of the remainder, 3 per cent have been offered a job only once, while a similar number have had several job offers. But those who were offered jobs were unable to take them either because the job was filled in the interim, it was only temporary, or it was unsuitable with respect to wages, place, or nature of the work.
- ... By a ratio of two to one, the unemployed state they would take any job offered them - regardless of its nature - rather than wait for a more suitable one to present itself. It should be noted, however, that this means that a third of the camp unemployed still are in a mood to pick and choose jobs.
- ... To most of the unemployed, chances for jobs are better in other parts of West Germany - notably the Ruhr area. But the usual barriers - housing shortage, increased expenses, etc. - again stand in the way of their resettlement.
- ... In general, it would appear that the reluctance of many of this hard-core group to leave the camps - despite the inconveniences and congestion of which they complain - does not largely derive from the example given them by fellow-refugees who have made the break. On the contrary, the preponderant view is that the refugees outside the camps have adjusted, at least satisfactorily, to their new lives.

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

II. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF CAMP REFUGEES AND NATIVE GERMANS

- ... Added evidence of the problem of assimilation of refugees into German life is found in the expressed desire of many of them to remain remote from native Germans. Asked to state their position on a number of situations of daily life which could involve either natives or refugees, a large minority - and in some cases a majority - indicate preference for refugees relationships. In other words, it is fairly evident that considerable proportions of this hard-core group do not wish to be assimilated into German life.
- ... With regard to their children's chances for assimilation, about half (48%) think that refugee children will have opportunities equal to those of native children. The other half anticipates native discrimination against "refugee children", and the additional problem of financial inequality. A majority, however, see no particular disadvantage, with respect to the esteem their children will be given, in their being refugees.
- ... But that the refugee parents are doing little to build good relations with natives is apparent in the fact that whatever social life they have appears to be confined to fellow-refugees, and the large preponderance apparently takes no part at all in any organized social activities. Two thirds say they have no friends among native Germans, and with respect to their relations with other refugees, almost a third confine their friendships to their fellow-countrymen.
- ... On the other hand, a preponderance makes a verbal denial of exclusiveness vis-a-vis the natives when specifically queried on the matter. Over half (55%) assert that there are no essential differences between the refugees and the natives, aside from those arising from the economic situation, and as many (52%) state that the two groups get along well with each other. But it should also be noted that as many as three in ten claim both that there are basic differences between expellees and natives, and that the two groups are not compatible. This group attributes essentially all the blame for incompatibility to the natives.

III. THE CAMP REFUGEES AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

- ... Political apathy apparently goes hand in hand with social isolation among this hard-core group. Nearly half (45%) takes no part in any kind of political activity, even though the measure used here for participation includes such passive activities as reading political articles in newspapers.
- ... Although more interest is shown in their own immediate affairs - attendance at meetings for expellees - as many as 52 per cent have never even participated in such activities which touch them so closely.
- ... The DHE (Bloc of Expellees and People Deprived of Rights), the political party which purports to represent the refugees, is known to three quarters of the camp refugees, but only a quarter spontaneously mention DHE as the party doing most to solve their problems, when directly queried and an additional 9 per cent, on further probing, express satisfaction with what the party is doing. Sixteen per cent claim that no party is trying to help, and four in ten have no opinion on the matter.
- ... But despite the fact that so many camp refugees are unwilling or unprepared to give DHE their vote of confidence, the large preponderance (58%) is of the opinion that a refugee party is essential.
- ... Considerable cynicism and apathy are apparent in the attitudes of the camp refugees regarding governmental aid in the solution of their problems. Half (52%) believe that the Federal government is making an honest effort to solve refugee problems, but a large minority (28%) takes the negative view, and almost as many (20%) express no opinion.

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

- ... In the opinion of the camp refugees, their problems are apparently too complex for solution by West Germany alone. Three quarters (75%) believe that the Germans will need the help of other countries if the refugee problem is to be solved. But whether or not sufficient foreign aid will be forthcoming is a debatable question in their minds. Opinions divide almost evenly between the view that other countries will contribute a great deal of help (27%) or little help (33%).
- ... Little confidence is expressed in the Law for the Equalization of Burdens - the projected plan by which those who did not suffer economically or financially by the war are to be assessed part of their wealth for distribution to those who lost their possessions during and after the war. Two thirds of the refugees - who presumably would be some of the most important beneficiaries - state that they think the plan will never be carried out. Furthermore, few appear even to consider it as a solution of the refugee problem. Rather, many believe that the only solution is that they be permitted to return to their homelands.
- ... But whatever the dissatisfaction of these resident refugees and whatever their political apathy and remoteness from West German life, few would exchange it for life in East Germany now. Eight in ten assert that the refugees in the West are better off than those East of the Elbe, and only 3 per cent hold the opposite view.

IV. THE CAMP REFUGEES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- ... The bulk of the refugees still living in camps in West Germany are not apparently reconciled to permanent residence in this country. Seven in ten would return to their homelands, if they could, in preference to emigrating or remaining in West Germany.
- ... The apparent frame of reference that conditions this drastic solution of the refugee problem is the unwillingness or inability of the camp refugees to assume any responsibility for their original expulsion from their homelands. For this reason, probably, they are unable to see why all efforts should not be made to facilitate their return. Asked to assign the responsibility for their expulsion, they blame everyone but themselves - with Germany's loss of the war the underlying theme in the reasoning of most. No one apparently recalls that the activities of the ethnic Germans before and during the war laid the groundwork for their expulsion.
- ... But without exception, the wish to return is contingent on a change in the present governments in their Eastern homelands. No one wished to go back as long as the Communist governments retain power in the Eastern territories.
- ... Contrary to a fairly general assumption that many refugees would like to emigrate, this is not the case among the hard-core refugees still remaining in camps. If it should prove impossible to return home, only 6 per cent would choose emigration, while 64 per cent prefer to remain... in Germany.
- ... But more than half who wish to return cling to the belief that they will be able to do so, apparently anticipating the fall of the Communist governments. More than half of this group see this change only possible as a result of war and although most would not willingly pay that price, as many as 13 per cent would go to this extreme.

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

I. THE CAMP REFUGEES AND THEIR PROBLEMS OF DAILY LIFE

HOUSING SEEN AS GREATEST PROBLEM ...

Assessing their present situation, more than half (53%) of the refugees point to the housing situation as their greatest remaining problem of life in West Germany. Unhealthy living conditions, high rents, and shortages of housing are the most frequently cited difficulties with which they must cope. Unemployment is mentioned by three in ten (32%) as their most serious problem, while others cite the economic situation in general (14%), loss of property and household effects (5%), lack of relief (4%), etc.

"In your opinion, what is generally still the greatest difficulty for the expellees here in West Germany?"

The housing situation - poor living conditions:

The housing situation; unwholesome living conditions; housing shortage; the rents in the camps are too high - the barracks managed by the local administration cost 45 pfennigs a square meter, those managed by the finance office, cost 25 pfennigs a square meter; as the rents are far too high, most of the expellees are cramped in miserable holes; care should be taken to provide all expellees with housing facilities at reasonable rents; more space should be provided for the expellees; we aren't housed in the way we used to be in our homeland; the housing situation - the unhealthy living in the camp barracks; etc.

53%

Unemployment:

Not enough jobs, unemployment; their greatest difficulty is, among others, that they don't get jobs, although they were promised them; the expellees just don't get jobs, difficulties in getting jobs, opportunities for getting jobs are poor, especially in Schleswig-Holstein; etc.

32

Difficult economic situation - income too low - living costs too high:

Lack of money; worries about money; prices are too high and income too low; income is too low, it's so difficult to leave the camp when there is no way to make a living; it's a matter of finances, one can only live from hand to mouth; it's a problem to take a lease on land, because loans and credits aren't easy to get; because one can't save any money on account of the high living costs; the taxes for the refugees are too high; etc.

14

Uprooting and difficulties in making a living:

We can't take roots here; making a living; to gain professional independence; most people come from the agricultural field and can't make a living; we lost our homeland and are entirely uprooted; they don't possess anything, had to leave their home and are now in a foreign country; to get accustomed to normal life outside of the camp; to take roots; we want to go home to our own country; longing for our homeland; we can't return to our homeland; we don't know what will become of us; etc.

8

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Loss of property and no possibilities for getting household furniture, clothes, linen, furniture, etc.:

To get furnishing; to provide furnishing; there is no money for that, they lost everything and have to buy everything new; getting household furniture, linen and clothing; no linen, no furniture; the expellees can't buy furniture with their means; etc.

5%

Lack of relief:

Little help for the refugees; the pensions are much too low - one can't make both ends meet with 108 DM and three children; relief and pensions are not sufficient; nobody cares for us - we are just tied to the camp and wait; lack of support, the refugees lost everything and have to make a new start; etc.

4

No equal rights, compared with the natives:

They have no rights; to get equal rights in material and social respects; as an expellee one is always unwelcome and considered a second-class human being; as an expellee, one can't come to an understanding with the natives - they don't like us and regard us as intruders; etc.

4

No consideration of professions in settling the refugees:

To practice one's profession; the refugees are settled without consideration of their professional situation - skilled laborers, urgently needed in other countries, are not utilized; that the old people aren't accepted for jobs; etc.

2

Separation of family:

Many people are separated - it would be helpful if people could be united; that the wives could live with their husbands and wouldn't be separated any more; that so many of the expellees' relatives are taken away and nobody knows where they are; etc.

1

Emigration:

Plans in regard to emigration; many refugees want to emigrate, but they can't because the other countries don't want to accept them; to get accustomed to the new land, the natives don't like us; that we are forced to live anywhere and don't have the chance of choosing our own new homeland; etc.

1

Others:

The zonal borders; difficulties about fuel, not enough coal; there are too many things lacking, therefore one can't name any specific thing; what shall I say - I don't know myself - we can't return to our homeland, and besides I don't want to go there as long as those other people live there; we don't agree, so we can't achieve anything and carry out our wishes; etc.

2

No opinion / No answer:

3
129%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

HALF URGE IMPROVEMENT IN LIVING CONDITIONS ...

Asked to suggest changes in the camp conditions, housing and related problems again come to the fore. Half (49%) cite improvements which they think could profitably be made in living quarters. Of these, more than half (26%) are concerned with congested living arrangements - pressing for more private living space, and another 23 per cent urge repair of construction deficiencies and improvements in sanitary facilities.

"Have you any suggestion to make concerning a change of conditions within this camp?"

Improvement of living conditions: (more secluded apartments, subdivision of rooms, more space for storage and cellar, etc.)

Separate entrances for each family or for two families in the barracks, protection against the winter cold; everybody should have his own entrance, the long hallways are not very nice, there are so many people trampling up and down; to create more living space; to give people more space, then there won't be so many quarrels; more than one room for one family, more peace in the camp, too much noise; put an end to the practice of having several families share a room; after 6 years everybody should at least have a room of his own; we would be satisfied if every family had a room of its own; there should be better conditions in this camp; there are too many people living in each room; the crowded conditions should be eliminated; the camp should be enlarged so that every family would get two rooms; they should give secluded apartments to families with many children and also keep old people separately; it's difficult to change anything here because of the lack of space; above all each family should have its own apartment, many marriages were ruined for that reason, etc.

Repair of the construction deficiencies of the quarters;

The barracks have to be repaired, it is too damp here; the barracks ought to be painted to make them look pleasanter; the barracks are not weatherproof; many roofs are broken and it rains on our heads; the walls should be repaired; they should make the barracks a bit more comfortable and not just let them decay; there is a lot of repair to do, the wind blows in everywhere; the rotten barracks should be torn down; etc.

No complaints - they do as much as possible:

What shall I say, that is very difficult, they do all they can; the camp is quite alright, nothing to find fault with; no, everything is normal here; no, lavatories etc. are all right now; no, everything possible has been done here; I like it here; not at all, I am happy that I finally got these quarters; no suggestion, quite satisfied; no, slowly but surely these accommodations have become fit for human beings; I am satisfied here; I am so happy not to live with 26 people in a single room any longer; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

Improvement of sanitary and hygienic facilities:

WC does not work; better supply of water; laundries should be repaired and painted; no laundries; the lavatories should be enlarged; to furnish the apartments with water pipes, they just have to be connected so that we need not carry the water any longer; improvement of sanitary facilities, especially for the children; better sanitary facilities; new water pipes, there is only one water tap, toilets are 100 meters away and have no water; improvement of laundries and lavatories; extermination of the vermin; to install more sinks; we have only one water tap for the whole camp; the plague of those bugs should stop, etc.

Better administration of the camp:

Too much shenanigan in the administration, no qualified personnel; they could save more personnel, we don't need so many policemen for guarding; better administration, they let everything fall apart and don't do a thing about it; to form a committee which will execute and supervise all regulations; a change of personnel in the administration - camp superintendent should also be a refugee; rooms should be allocated in a just manner; there is too much red tape in the treatment, more social understanding is needed; they should pay more attention to quiet and order; etc.

Camp life is no life - construction of other quarters - out of the camp:

You should be put up better, camp life is no life; the best change would be to tear down the camp; what shall I propose, the camp is all right but we should get out of here some day; no, I only want to get out of here and live in the city as before; no, we want to be back home, the camp should be dissolved; people should get out sooner; many people would like to live again with their relatives, if they would let them there would be much more space in the camp and many would have better accommodations; the barracks should disappear and a housing project of good stone houses should be constructed instead; nothing, except that they should build other living accommodations; to create secluded apartments, living conditions are too dense; the bunkers should be blown up and new houses built; there is nothing to be done, we want living quarters; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

- 4 -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

No changes or improvements possible:

They have tried everything to repair these barracks but it is useless, you can't change barracks into a palace; nothing could be changed here, it was a factory and will be a factory again; you can't improve anything here, it was too rotten already; changes are not worthwhile here, because it would be too expensive, it is more advisable to invest the money in a better way; you can't improve anything, the camp is always so crowded that they can't get to repairs; no, it is too late for making changes; you can't make an improvement anyway; nothing, they won't do anything; etc.

Other:

They should install a laundry and a sewing room in the camp, also accept knitting jobs and in this way keep those women busy who are sitting around doing nothing, they could also make some money with it; there should be more agricultural buildings and land; the gypsies should disappear, they steal everything; we are satisfied, but camp life is no good for children; they see too much that has a bad influence on them, e.g. there is a prison camp in the vicinity; etc.

No - don't know:

N9, have no point of view; my job kept me too busy all the time; I wouldn't know anything; etc.

30

112%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

LARGE MINORITY BELIEVES LIFE OUTSIDE CAMP WOULD NOT BE BETTER ...

Despite the fact that these refugees find so much that could be improved about conditions of camp life, only about half (53%) are of the opinion that leaving the camp would improve their situation. As many as 44 per cent take the negative view.

"Do you think that by and large your present situation would improve if you moved out of the camp?"

Yes, in what respect?	53%
No	44
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

Those who foresee a change for the better if they leave the camps, base their optimism primarily on the anticipated amelioration in housing conditions (24%) and on increased possibilities for jobs and professional training (18%).

If "Yes, in what respect?":

In regard to housing (better, and more living space):

In regard to housing; I used to live more warmly and less expensively - the life in a camp isn't good; we would have much more space; we would have much more convenience in an apartment; we would have better housing; I could live again like a human being; the barracks are in disrepair, one is safer in a stone-built house; I hope to get a decent apartment; better living quarters; that we wouldn't be so cramped together as we are here; even if I had to pay a higher rent, I would be alone then; then one could live all by oneself; it is certainly better to live in an apartment than to live in a camp; etc.

24%

More opportunities for working and making a living, and for getting professional training:

I could get a job I like and could earn more money; I have to, and want to, go on learning, that's impossible as long as I am living in a camp; one would have an opportunity to earn more money; I would more easily find a job; one could practice one's profession; because of the working opportunities, there is no industry here, we could more easily find work in a town; I am a tailor and would have more to do if I lived in a better area; because we would have our own farm again; perhaps we would get some land on lease so I could make a living for my family; as a businessman I can't exist here; we would improve financially; I live twenty kilometers from my place of employment; my daughter would save 15 DM on fare a month, as she has to commute to her place of employment; perhaps my husband would have a shorter distance to his work; the camp is too remote from the working place; I could save time and money if I lived closer to Hamburg; etc.

18

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Would have more freedom, calm and pleasure in life:

One could finally feel at ease and needn't let everybody look into one's pots; one would feel more at home if one didn't have to live in a barracks, life would be much easier and more normal. if I had a good job; because here everything is desolate and dull; we would again have a goal, life in barracks is just life in barracks, one could finally live one's own life - in the camp, the people watch each other, one is ill at ease; one would have more calm; one would have calm and order; etc.

8%

In regard to health and hygiene:

In regard to health; in regard to health - this barracks is hot in summer and cold in winter, the room is damp; people are getting ill here on account of the cold; would go to a drier place; better sanitary facilities; I would live more healthily - the children would have better surroundings, the women would have water in the living quarters; etc.

6

Better family life and better care for the children:

Family life would be improved, also the upbringing of the children, then we would have a good family life; because of the children, they should get out of this environment and be educated correctly; the camp is not a good place for the children's morals because too many people are cramped there; my children are becoming completely spoiled with respect to their morals; the children would be better off; etc.

4

Others:

There are too many "Volksdeutsche" here whom we can't understand very well as Germans; I could get married more easily as there is no opportunity as long as I live in a camp; we would eventually be regarded as officials again; my husband is an official of the Ministry of Justice and therefore we are able to buy some things; I would like to go to Bremen, my daughter has a job there; we have many relatives abroad; I could move to my husband; etc.

2
62%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The four in ten who choose camp life over the outside are mainly discouraged by the economic hazards which they fear would confront them should they leave camp. Housing shortage and rents, financial difficulties; age or illness constitute problems, in their opinion, which preclude the change. Only two per cent say they actually prefer camp life.

"Do you think that by and large your present situation would improve if you moved out of the camp?"

If "No": "Why not?"

Lack of money - on the whole we live less expensively here - we have no money to pay for a move:

Because I am not in a position to pay for it; lack of money - my rent is very low; it all depends - yes, if one earns enough - not at the present income; it would always be the same in any other camp, and outside of a camp, we wouldn't have enough money; because a reasonable apartment would cost too much; because living cost is too high and I don't have ample means to afford a decent apartment; I wouldn't have any of my own furniture since all the furnishing belongs to the camp; because I have no money to buy anything; since I have no job things wouldn't change; lack of money because of unemployment - a lot of money would have to be spent for the rent - besides I couldn't pay for my food; because I have no apartment and no income, my son had been unemployed, now he has a job - under these circumstances it's better to live in a camp; because I am unemployed; etc.

19%

Expense and shortage of housing:

The rents are too high; because privately owned apartments are much too expensive; because I wouldn't be in a position to pay a high rent at some other place; because we can't afford to pay for an apartment; where should I go? - my pension isn't high enough to be able to pay the rent of a newly built house; the rent would be higher then; here I am paying a very low rent; because the community has no living space; through it my circumstances wouldn't improve a bit - I prefer living in a barrack rather than in a bad apartment; because refugees in Western Germany have poor apartments; etc.

12

Too old, ill, incapable of working or tied to the camp through jobs or relatives:

I am already too old and I am ill - who is going to accept me for a job?; I have to stay in the camp as long as my husband is sick and can't earn any money; I am paralyzed; one is too old; I would not know where to go, I am too old; my husband is over 60 years and severely disabled; I am unable to work - rent and food for four persons would be too expensive outside of the camp; I have had tuberculosis and couldn't get along financially outside of the camp, here I live very cheaply; I am only partly able to work and it would be hard for me to find a job, I have a job in the camp; here I have a job; I have my relatives living here who support me; because I am a pensioner and can't work anymore, etc.;

8

Life in camp is good:

Because we are completely satisfied; besides we can raise chicken here; I live conveniently here and get all I want; because I have only a small income, furthermore I like to be in the camp, I also have some land to cultivate; here everything is built especially for us; etc.

2

Disagreement with the natives:

I can live more freely here, outside of the camp I would be treated as a refugee; the natives here are not easy people to deal with, they always raise difficulties, because nobody wants us; because my boys can stroll about better in the camp - one doesn't feel like a tenant; I live orderly and independently; etc.

2

Others:

Because my husband can't find an appropriate job; it's the same everywhere, one can't count on anything; then we would just be transferred into another camp; etc.

3
46%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MOST SAY THEY WOULD LEAVE CAMPS IF THEY COULD ...

Two out of three among the respondents say they want to leave camps; even some of those who have misgivings about life outside camp are apparently prepared to take the risk. As many as three in ten, however, would not leave, even if they could.

"Would you like to move out of the camp within this year?"

Yes	68%
No	31
No answer	1
	100%

BUT LESS THAN HALF HAVE ATTEMPTED TO MOVE OUT ...

That the above is only an expression of preference, however, is apparent in the fact that less than half (41%) have ever made any active effort to move.

"Have you ever tried to move out of this camp?"

Yes, and what foiled your efforts?	41%
No, and why haven't you tried?	59
	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

ECONOMIC HAZARDS GREATEST DISCOURAGEMENT ...

Of the several reasons given for not having tried to move, the most prominent are economic - lack of funds necessary for independent living, prohibitive rents, shortage of housing, and so on.

"Have you ever tried to move out of this camp?"

If "No," "And why haven't you tried?"

Not enough money:

My economic situation is not yet secure; I haven't yet got the funds; that would be too expensive; I do not earn enough; I intend to earn some money helping out in the kitchen here and then look for employment outside the camp, for this purpose I need money; because anywhere else I couldn't manage with the small pension I get; I am a war widow and don't have any money; I lacked adequate funds to start a new life somewhere else; we have no furniture, we have to get it first piece by piece; can't pay the rent - I first have to get furniture to replace the boxes we have; we have to acquire furniture first, etc.

17%

Housing shortage and exorbitant rents:

There is no prospect of getting an apartment of our own; it's quite useless, housing is too scarce; we wouldn't get an apartment anyway; people always say we won't get permission to set up residence in some other part of the country; considering what I earn now, rents are too expensive; living in this camp is the cheapest way of living for me; the newly constructed apartments are much too expensive for me - you pay 30 DM monthly for rent; cheap rents in camp; etc.

14

(Cont'd on the next page)

Local employment - life in camp is easier and cheaper:

I've always had a job and have never been hard up; at any other place life probably would be still harder for me; everything is all right here and we live together peacefully; life is easier for me here; we can make ends meet here; life on a farm is much harder; I feel at home here and going to some other place I would have had to start all over again; we want to start a business here, to open a butcher's shop; to live here is the best solution for me since I can work as a nurse here, too; it's cheap here; my husband works for the US Army; I work here; I work as a trainee here; etc.

10%

No chance to get out of the camp:

I have no chance to go anywhere else; we would not have found any place to go; I don't know where to go; did not have any chance; because it's useless, where should we go; they probably won't consider me; because up till now there was no chance; it's quite hopeless, anyway; I was quite sure that somewhere else conditions would not be favorable either; etc.

8

Ties to camp through relatives and fellow-countrymen:

My husband is missing, alone life is more agreeable living with people from my home country; I did not want to be separated from my parents; my husband had been living alone for a long time and I only joined him later; my wife does not want to be separated from her parents; because all residents here are refugees, who are just as poor; I don't want to be alone; because my wife, whose home-town this is, wants to stay here; my daughter works as an apprentice here and I don't want to interrupt her training by moving from here; our children live here and we are decently accommodated; etc.

5

No interest, no reason:

Lack of interest; because I don't want to; there is no reason; no interest; as I work for the Federal Railways (Bundesbahn) my employers will provide an apartment for me; etc.

3

Too old or ill:

I am an invalid and therefore would be unable to get started somewhere else; here, I can make ends meet best; we are old and have no money, outside of the camp we would starve; we are too old for that; I'm not quite fit and could move only if I could find suitable employment; it's too difficult for two women completely on their own; we wouldn't know where to go, we are old; etc.

2

In camp for a short period only:

I have been here only a short time; we didn't move to this camp until May 1951, before that we lived in furnished quarters; I have been here for only a short time and we were told we would stay here only a limited period of time; I don't know what they have in mind regarding me, we have been here for too short a time, etc.

1

Others:

People don't like to take in families with many children; I was married only recently, therefore we need a lot of things; personal reasons decided me; etc.

2

62%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

THOSE WHO HAVE TRIED WERE BARRED BY FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES ...

The efforts of those who have tried in vain to move were balked in many cases by the same problems which discouraged the others from the start: housing shortage, unemployment, lack of money, etc. But a total of 15% say they are only waiting for their requests to be processed by their applications approved by the authorities, or that their applications have been rejected.

"Have you ever tried to move out of this camp?"

If "Yes": "And what foiled your efforts?"

Because of the housing problem:

Because of lack of housing; this territory is "Notstandesgebiet" and nothing is built here - the railroad doesn't provide housing for its pensioners; my husband works for the railroad and the new housing project has not been completed yet; there is no housing; it was impossible to find anything for my family because we are seven persons; the housing office was not able to provide me with housing - it was just useless running around for me; because of the general housing shortage; we had a chance to get a cheap apartment but then nothing came of it; we haven't got our citizen papers here yet - I could get an apartment with a doctor's certificate - but without the citizen papers I can't get an apartment; because of no room; I didn't apply early enough for the vacant apartment and somebody else got it; we are to get an apartment through the Tramway Co.; I haven't come to my turn yet at the housing office; etc.

No answer to application for move by the authorities, or rejection of application:

We applied for the new housing settlement and have to wait for our turn now; the housing office told me in answer to my application that I should wait for further news; the commission apparently hasn't processed my case yet (application made); I applied for settlement, but apparently things haven't worked out yet; I applied for settlement in 1949 but haven't had an answer yet to my application; we haven't received an answer yet from the refugee director; because of the authorities; the authorities don't answer; I applied for re-settlement in Rheinland-Pfalz, but it was rejected because my fiancée has tuberculosis; etc.

Lack of money:

Because I have no money; I wanted to get an apartment through exchange but that failed because of my financial position; now we lack the money; because of the money shortage; because we can't afford it; government funds are lacking; etc.

Efforts did not fail - good chances for moving out:

Our application for re-settlement has been approved - we are just waiting for transportation; it's still being processed - I bought myself a little weekend cottage - I just have to enlarge it; my efforts haven't failed - the re-settlement commission promised me a farm as soon as there is a vacancy; etc.

Other people got preference:

They took somebody else instead of us; the job and the apartment connected with it was filled by somebody else; they always take people who applied for it earlier - those who have a job somewhere are given preference too; because they give preference to families with children; because the refugee commissions are anything but impartial; etc.

Dislike of refugees by natives:

Nobody wants us; I wanted to change, but the landlord won't take anybody from the camp; several times, but the natives protested against it; etc.

Other reasons:

My wife was very ill, and I wanted to stand by her here; because the present tenant of the farm we wanted to buy won't move - he filed a law suit against us; etc.

R E S T R I C T E D

MANY SEE NO HELP FROM OUTSIDE ...

Corroborating the indications that many of the camp refugees feel they are foreseen by the outside world is the fact that as many as 42 per cent of all the respondents claim they have never been helped by any relief or welfare organizations and, in many cases, have not even heard of such groups. Asked what organizations give the greatest aid to camp refugees, those who cite any groups mention, first, church organizations - both Catholic and Protestant - and follow with mention of the Red Cross, refugee organizations, and various foreign groups (notably Swedish).

"In your opinion, which relief and welfare organizations do most for the expellees living in camps?"

Caritas and other Catholic welfare organizations:

Caritas; I haven't noticed much of it - little things from the Caritas, but they are just alms; the Caritas organizations; Caritas - but only for Catholics; Catholic Church; Catholic organizations; etc.

19%

Protestant Welfare Organization and other Protestant welfare agencies:

The Protestant Welfare Organization (Evangelisches Hilfswerk); the Protestant Mother Service; the Inner Mission (Innere Mission); the Lutheran World Council; the Protestant World Church Association; Protestant Church; etc.

16

From Sweden:

Things are coming in from Sweden; Swedish gifts; help by Sweden; the Swedish Protestant Welfare Organization; the Swedish Church who came here to the camp and donated things; the Swedish Red Cross; etc.

15

German Red Cross:

The German Red Cross; etc.

12

Foreign organizations (outside of America):

Foreign organizations; the Red Cross from abroad; there were a lot of donations from abroad - I don't know though from which organizations; we got an English donation once - I don't know from which organization though; Swiss Mission; Swiss Red Cross; the Red Cross from the IRO; UNRRA; YMCA; etc.

7

From America:

I don't know - packages from America have come; the American Red Cross; the Quakers; American welfare organizations; etc.

4

Workers welfare:

Workers welfare; etc.

4

Other German organizations or authorities:

We got something from the Welfare; the schools of Hannover and the Churches; only from private sources or from the government; the community helped us once - otherwise nobody; etc.

3

Refugee organizations:

Don't know - got something from the Compatriots Organization; the BDH; etc.

1

Don't know where they came from:

I don't know where these things - furniture, etc., - come from; we don't know the donor of the things that were distributed in the camp; I don't even know that - only once was something distributed in this camp; etc.

2

Never tried to get help don't know of any:

I don't know because I never noticed such activity; I can't judge that, since I haven't concerned myself with it and never got anything either; nobody does anything for us; I can't judge - we haven't got anything since 1947; I don't know enough about them - I personally never got any help; I don't know that - we never got anything from anybody; none - we don't get anything; don't know - nobody ever helped us; etc.

42
126%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AND WHAT HELP IS GIVEN IS CONSIDERED INADEQUATE ...

But even though many such organizations are known, satisfaction with the aid they offer is limited. As many (36%) are dissatisfied as satisfied (36%) and almost three in ten (28%) express no opinion as to whether or not help is adequate.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the relief and welfare organizations do for expellees living in camps?"

Satisfied	36%
Dissatisfied	36
No opinion	28
	<u>100%</u>

Dissatisfaction is based largely on the claim that the organizations have given nothing at all to the refugees, or that distribution of aid is unjust and administered corruptly.

If "Dissatisfied:" "For what reasons are you dissatisfied?"

We never received anything - the welfare organizations don't help at all:

I never got anything; I haven't noticed any of it; one never got anything - one always had to rely on self-help; they all make a lot of fuss, but none of them does anything; they talk but they don't help; nothing was ever done; in this camp no organization ever did anything; nobody shows up any more. they say you don't have to worry - you are in a camp; because one expects the other to help; because they only take money but don't give anything; nobody cares about us; my wife was sick for half a year and nobody helped us; they just smear honey around our mouths - but I haven't seen any help yet; I really need something but I've never gotten anything, etc.

16%

Distribution is unfair - group preference:

When there are donations, only those who know how get something - others are not considered; because rarely anybody gets anything who really needs it; only those who go to church a lot get something; I have the impression that only the Catholics help each other; nobody took a real interest - if something was there it was disposed of in another way; unfair distribution - only when my child contracted TB did I get some clothes; because the things are unjustly distributed - I heard that in the camp; the camp committee gets the most & whoever screams the loudest gets the most; because always the same people get things; etc.

11

They don't help enough:

We got something once over a period of five years (one coat); we need a lot, because my husband has been unemployed for a year; more could be done - there are so many TB patients who contracted it due to the conditions here; everything is too little - except for one gift from America we haven't noticed anything; because they don't help us enough - they mostly reject our applications; etc.

5

The people most in need (certain groups) among the expellees are ignored:

Single persons are always overlooked at the distributions; they could help more - especially those with many children; because we war widows get little support; recently the unemployed and the old people haven't received any help; I am working and therefore I don't get anything; many of the unemployed don't even have anything to eat - they should receive help; etc.

2

Because we only get used things:

Because we only get used clothing which is in poor shape; I can't understand the distribution - we get too many old things which we have anyway; because they only give old unwearable things (especially Caritas); etc.

1

Other opinions:

Because there are too many people in need; they go through the rooms and see what the people have bought for themselves; etc.

1
36%

RESTRICTED

MANY BLAME UNEMPLOYMENT ON DISCRIMINATION ...

As is well known, the influx of the refugees from the East has aggravated the unemployment problem in West Germany. In the present study, 22 per cent of the camp refugees revealed themselves as unemployed, that is, as able to work and unsuccessfully seeking jobs. To measure the attitudes of the camp refugees in general and the unemployed in particular to the problem, the series of questions reported below was asked..

Questioned about the causes of the widespread unemployment among their number, the largest single group of refugees (29%) spontaneously point to the alleged discriminatory policy of employers vis-a-vis natives and refugees. Others cite the disproportionate massing of refugees in certain areas, the over-population of the country and the general economic situation in Western Germany.

"In your opinion, what is the main reason for the fact that many expelles are unemployed?"

Preference is shown natives in employment:

The natives have their own acquaintances - they get their friends and relatives to help them in all matters; because the natives stick together and help each other; because they have no friends who help them to find jobs; we lack connections with the proper offices; the refugees lack the connections the natives have; the labor office sometimes neglects the refugees; they are always rejected, the others always get jobs; the employers are natives and prefer their compatriots, the industrial plants always hire natives through their stock personnel; the business concerns prefer hiring natives; the natives prefer employing their own people rather than refugees; etc.

29%

West Germany is over-populated - refugees are concentrated in certain regions:

West Germany is over-populated; because too many people are living in Germany; because West Germany is just over-burdened by refugees; Germany plainly is not able to place all refugees; because there are too many people living in Germany compared to its reduced size; because there are too many people in Germany and there are not enough jobs for them; too many refugees are at one place; lack of jobs through concentration of refugees in some areas; etc.

20

Lack of industrial plants, especially in the country, where many refugees are living:

The bulk of the camps are in rural areas; lack of industries; because the indigenous industry has its regular customers - not enough jobs; there's no opportunity to work, at best in summer for harvesting, but lack of jobs everywhere; lack of plants, and lack of opportunities to run a farm; because the camps are too remote from all places of employment; lack of jobs, for instance in the Upper Palatinate industrial plants are lacking; the settling of the refugees has not been made in line with opportunities of work; etc.

17

Difficult economic situation and general unemployment in West Germany:

The general difficult economic situation is to blame for it; the government has no money; the plants lack money to work at full capacity; because the government lacks money, many houses were to be rebuilt, but they have no money; dismantling and lack of raw materials for producing goods; the plants haven't enough materials; general difficulty for the industrial plants to sell their goods; etc.

17

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RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

Age, lack of training or inability to adjust precludes employment:

Because the camp is always a drag to us, nobody wants to take us because the employers think we would only work for a short time and would leave the camp anyway; most of them are farmers, there aren't enough skilled laborers; the labor office takes only a few of us because we are mostly farmers; older people have a hard time to get jobs because the indigenous plants don't like to hire older people; because the refugees have no commendations and can't prove their skills; because many of them have no professional training, or have a profession they can't practice here; we haven't adjusted; because many of them can't adjust to the conditions of this country, for instance, if they had a big plant themselves at home; etc.

5%

The refugees themselves are to blame (they shun work, prefer to live on relief, have no spirit of enterprise):

The refugees themselves are to blame; they have no spirit of enterprise and no great will to work - they went through too hard experiences; many of them don't like to work; many of them don't want to work because they are lazy - many want to work but can't get jobs; many of them don't want to accept just any job; many of them don't work in order not to have to pay for their allowances in the camp, they try to get unregistered work in order not to have to pay any taxes; most of them don't want to work because they are able to make a living on relief; etc.

4

Others:

I don't blame anybody, it was meant to be that way; I hope to get a job with my old firm again; I don't know whose fault it is, if the expelled could get jobs, things would greatly improve; the political situation; etc.

5

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{13}{110\%}$$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

HALF THINK PREFERENCE IS GIVEN TO NATIVE GERMANS ...

The discriminatory practice of local employers towards refugees and natives mentioned before is again alleged in response to a more direct question. Although a large minority (36%) believe no distinction is made, almost half (48%) think preference is given to natives in employment, and practically none (2%) have the impression that refugees are preferred.

"Do you have the impression that most local employers prefer to employ natives, or expelled, or do they make no distinction between them?"

Natives	48%
Expellees	2
No distinction	36
No opinion	14
	<u>100%</u>

MANY ABLE TO WORK NEVER OFFERED JOBS ...

Of the 22 per cent unemployed at the time of the survey, the largest proportion (15%) claim they have never been offered a job by the employment office. Of the remainder, 3 per cent have been offered a job only once, while a similar number have had several job offers.

"Have you been offered a job by the employment office since you have been unemployed?"

(If "Yes": "Once or several times?")

(If "No": "Are you registered with the employment office?")*

Yes, once	3%
Yes, several times	3
No, no offer	15
No answer	1
	22%

The few refugees who were offered jobs but were unable to take them found either that the job was filled in the interim (1%), that it was only temporary (1%), or that it was unsuitable with respect to wages, place, or nature of the work (2%), or other factors (2%).

*Almost all of those who have never been offered jobs state that they are registered at the employment office.

PREPONDERANCE OF UNEMPLOYED WOULD TAKE ANY JOB ...

By a ratio of two to one, the unemployed state they would take any job offered them - regardless of its nature - rather than wait for a more suitable one to present itself. It should be noted, however, that this means that a third of the unemployed camp refugees still are in a mood to pick and choose jobs.

"Let us suppose you would be offered a job now - would you take the job no matter what it is, or would you wait for a more suitable offer?"

Would take the job	14%
Would wait	7
No answer	1
	22%

SEE GREATER OPPORTUNITIES ELSEWHERE, PARTICULARLY IN THE RUHR ...

To most of the unemployed, the pastures on the other side are greener than at home. Sixteen per cent are of the opinion that they would have better job chances in other parts of West Germany. Mainly they look to the industrialized Ruhr region as the best job market.

"Do you think that you would have more opportunities for work in other parts of West Germany or not?"

Yes,	16%
No	4
No opinion	3
	23%

If "Yes": "Where would that be?"

North Rhine-Westphalia, Ruhr area, Rhineland	10%
---	-----

US Zone (Bavaria, Wuerttemberg- Baden, Hesse, etc.)	3
--	---

Other British Zone (Lower Saxony, Bremen, Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein)	1
---	---

French Zone (Baden, Rhineland -- Palatinate)	1
---	---

No specific mention of regions	1
	16%

R E S T R I C T E D

BUT MANY BARRIERS SEEN IN WAY OF MOVE ...

But moving is more easily said than done for the camp refugees who see better prospects elsewhere. The usual barriers are again held responsible - lack of housing and jobs, and increased expenses foreseen in a resettlement. A few say they have applied for re-settlement but have not yet been granted permission by the authorities to move.

"For what reasons have you not decided yet to move to a place where you would have opportunities for (work?"
(Asked of those who say job opportunities better elsewhere)

For family or personal reasons:

Both my sons are undergoing their apprentice training here and that shouldn't be interrupted; because my daughter is an apprentice here; my husband has work here; my family is here; I don't want to part with my acquaintances here; one would be a stranger somewhere else and I have a child; because the whole family would be separated then - four of my children have jobs here; my wife is from here; because I can't do heavy work and I won't get anything else as a refugee; where should I move to? - I can't start a farm with nothing - I would prefer to go back to my home; etc.

Economic reasons - lack of money for moving, job hunting, added household expenses:

Because I have no money; especially the money needed to go there; because we didn't have the necessary money for the move; because I can't afford to stay there for a period of time to hunt a job; life is so expensive if one is alone; I would have to pay for two households and the intermittent period is financially not feasible for me; etc.

Lack of housing:

It would have failed because we wouldn't have found a place to stay; I can't find an apartment there; I can't find an apartment for my family; it has not been possible so far because of lack of apartments; etc.

No official approval of application - permission for resettlement not granted yet:

I haven't received a notification for resettlement yet; my application for resettlement has been in progress for some time; we can't get out of here - we've been waiting for resettlement for two years now; how could I do it - I could only apply for resettlement; I handed in my application a long time ago, but nothing has come of it so far; because without permission for resettlement we can't get out of the camp; etc.

Other reasons:

The move is in progress; I was in Westphalia a year ago, but I got sick; we prefer to emigrate; because I still hope that I can rebuild my farm at home; my wife has been sick for seven years and I couldn't leave her alone, I haven't been unemployed very long and I am trying to find work here; etc.

R E S T R I C T E D

IN GENERAL, ADJUSTMENT OF NON-CAMP REFUGEES TO GERMAN LIFE CONSIDERED SATISFACTORY ...

Finally, it would appear that the reluctance of many of this hard-core group to leave the camps - despite the inconveniences and congestion of which they complain - does not largely derive from the example given them by fellow-refugees who have made the break. On the contrary, the preponderant opinion of the camp refugees is that their fellow-refugees outside the camps have adjusted, at least satisfactorily, to their new lives. Three in ten estimate the adjustment as satisfactory, and two in ten as good. But a not insignificant minority (18%) assess their adaptation as poor, and three per cent go so far as to say they have not made any adjustment at all.

"As far as you can judge, how have most expellees - who do not live in camps - adjusted themselves here: well, satisfactorily, not well, or not at all?"

Well	21%
Satisfactorily	29
Not well	18
Not at all	3
No opinion	29
	<u>100%</u>

Again, the most formidable barrier to refugee assimilation is seen in the native attitude of resentment and discrimination toward refugees. Half (10%) of those camp respondents who assess adjustment as poor or negligible (21%) cite this as the major cause of non-assimilation, a quarter (5%) point to the difficulties in housing accommodations, and a few (2%) see the economic problem as serious to the extent of precluding adjustment. It is perhaps noteworthy that only two per cent place the responsibility for poor adjustment on the possibility that the refugees themselves, anxious only to return to their homelands, make little effort to adjust to their new, enforced environment.

If "Not well, or not at all": "What do you think are the reasons for that?"

The attitudes of old residents leads to serious friction:

Refugees are considered by old residents to be second-class people; because everybody wants to be independent, those who live with peasant families often feel that they are just refugees; not all of them are considered to be equals, furthermore, they used to live under more favorable conditions in their home territories; today they aren't giving orders any more but are receiving them; because peasants keep refugees under constant pressure, they don't allow them to leave the house at night; those living with old residents can't do a thing without being bawled out; because they regard us as run-down gypsies; it's pretty hard living with a peasant family, they are stingy and envious; old residents are too stolid; because old residents consider them to be a burden, and are spiteful; dislike on the part of old residents, because they are afraid refugees will crowd them out of housing space; they don't have the same rights as old residents; etc.

10%

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R E S T R I C T E D

Inadequate housing:

Scarce living space; forcing tenants to share apartments with refugees; because as sub-tenants they are in some cases subject to the whims of householders, in such cases they prefer to live in a camp with people from their home countries, having one room for themselves; because most of them are sub-tenants, a set-up which usually leads to friction; scarcity of housing space; everybody complains about inadequate housing conditions; some refugees even returned to the camp; people give them a hard time, they refuse, for instance, to live with them; completely inadequate housing conditions make it impossible for refugees to settle down; etc

5%

Economic strain (lack of funds, loss of property, etc.):

Because everything is too expensive, with the little money they have they can't live, because they have to start all over again; the cost of living is too high, therefore you can't settle down, because the money is lacking; in camp it's easier to make ends meet, you have a better chance to get something, while people living outside of the camp have to beg for everything; because they were never considered when gifts were distributed or some other kind of help was offered; etc.

2

They cannot and don't want to forget their home countries:

Because in their minds they are always back in their home countries which were taken away from them by force; most of them want to go back home, for there's nothing like your home country; because you don't feel you belong anywhere, none of them can forget his home country; they all want to go back home; time has been too short to settle down, most of them don't want to, either; they are too rootless, they haven't been able to gain a firm footing so far; etc.

2

Differences between old residents and refugees (general):

Differences are too accentuated; differences between old residents and refugees; drastic social differences; etc.

2

Others:

Because refugees, too, want to gain independence; because life in camp is less hampered; no consideration is taken regarding distribution of city dwellers and rural population, they have to take up residence just where they are ordered to, therefore they will never be able to really settle down; because they have no chance to associate with people of their own social order; etc.

 $\frac{3}{23\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REFUGEES PREFER "THEIR OWN KIND" ...

Added evidence of the problem of assimilation of refugees into German life - aside from reluctance of many of them to give up the relative security of camp life - is found in the expressed desire of many of them to remain remote from native Germans. Asked to state their position on a number of situations of daily life which could involve either natives or refugees, a large minority - and in some cases a majority - indicate preference for refugee relation. In other words, the indications are that considerable proportions of this hard-core group do not wish to be assimilated into German life. Although on some questions - notably marriage of a member of the family - as many as 72 per cent would have no preference for either group, 25 per cent say they would either insist or prefer that marriage be with another refugee. On the question of housing more than half (52%) would seek refugees to share living space, with two in ten saying they would refuse to live with natives. And although discrimination is less severe in other relationships, substantial minorities would either prefer or feel they must associate with their own group rather than mixing with the native population.

"Here we have some examples from daily life where expellees and natives come in contact with each other. Please place yourself in each of the respective situations and then name the alternative which comes closest to your own attitude." (Following alternatives were presented to respondents on a card):

- 1. Must be an expellee
- 2. Would prefer expellee, but wouldn't mind native
- 3. Must be a native
- 4. Would prefer native, but wouldn't mind expellee

	EXPELLEE			NATIVE		
	Must	Pre-fer	No differ-ence	Pre-fer	Must	No opinion
a. With whom would you prefer to work?	10%	24%	62%	2%	4%	2%...100%
b. With whom would you prefer to share an apartment?	20	32	43	2	*	3
c. From which store-owner would you prefer to buy?	13	22	62	2	*	1
d. Whom would you prefer to have as a friend?	18	24	56	1	*	1
e. Whom should a member of your family marry?	11	13	72	1	*	3
f. Whom would you prefer to have as a teacher for your children (if you have children)?	16	24	55	1	1	3

* Less than one half of one per cent

LARGE MINORITY FEAR UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THEIR CHILDREN ...

A further index of refugees' attitudes toward their chances for assimilation into the German scene is a question concerning the future of their children. Although half (48%) think the children of refugees will have opportunities equal to those of native German children, four in ten anticipate fewer opportunities for their children to make a place in their adopted land.

"Do you think that the children of expellees have the same opportunities to get ahead in life as the children of natives, or don't the children of expellees have the same opportunities?"

If "Not the same": "Are they better or worse?")

The same	48%
Better	1
Worse	40
No opinion	11
	<u>100%</u>

The complaint that refugees are discriminated against by the native population again comes to the fore in the reasons advanced for anticipating limited or unequal opportunities for refugee children. Two in ten believe that the stigma attached to the "intruders" will remain with their children and constitute an inevitable barrier to their quest for achievement. The second most prominent argument is that the refugees have less to start with financially than the natives, and therefore can offer their children fewer opportunities.

"For what reasons are the opportunities for children of expellees worse?"

Refugees are discriminated against - the natives have better connections and are given preference:

They will always carry the refugee stigma; because there are too many people here and one is always asked: refugee or native?; we are strangers here and nobody is concerned about us - nobody works for us; we will always be the foreigners; we don't get anywhere - no vacancies for apprentices - no work; because the children of the refugees will always carry the stigma of the intruders; because the others will always keep at a distance from the refugees - we are second class people for them - I can't explain any more; because the parents of the natives are informed about everything - they know each other and oppose the children of the refugees; they won't admit the refugee child to all the examinations because they want to get rid of us; they lack the connections and the relatives the natives have; because the natives have better connections and help each other; the natives stick together; etc.

19%

Because the refugees are not as well off financially:

We have no basis to start from; because the economic situation of the parents of the refugees is much worse; we lack the property and the money; the parents of the natives have everything and therefore more opportunities for their children; they don't have as much money and money is everything; the financial need of the parents makes it impossible for talented children to get a good education; because they lost everything and don't have the means at the moment to educate themselves any further; they go around now begging for work; they don't get any financial support - they can't get ahead; because the parents can't send their children to high school, for financial reasons - they also lack the clothes; because the refugees have to have means of existence first; etc.

14

(cont'd on next page)

The children of the refugees have disadvantages in education:

The children don't have as good a school - the teacher has 6-to 10-year -old children in one class; their schools aren't as good - the classrooms are smaller and poorly furnished; because the children have to attend the school at the camp, and then they have a poorer education in the East Zone anyway - besides there are only two classes daily at the camp school; the native schools don't accept the children as long as they live in the camp; etc.

3%

There are no suitable vacancies for apprentice training:

Most refugees live away from town - they have poor opportunities for job training; they can't get a place for apprentice training - all the girls get offers for work as housemaids; they can't learn a trade because there are no places for apprentice training; etc.

3

Because of lack of education:

Our children didn't go to school for several years - they are behind the natives; because the refugee children didn't have any schooling for four years; etc.

2

Other opinions:

The children of the refugees will all get TB because the refugees are so poor - those who are sick can't get ahead in life; the children of the natives haven't such good opportunities either; etc.

1

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{43\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

FEWER ANTICIPATE SOCIAL HARDSHIPS ...

But the future of refugee children with regard to the esteem they will be able to command is seen as somewhat brighter. ~~Close to six in ten~~ (57%) look forward to their children's being given the same esteem in their adopted country as their parents enjoyed in their native lands.

"In general, do you think that the children of expellees will as adults receive the same respect as their parents had in their homelands, or will the children of expellees receive more respect, or less?"

The same	57%
More	1
Less	21
No opinion	21
	<u>100%</u>

Nevertheless, a substantial minority (21%) expects the children to suffer from their refugee status. A frequent allegation (10%) is that the stigma attached to being a foreigner and refugee will not only be difficult to throw off, but will also effect their own self-esteem.

If "Less":

"What are the reasons for that in your opinion?"

The natives look down on us (consider us the intruders, second-class people, etc.):

They treat us as second-class East workers and that might have an effect on the children too; the gulf between refugees and natives is too great - we will always be treated as intruders; they consider the refugees third class people; because the refugees have a reputation of being low-down Prussians; because they consider us ragamuffins; they will always treat us as strangers; the children will remain foreigners - nobody will forget that; because the children will be judged by their parents - for instance "refugee child", "the parents were refugees"; we will always remain refugees; the children will be considered expellees, etc.

10%

We and the children are too poor - we have lost everything:

Because we no longer have the property we had at home; because we can't offer the children anything and they'll remain poor for the rest of their lives; possessions are the main factor in life and one's prestige depends on that; we don't have any prestige because we haven't anything any more and the same thing will happen to our children; because especially here in Holstein the people pay more attention to the size of the wallet than to the person; because at home we all owned something - here we are the poorest of the poor; because they don't have the support of the parents - a dowry for the girls from the parents, etc.; because we couldn't bring anything here and nobody believes that we had some property too; the refugee children will always remain poor; etc.

7

We lack the money for a better education:

Financial reasons - they can't have as good an education as their parents had, because the money and the fundamental education is lacking; we lack the means for an education - we will never reach that goal - the natives still have all their possessions; because the money for their education is not available - the children already have a bad start in life in school; etc.

2

We will never get any support - the natives discriminate against us:

Because even in the choice of employees and apprentices the natives are given preference; our children will never get anywhere - we have to stay behind in everything - we'll never reach our goal; we are poor and are always discriminated against - we get the lesser jobs; etc.

1

Other opinions:

The children can't learn enough - where should they be respected then?; because many of them will never get used to the life here; etc.

21%

R E S T R I C T E D

FRIENDSHIPS LARGELY CONFINED TO OTHER REFUGEES ...

The preference for non-assimilation with German life already indicated by many refugees, also appears to be carried into their actual everyday social relationships. Social isolation vis-a-vis native Germans characterizes many of this refugee group, which is probably to be expected of persons who have been living in camps for five or more years. Whatever social life they have appears to be confined largely to fellow refugees, and the large preponderance apparently takes no part at all in any organized social activities.

Two thirds (64%) say they have no friends among native Germans. As to relations with other refugees, almost a third confine their friendships to their fellow-countrymen, and as many as two in ten say they have no friendly relations with any refugees - despite the fact that they live in camps composed only of refugees.

"Do you have friendly relations with your fellow countrymen, or with other expellees?"

Yes, fellow countrymen	28%
Yes, other expellees	13
Yes, with both	38
No	21
	<u>100%</u>

"And do you have friendly relations with natives?"

Yes	36%
No	64
	<u>100%</u>

LARGE MINORITY DENIES PREPONDERANT VIEW THAT NATIVES AND REFUGEES ARE BASICALLY ALIKE AND COMPATIBLE ...

The preponderance, however, makes a verbal denial of exclusiveness or isolation vis-a-vis the native Germans when specifically queried on the point. Over half (55%) assert that there are no essential differences between the refugees and native Germans, aside from those arising from the economic situation, and as many (52%) state that the two groups get along well with each other. But large minorities take issue with the preponderance on these matters. Three in ten, on the average, claim both that there are essential differences between the natives and refugees, and that the two groups are not compatible.

"Do you think that in general there are noticeable differences between expellees and natives, outside of differences which are due to different economic conditions?"

Yes	28%
No	55
No opinion	17
	<u>100%</u>

"Do you have the impression that natives and expellees generally get along well with each other or not?"

Well	52%
Not well	32
No opinion	16
	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

MINORITY BLAMES NATIVES FOR DIFFICULT RELATIONS ..

The arguments advanced in behalf of the minority viewpoint again suggest the psychological hurdles to be overcome if this hard-core group is to be integrated into German society. Rightly or wrongly, all blame for the differences of conditions as well as of understanding is placed on the native Germans, whom they allege regard the refugees as intruders, second-class citizens, and potential competitors.

"Do you think that in general there are noticeable differences between expellees and natives - outside of differences which are due to different economic conditions?"

If "Yes": "Which?"

Negative traits of old residents,

Old residents are egotists, they are narrow-minded, they are quarrelsome; old residents are too smart and strong-headed, spiteful, quarrelsome; they aren't very agreeable, they don't want to part with anything; old residents are usually less friendly; we refugees are treated like enemies, the natives are suspicious and greedy; people here are narrow-minded; they judge us in an unfair way, they are spiteful; they resent our having anything, they even steal from us; they begrudge us anything we have as they claim we never owned anything; those people who kept all their property are really bad; old residents keep to themselves, they are unapproachable; the people of Swabia are more reserved than we Silesians; Northern Germans are not as hospitable as we are, they are not as open-minded, either; they give us a hard time whenever they can; etc.

The natives don't like us, they think of us as second-class people:

The expellee is never recognized as a fully capable and able citizen; old residents regard us as second-class people; the refugee is a second-class person, he is not fully respected; refugees aren't welcome anywhere; they don't accept us as equals, they bully us; old residents have too little respect for us; they know their way around, they don't think much of us; those people still have all their property, they regard us expellees as intruders, they treat us like lepers; they don't like us, they want to be rid of us; old residents say, you refugees just go back to where you came from; we are strangers here; the natives stick together against refugees; they are conceited and consider themselves superior to us; old residents believe we slept in coal-bins in former times; old residents are stuck-up; etc.

They don't show any understanding for us, they can't put themselves in a refugee's place: .

Natives have no understanding towards us; old residents are sort of stolid and have no understanding towards us; the spirit of brotherly love is lacking; they don't show any understanding for our situation; they have no understanding for us expellees, they have no compassion; old residents, especially in rural areas, have no understanding whatsoever for the situation of refugees; etc.

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RESTRICTED

Differences in customs and habits, different mentalities:

Every part of Germany is different in character; people here are different; they have an individuality of their own; differences in character and mentality; difference in the mental set-up; expellees want to preserve old customs and therefore get into conflict with old residents; etc.

2%

Old residents are given preference:

Old residents get better deals in every respect; at the factory they prefer old residents; apprentice jobs go to old residents; old residents are given preference everywhere; etc.

1

Difference in language:

As regards the language, I have a hard time understanding the dialect, in broadcasts, for instance, too; outward differences alone, and then differences in dialects; etc.

1

Others:

Old residents all tend to favor the Danish side; they are not as depressed by the mental strain as we are; they have more money; as a person having slipped down the social ladder you have inferiority complexes in regard to old residents; etc.

3

No comments:

2
28%

"Do you have the impression that natives and expellees generally get along well with each other or not?

If "Not well": "What are the reasons for that in your opinion?"

Natives consider refugees to be third-class people and intruders - they have no understanding for our situation:

Natives consider us to be second - or third class-people; we are regarded as criminals; because they abuse refugees, calling them rabble, tramps and all kinds of names; because old residents always refer to us as 50-kilogram-gypsies - they claim that if we had been decent people we would not have been expelled; in their eyes we are Russians; because old residents refer to us as beggars and gypsies; everywhere people show contempt towards us; because they regard us as alien, as parasites; the natives regard us as intruders; I've lost all I had and therefore I'm not respected; the peasants here make us feel how poor we are; the difference in bank accounts; refugees don't command any respect from natives; we're just refugees, they rub it in that we are refugees; because most people are prejudiced against refugees; we are not welcome, and they don't want to be bothered by us; they don't show any understanding for us; because they don't have any understanding for us, they always declare that we should have remained in our native countries; because they don't show any understanding towards expellees; because people here lack any understanding about the situation we're in; etc.

16%

Natives resent refugees' intrusion:

Because old residents treat us as intruders, and believe that we are crowding them out of jobs; because the natives claim that because of us housing space and number of jobs are reduced for them - they think we are to blame for the economic crisis; we reduce job opportunities for old residents; we are always those who crowd others out of jobs, they claim; they blame us for everything, for bad weather, for unemployment, for the rising costs of living; just that we are a burden to them; apartments were requisitioned, that led to differences - besides, they are furious because of the equalization of burdens law; refugees are "too great a burden on old residents, they believe they have to go hungry on account of the refugees; the natives believe that their standard of living will be lowered because of the refugees; etc.

7

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Lack of understanding on both sides - shown by old residents as well as refugees:

Lack of understanding on both sides; because neither of the groups is willing to listen to reason - expellees nor old residents, so that they start fighting; because one group is envious of the other; it's not the fault of old residents only - in some cases it's insolence on the part of refugees; refugees make demands and old residents are not willing to part with anything; etc.

2%

With their bad traits of character (egotism, religious fanaticism, conceit, stolidity) old residents are making life more difficult for refugees:

Old residents think they are wiser in everything than we are; the majority of old residents are conceited and stolid; because old residents are so stolid; egotism and religious fanaticism on the part of old residents; different denominations influence the general situation, people are all Catholics here; etc.

2

Old residents get preferential treatment:

Because old residents always get a better deal; old residents get preferential treatment, when shopping, for instance; jobs endangering health are left to refugees; because we are refugees and old residents are envious of any breaks we might get; old residents resent it if refugees work their way up again; etc.

2

The natives believe that refugees get preferential treatment:

Because they think we get preferential treatment by all government agencies; old resident always believe that expellees get preferential treatment, therefore they are suspicious; etc.

1

Western Germany is too densely populated, in some areas the percentage of refugees is excessively high:

Because in Western Germany we simply rub each other's elbow; the population has grown too much and old residents claim refugees are just surplus; because this region is overpopulated; etc.

1

Others:

Here there is a Danish minority; authorities incite people to be hostile against refugees; etc.

1

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{33\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FEW BELONG TO ANY ORGANIZED GROUPS ...

Seven in ten are not members of any kind of club or society - social, religious, or political. Those who are members of some organisation largely belong to one composed only of refugees; only 9 per cent have joined any group to which native Germans also belong.

"Do you belong to any organization or club?"

Yes	29%
No	71
	100%

If "Yes": "Are there only expellees in this club or are there natives as well?"

Expellees only	20%
Natives also	9
	29%

R E S T R I C T E D

III. THE CAMP REFUGEES AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

ALMOST HALF POLITICALLY APATHETIC ...

Political apathy goes hand in hand with social isolation among this hard-core group. Nearly half (45%) of the camp refugees take no part in any kind of political activity, even though the measures used here for participation include even such passive activities as reading political articles in newspapers. Only nine per cent say they take part in political meetings, six per cent participate in public discussions, and 19 per cent say they discuss politics with acquaintances.

"Does some of the following apply to you?" (Card)

Participate in political meetings	9%
Participate in public discussion evenings	6
Frequently converse with acquaintances about politics	19
Listen to political news over the radio	36
Read the political part of newspapers and magazines	33
All	3
None	45
	<u>151%*</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The camp refugees exhibit, however, more active interest in their immediate affairs than in the political scene in general. Half of them (48%) state that they have attended meetings of expellees, but even in matters which touch them so closely, 52 per cent have failed ever to participate.

"Have you ever attended a meeting of expellees?"

Yes	48%
No	52
	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

ONLY THIRD THINK BHE HELPS REFUGEES ...

The BHE (Bloc of Expellees and People Deprived of Rights), the political party which purports to represent the refugees, is known to three quarters of the camp refugees, but not nearly this number appears to confirm the party's claim to speak for and defend the refugee interests.

About a quarter (26%) spontaneously mention BHE as the party doing most to solve refugee problems, when directly queried; an additional 9 per cent, following further probing, express satisfaction with what BHE is doing.

The only other political party named with any frequency as aiding the refugees is the Social Democratic. But as will be noted in the table below, 16 per cent assert that no party is trying to help, and as many as 41 per cent have no opinion on the matter.

"Which political party is doing most in your opinion to solve the refugee problem?"

SPD	16%	BHE	26%
KPD	-	Others	*
CDU	1	None	16
FDP/LDP	-	No opinion	41
			<u>100%</u>

If "BHE" not mentioned:

"Have you ever heard of the Bloc of Expellees and People Deprived of Rights, the so-called BHE?"

Yes	48%
No	26
	<u>74%</u>

If "Yes":

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the BHE is doing for expellees?"

Satisfied	9%
Dissatisfied	15
No opinion	24
	<u>48%</u>

BUT HALF SAY A REFUGEE PARTY IS NEEDED ...

But despite the fact that so many camp refugees are unwilling or unprepared to give BHE their vote of confidence, the large preponderance (58%) is of the opinion that a refugee party is essential.

"Do you think that a refugee party is necessary or not?"

Necessary	58%
Not necessary	24
No opinion	18
	<u>100%</u>

The quarter opposed to a refugee party give a variety of reasons for their position. The leading argument is that the refugee problem is a common one which must be jointly solved, and a refugee party would prevent this (11%). Another group believes that such a party would have no influence (5%). Arguments of others suggest a skepticism to political parties in general.

03278
If "Not necessary":

"Why do you think a refugee party is not necessary?"

It does not help the integration of natives and refugees:

That will only make bad impressions; that will lead to even more friction; because all of us are Germans and we want to erase the word "refugee"; because the friction between refugees and natives wouldn't be eliminated by that; we shouldn't stay by ourselves and break away from the natives - we should join in politics; all of us are Germans and we should all work on the same thing; that would only deepen the gap between natives and refugees - the refugees should try to adjust here if possible; the refugees will stop being refugees sooner or later - then we won't need a party any more; because the interests of the refugees have to be represented by all, since it concerns all; it would be better if there were refugees in all parties who would then represent the interests of the refugees; because the refugee party would not represent the whole people; because they'd be in the minority - the other parties could do just as well if the refugee party backed them; because other parties have the refugee problem in their program anyway; this is a social problem and that is represented by other parties too; because they would be one-sided; etc.

11%

This party would not be in a position to help us:

There are no ways for this party to help us; because it couldn't do anything in my opinion; because it won't get anywhere - the other parties will always be opposed to it; they could never get their viewpoint accepted, etc.

5

Parties think of themselves first and not of us - they are useless:

All these people just want to make money or get good positions; because they don't help us anyway - they just think of their own advantage; they won't think of us either; we'll never profit by that; no party is that important; etc.

3

There are enough parties already:

There are enough parties - otherwise they'd split themselves up too much; we all have to get along with each other - more parties, more disagreement; there are enough parties already; because we have enough parties here; etc.

2

The settlement of the refugee problem is a government matter:

Because our problem can't be solved by a party, but by a government that has money; if the government shows concern for our situation we won't need a party - the government should do something - not a party; a good government is necessary which will provide for us; etc.

1

Other opinions:

They never made themselves heard; because a refugee party is much too small to really stand up for itself and play a leading role - besides, it is convenient for the other parties to leave the refugee problem to the BHE; they can't do anything - as long as the occupation powers exist they'll be the fifth wheel on the wagon; etc.

2
24%

HALF SAY BONE MAKES HONEST EFFORT TO SOLVE REFUGEE PROBLEM ...

Considerable cynicism and apathy are also apparent in the attitudes of the camp refugees regarding governmental aid in the solution of their problems. Half (52%) believe that the Federal government is making an honest effort to solve minority (28%) takes the negative view, and almost as many (20%) are unprepared to take a stand one way or another.

"Do you think the Federal government is making honest efforts to solve the refugee problem or not?"

Is making honest efforts	52%
Is not making honest efforts	28
No opinion	20
	<u>100%</u>

The local governmental authorities - those the refugees are more likely to come in personal contact with - fare perhaps somewhat better in the respondents' judgment. A majority of six in ten, contradicting many hearsay reports, say that the local authorities do not show preference for natives, but treat both natives and refugees alike. A quarter (23%) claim, however, that natives get preferential treatment, and 18 per cent do not express an opinion.

"Do you think that the local authorities generally give preference to natives, or expellees, or do the authorities make no distinction?"

Natives	23%
Expellees	*
No distinction	60
No opinion	17
	<u>100%</u>

GERMANY HELD UNABLE TO SOLVE PROBLEM ALONE ...

In the opinion of the camp refugees, their problems are apparently too complex for solution by West Germany alone. Three quarters (73%) believe that the Germans will need the help of other countries if the refugee problem is to be solved.

"Are you of the opinion that West Germany could solve the refugee problem alone, or will West Germany need the aid of other nations in this respect?"

Alone	7%
Help of other nations	73
No opinion	20
	<u>100%</u>

BUT MANY DOUBT FOREIGN AID WILL BE LARGE ...

Whether or not sufficient foreign aid will be forthcoming is a debatable question in the minds of the refugees interviewed. Opinions divide almost evenly between the view that other countries will contribute a great deal of help (27%) or little help (33%).

If "Aid of other nations":

"Do you think that the other nations will contribute much or little to the solution of the refugee problem in West Germany?"

Much	27%
Little	33
No opinion	13
	<u>73%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN EQUALIZATION OF BURDENS AS SOLUTION TO REFUGEE PROBLEM ..

Long in the discussion stage has been the so-called Law for the Equalization of Burdens - a scheme by which those who did not suffer economically or financially by the war are to be assessed part of their wealth for distribution to those who lost their possessions as a result of bombing, expulsion and so on. Since the refugees presumably would be one of the most important beneficiaries, proponents of the plan regard it as an important step in the solution of the refugee problem. The camp refugees are not, however, counting on it. Two thirds of them, when queried, bluntly state that they think the plan will never be carried out. Only a quarter remain optimistic. Most of this sanguine minority also expect to benefit personally by the plan if it is realized.

"Do you think that a final equalization of burdens act will be carried out?"

Yes	26%
No	65
No opinion-never heard of it	9
	100%

If "Yes": "Do you think that you would receive something under the final equalization of burdens law?"

Yes	22%
No	3
No opinion	1
	26%

REPATRIATION FREQUENTLY SUGGESTED SOLUTION ...

Not only are the majority of camp refugees quite skeptical of there ever being a final "equalization of burdens," but few of them appear even to consider it as a solution of the refugee problem. When asked specifically for solutions, only 5 per cent spontaneously mention the equalization law. A third cannot suggest anything that might solve their problems. The most popular recommendation, made by a third, is to permit the refugees to return to their homelands, or if not that, at least to facilitate their return by uniting Germany, and returning the Eastern territories. The remainder suggest various schemes, palliatives rather than basic solutions, for the most part: housing programs, employment schemes, the end to discriminatory practices, and so on.

"What would you propose for a solution to the refugee problem in West Germany?" ("And what other proposals can you make?")

Return to our homelands, unity of Germany, return of Eastern territories, peace:

Should see to it that we can get back to our homelands; get us back home; all of them have to return to their homelands; I want to get the East Zone back so the country there will be free again for us; free the Eastern territories; press the Poles back into their old boundaries; should take the Eastern territories away from the Russians; that the Western powers put pressure on the Russians so they'll return the stolen territory to Germany; before a solution is possible the occupation powers should reach an agreement - I mean Russia especially; they should agree and unite East and West; the Americans and the Federal Government should jointly try to find a solution to this problem; agreement between East and West - unification of East and West Germany; East and West should reach an agreement in a peaceful manner - we miss our land, our living space; creation of a united Germany - withdrawal of the occupation powers; we want peace; etc.

33%

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Providing work & creation of places for settlement:

Should procure working opportunities on a large scale by building an Autobahn and apartments; should get work for everybody; the main thing is to put the people back to work and give the refugees preference since they are without means; they should let us rent land; a large settlement program, so everybody gets work and land; give all the refugees work, that is the most important thing; reconstruct West Germany so that there is work - that would solve the problem; many opportunities for work should be created, then everybody would enjoy facing life; etc.

16%

Elimination of the housing shortage:

Should declare a state of national emergency in order to solve the housing problem; should allocate more funds for building purposes; there should be enough building of apartments so the people all have a roof over their heads, then people would be satisfied; building of houses is most important; they should do more for the building of homes instead of movie theaters; they should build houses so the refugees have a place to live; etc.

14

Facilitate emigration for the refugees:

Emigration for those who want to leave; America should take many more refugees since it is the richest nation; emigration is the only possibility; let some of them emigrate; let the youth emigrate; an international organization which would really facilitate emigration; let other nations take the refugees on a percentage basis; enlarge the emigration quota; etc.

6

Prompt execution of the equalization of burdens - support for the refugees (general):

Equalization of burdens in the near future; through the equalization of burdens they should get furniture so all of them can afford apartments; the government shouldn't only talk but really put the equalization of burdens into effect; through the equalization of burdens; a fair execution of the equalization of burdens; the refugees should receive more support - so far there's been only talk; financial support for the refugees and a certain equalization of burdens; etc.

5

Economic and social measures:

Homes for young refugees; all the limitations in industry should be lifted - the large estates should be divided; building of new industries; prices and wages should be brought into the right relationship, that would be a big help to us; the high salaries of the public servants should be cut; the expenditures for occupation costs should be spent on refugees only; should split up the large estates and give them to refugees - we don't want more than that; construction of refugee towns; draining of the bogs, cultivation of the heath, division of the unprofitable large estates - that way many refugees could be settled; more productive work should be done - large building projects; social welfare should be renewed and improved; etc.

5

(Cont'd. on the next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Equal distribution of the refugees throughout West Germany:

A fair resettlement within West Germany would help considerably; they should be distributed over the whole Federal republic, so that the refugees don't have to be crowded into one part; resettlement in other parts of Germany which aren't so overcrowded, etc.

4

Eliminate preferential treatment of natives and others:

Correct and honest treatment of people - too much personal preference is being made; equal status with natives - the native officials, for instance, get more pension than the refugees; natives and refugees should be treated in the same way; all refugees should be given the same in order to be just; should not let it happen that the natives are preferred in jobs; etc.

2

It's a government matter:

The government should attach more importance to this matter; it's a government matter - I haven't thought about it yet; our government should know that better than I do as a woman, etc.

10

Other opinions:

As they are doing now - they improve the camps; fewer parties, for instance the CDU - then we would have the support of the Pope; everybody has to help; this is difficult to solve - there are too many people here; that is difficult to say - we should have our own colonies again; should get out of the Potsdam agreement and start a war; etc.

3

No possible solution - or don't know:

I don't know of a way out; don't know a solution - there isn't any; that can hardly be solved; we can't do anything any more; we can't do anything but wait for whatever fate has in store for us; I am not well-versed in politics - I couldn't say; I don't know, I don't understand anything about it; old people can't say anything about it; I don't have any proposals; etc.

34
1235*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Whatever the dissatisfaction of these resident refugees and whatever their political apathy and remoteness from West German life, few of them would exchange it for life in East Germany. Eight of ten assert that the refugees in the West are better off than those East of the Elbe. Only 3 per cent hold the contrary view.

"In your opinion, are the expellees who are living in the East zone now better off or worse off than the expellees here?"

Better off in the East zone	3%
Worse off in the East zone	79
No opinion	17
Both are living in bad conditions	1
	<hr/> 100%

The adverse economic situation is by far the most frequently stated reason (64%) for believing life in East Germany is harder than in West Germany. Less often mentioned (27%) is the lack of political freedom.

If "Worse off":

"In what respect are the expellees in the East worse off?"

Because of economic difficulties and hardships:

Poor provision of basic foods and shortage of textiles; because they have little to eat and get ration coupons for clothing, but no clothing; the basic food supply is bad; because all the important foods are still rationed - meats and fats; they are freezing and starving; nothing to live with and nothing to wear; they still have to starve; because foods are still rationed; they don't earn very much money either - that is, they can't buy very much for it; they haven't the money; low buying power of the money; goods are more expensive in the East zone - they get a pension of 50 Marks and one pound of butter costs 12 Marks; they have to work, but they can't buy anything for the money they earn; everything is expensive and they don't have the possibility of buying anything; they get so little to eat - they don't get any meat and butter; etc.

64%

Because of the restriction of freedom:

They have dictatorship there and are oppressed in all walks of life; they can't live as freely as we - freedom is important for the youth; the pressure on the people by the occupation power is much greater than here; they are living under the constant fear that they might be abducted - they can't express their opinions; the treatment they get - the constant fear of the concentration camp or Siberia; because of the dictatorship of the Russians; if they don't join the party they lose their jobs or higher posts; we are free people, at least - over there everything is under pressure; that they have to live under Russian rule and pressure; because the refugees can't express their opinion freely; they are politically oppressed - the women are forced to work and the men are soldiers; etc.

27

They are worse off than we are (general):

The living is worse in every respect; all people are badly off in the East zone; everybody is badly off there; the general living conditions are worse than here; living conditions are worse - families are separated through arbitrary transfers, etc.

Because of the social situation (no relief, no social institutions):

They don't get any support or social care; people who haven't reached a certain age don't receive a pension - life is worse in general; their health is run down; there is lack of social relief; there is no unemployment compensation; working conditions are worse there; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

9

1

112%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

- 36 -

R E S T R I C T E D

IV. THE CAMP REFUGEES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The refugees, it may be said, are a problem to everybody: to themselves, to the West German people and government, to Western Europe, and to the United States who already has assumed much responsibility for their care and support. As already indicated, the refugees interviewed in this study believe that West Germany alone is unable to help them, and they themselves appear largely lacking in personal initiative. The only solution to their problems which they advance with any frequency is to be permitted to go home again. In this section, this issue, which to many is the potentially most explosive aspect of the entire refugee problem, is examined in detail.

MAJORITY OF CAMP REFUGEES ARE RELUCTANT RESIDENTS OF WEST GERMANY ...

The bulk of refugees still living in camps in West Germany are not apparently reconciled to permanent residence in this country. If they had the choice, seven in ten would return to their former homelands in preference to emigrating or remaining in West Germany. Only a quarter prefer to remain.

"Supposing you had the choice, what would you do then: would you return to your homeland, would you emigrate, or would you remain here in West Germany?"

Return	72%
Emigrate	3
Stay here	23
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

CAMP REFUGEES ASSUME NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR EXPULSION ...

The apparent frame of reference that conditions this drastic solution of the refugee problem is the unwillingness or inability of the camp refugees to assume any responsibility for their original expulsion from their homelands. For this reason, probably, they are unable to see why all efforts should not be made to facilitate their return. Asked to assign the responsibility for their expulsion, they blame everyone but themselves - with Germany's loss of the war the underlying theme in the reasoning of most. More specifically a quarter, apparently viewing the matter with historical objectivity, refer directly, or by implication, to the Potsdam agreement. The remainder, however, put the blame on the Eastern peoples: Russians, Czechs, Poles, etc. (29%); Hitler (16%); the war and defeat (9%); the Western powers (8%), or fate (1%). No one apparently recalls that the activities of the ethnic Germans before and during the war laid the groundwork for their expulsion.

"In your opinion, who is responsible for the fact that you had to leave your homeland?"

The Eastern nations and their Communist governments:

The Eastern powers - but we were glad when we got out of there; the Czechs only - this Benes; the Russians and Benes; Comrado Stalin; Russia, because it is too brutal toward its population - therefore we are here now; the Russians and Poles who always wanted Silesia; the Poles are responsible for that - they don't like the Germans; the Poles threw us out after we had lost the war; the eternal desire for revenge by the Poles; the Czechs - we were supposed to take our Czech citizenship and that we couldn't and didn't want to do - that's why we had to leave; the Communist government in Hungary; the partisans and the Communists drove us out; the Bolshevik system; the Communists and their system; etc.

29%

(cont'd on next page)

The Great Powers, including US and Russia - Yalta and Potsdam agreements:

The Russians, the British and the Americans wanted that; all nations - the Americans and the Russians; the Russians and Americans agreed on our expulsion; the Russians, the Poles, and the Americans; the British, the Russians - all of them; the victorious powers; all who signed the agreement that we had to leave - our enemies during the war; the four powers that signed the Potsdam agreement; the Potsdam agreement; the four powers at Yalta; the Potsdam agreement between Russia, America, England, and France; the Czechs, or the Russians, or the Americans - I don't know for sure - it was at Potsdam; etc.

24%

Hitler and his government:

Hitler's policy - he shouldn't have expelled the Jews and wanted war; Hitler settled us elsewhere in 1940; Hitler - the scoundrel - he drove us to our destruction; Hitler and the war; Hitler and his system - we would still be in our homelands today; the NSDAP demanded that we evacuate; the Nazis and their blasted war; the Nazis; the government of the Third Reich and its megalomania; Adolf Hitler - he should have capitulated in time; etc.

16

The war and the defeat of Germany:

Those who made the war - more I can't say; the lost war; the unfortunate ending of the war; the whole disastrous postwar conditions; because we lost the war; the capitulation and the defeat; the war - our leadership failed; all countries that participated in the war; etc.

9

The Western Powers - especially America:

The Western powers didn't realize in time that they should have sided with Germany against Russia; if the Americans hadn't supported the Russians so much during the war we would still be at home now; the Americans and the British, because they gave the Russians the go-ahead signal; Roosevelt - he is the only one; America - it needn't have interfered because then the war would have been finished sooner - with victory for us; the British - they make war wherever they can - they have done that for generations; the French - they are the ones to blame - they are our arch-enemies and will always go to war against us; etc.

8

The East Zone government - conditions in the East Zone:

The conditions in the East Zone; the East Zone government; because we didn't like the political conditions (difficulties with the FDJ); etc.

1

Nobody is responsible - it is fate:

Nobody can be blamed for it - everything is fate; I can't blame anybody for it - it just happened; I won't blame anybody - it is fate; nobody - it's fate; etc.

1

Other opinions:

Those who are to blame for the war - not Hitler, but those who financed the war - Krupp, Stinnes, etc.; the owners of all armament factories in the world - they can prevent a war if they want to; high politics; there was too much treason - we couldn't keep our mouths shut; the conditions in social and economic policies - America needed oil, and the Russians too - one can't say Hitler is to blame or Stalin or anybody; etc.

4

No opinion / No answer:

That is hard to say; that is difficult to decide; I couldn't blame anybody because I am too stupid about politics - I say it happened this way and that's all; that we will know in another 50 or 100 years; etc.

$$\frac{12}{104\%}$$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DUT RETURN HOME IS CONTINGENT ON CHANGED POLITICAL SITUATION ...

Without exception, the wish to return is contingent on a change in the present governments in their Eastern homelands. No one wishes to go back as long as the Communist governments retain power in the Eastern territories.

"Would you return even if the present government still existed in your homeland, or would you, under these circumstances, desist from returning?"

Return even then	*%
Desist	72%
	72%

EMIGRATION IS NOT A POPULAR ALTERNATIVE ...

Contrary to a fairly general assumption that many refugees would like to emigrate, this is not the case among the hard-core refugees still remaining in camps. If it should prove impossible for them to return to their native homes, only 6 per cent would choose emigration; in contrast, 64 per cent prefer to stay on in Germany. Thus only 9 per cent of all these refugees are prepared to consider emigration.

If either "Return" or "Return if ..." to previous questions, "If that were impossible, would you then rather stay here or would you prefer to emigrate?"

Emigrate	6%
Stay here	64
No opinion	2
	72%

To sum up, among all the refugees living in West German camps, the preferences for permanent settlement are as follows:

Prefer to <u>remain</u> in West Germany rather than return home or emigrate	23%
Prefer to remain in West Germany if return is impossible	64
Prefer to <u>emigrate</u> rather than stay in West Germany or return home	3
Prefer to emigrate if return home is impossible	6
Undecided	4
	100%

... The people who would like to emigrate rather than remain in West Germany mention a variety of places, including the United States (4%), Canada (3%), Central or South America (2%), Australia (1%), Africa (1%) and Sweden (1%). Three per cent do not know where they would like to go. (The mentions add to more than the 9 per cent wishing to emigrate because some named more than one country.)

HALF OF THOSE WHO PREFER TO RETURN HOME EXPECT TO DO SO ...

The problem of integrating these camp refugees, who at best are reluctant residents, into West German society is further accentuated by the fact that more than half of those who wish to return to their homeland cling to the belief that they will be able to do so in the future.

"And what do you think about your future, do you believe that you will return to your homeland or not?"

Return	43%
Not return	24
No opinion	5
	72%

R E S T R I C T E D

BUT THINK WAR WILL BE ESSENTIAL PRELIMINARY ...

The potential explosiveness of this hard-core group appears in sharper focus when it is recalled that all of those who wish to go back to their former home condition their return on a change in the governments of East Europe. Apparently, then, those who not only wish but expect to return anticipate the fall of the present Communist governments now in power in the East. How this change is to be brought about is suggested by their replies to the following query.

"Do you think that a return to your homeland will be possible only after a war, or do you think that a return to your homeland will be possible without a war?"

Yes, only after a war	39%
No	27
No opinion	6
	<u>72%</u>

AND SOME WOULD WELCOME A WAR ...

Although more than half of those who would like to return believe that this will only be possible after a war, not all of this group are so desirous of returning home that they would willingly pay the price of war. As many as 13 per cent go to this extreme, however, as the following query discloses.

"If it were possible for you to return to your homeland only through a war would you then approve such a war or not?"

Approve	13%
Not approve	53
Qualified answer.	1
No opinion	5
	<u>72%</u>

Analysis of the two groups, the one, those stating that a war is an essential preliminary to the refugees' return home (39%), the other, those stating a war is not only essential but welcome (13%), yields further information about the component parts of the hard-core group. First, the preponderance among the group asserting that only after a war can the refugees return consists of people who expect to return. Second, almost all of the people who say they would welcome a war say also that they expect to return home. The breakdown of the two questions is as follows:

	Prefer to return:		
	And expect to do so	Do not expect to do so	No opinion
Return possible only after war	21%	16%	2% . 39%
Approve war if return home otherwise impossible	10	2	1 13

Though only half of the people who expect to return to their homelands after a war are frank enough to assert that a war would be worth the price, it is very possible that only greater frankness differentiates them from the remainder who expect to profit by a war. If this assumption is correct, the kernel of the hard-core consists of 21 per cent who feel they stand to benefit by a war.

APPENDIX I

The Sample

The study was aimed only at those refugees of German nationality living in organized camps in the area of the West German Federal Republic. The main source of data on such centers was the publication "Zahl und Belegung der Fluechtlingslager" issued in mid-1950 by the Bundesministerium fuer Vertriebene. Taking into account some later supplementary data, the 4 principal refugee Laender, containing about 90 per cent of the total camp population, were established as follows:

	<u>No. of Camps</u>	<u>Camp Popul.</u>	<u>% of 4-Laender Camp Popul.</u>	<u>Number of Sample Cases</u>
Schleswig-Holstein	733	130100	41	291
Niedersachsen	1096	93650	30	209
Bavaria	337	74949	24	167
Wuerttemberg-Baden	11	14711	5	33
Total:	2177	313410	100	700

This table, then, shows the geographical target area for the survey, and the apportioning of the projected total of 700 interviews among the 4 constituent Laender.

Two stages of random sampling selection were applied to obtain the final sampling list, first a selection from the total of camps in a Land, then of individuals from the chosen camps. In determining the sample camps, probability of selection was in proportion to size, and stratification by 3 size groups was used in the assignment of numbers of cases. From practical field considerations, a minimum of 7 interviews for smallest camps was established, and no camps with fewer than 20 residents were included in the sample. Thus, for the example of Land Schleswig-Holstein, a total of 19 camps were visited - 6 in the group of smallest sizes (55 to 225 inhabitants) with from 7 to 10 cases each, 9 in the medium sized group (320 to 602 inhabitants with 11 cases each, and 4 in the group of largest camps (967 to 2168 inhabitants) with from 23 to 52 cases each. The complete sample of 700 cases was secured from altogether 49 camps selected in the way described from all 4 Laender.

Individual respondents within camps were determined by chance selections from the complete resident lists maintained at each site by the camp authorities. In general, identities were fixed at calculated equal intervals of the file or list to give the necessary number of names for the location in question. Interviewing was accomplished mainly in the homes of the respondents.

PERSONAL DATASex:

Men

47%

Women

53

100%

Education:

Elementary school

91%

Middle school

8

High school

1

University

*

100%

Income (per month):

- 149 DM

42%

150 - 299 DM

42

300 - 399 DM

8

400 DM and over

7

Answer refused

1

100%

Age:

- 19 years

3%

20 - 29 years

16

30 - 39 years

19

40 - 49 years

29

50 - 59 years

18

60 - 69 years

11

70 - 79 years

4

100%

Religion:

Protestant

68%

Catholic

30

Others

2

100%

Marital Status:

Married

65%

Widowed

15

Divorced

2

Live separated

1

Husband missing

4

Single

13

100%

Children:

Yes

78%

No

9

87%

Native Country:

Sudetenland

10%

East Prussia, Danzig

22

Silesia

22

Pomerania

28

Poland

5

East Zone

4

Others

9

100%

Length of Time in Germany:

Since 1946 or earlier

71%

Since 1947/48

20

Since 1949/50/51

9

100%

Length of Time in Camp: (respondents were asked whether they always had lived in camps since they had been in Germany)

Yes

83%

No

17

100%

Former Place of Residence:

City

23%

Smaller town

29

In the country

48

100%

Present Preference for Residence:

City

29%

Smaller town

37

In the country

19

No difference

14

No opinion

1

100%

Location of Camp:

Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)

49%

Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place

27

Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place

24

100%

Size of Camp:

2,000 people and more

16%

1,000 - 2,000

29

500 - 1,000

17

200 - 500

29

100 - 200

6

- 100

3

100%

03290
RESTRICTED

APPENDIX II

Group Comparisons

To avoid further lengthening of an already detailed presentation, group differences have not been treated in the body of the study, but are presented on the following pages. In general, it will be noted that the better educated and upper income groups appear to be somewhat better adjusted to their situation than are their counterparts, although the differences are not, in many cases, appreciable.

- III -

RESTRICTED

	Yes, in what respect	No, why not	No answer	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	56%	42%	2%...100%	330
Women	51	45	4	369
Education:				
Elementary school	50	45	25	632
Beyond elementary	62	32	6	67
Income (per month):				
Under 150 DM	45	52	3	291
150 - 299 DM	58	39	3	296
300 DM and over	63	34	3	103
Age:				
Under 24 years	59	38	3	76
24 - 39 years	62	36	2	190
40 - 49 "	50	47	3	199
50 - 59 "	53	41	6	128
60 years and over	40	59	1	105
Working Status:				
Employed	57	40	3	192
Unemployed	55	43	2	154
Housewives	52	43	5	178
Independent	47	51	2	150
Location of Camp:				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	48	49	3	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	58	39	3	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	59	39	2	164
Size of Camp:				
2000 people and more	54	45	1	113
1000 - 2000	48	49	3	201
500 - 1000	57	40	3	115
200 - 500	52	45	3	201
- 200	68	27	5	66
Land:				
Bavaria	48	51	1	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	55	45	-	33
Northern Saxony	62	34	4	209
Schleswig-Holstein	50	47	3	291
Political Activity:				
Most active	58	42	-	115
Somewhat active	54	45	1	91
Politically interested only	55	41	4	178
Not active at all	51	46	3	315

"Would you like to move out of the camp within this year?"

	Yes	No	No answer	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	71%	27%	2%	330
Women	65	34	1	369
Education:				
Elementary school	69	31	*	632
Beyond elementary school	68	26	6	67
Income (per month):				
Under 150 DM	64	36	-	291
150 - 299 DM	71	27	1	296
300 DM and over	69	28	3	103
Age:				
Under 24 years	78	21	1	76
24 - 39 years	74	26	*	190
40 - 49 "	64	34	2	199
50 - 59 "	72	26	2	128
60 years and over	53	47	-	105
Working Status:				
Employed	70	27	3	192
Unemployed	74	25	1	154
Housewives	68	31	1	178
Independent	60	40	-	150
Location of Camp:				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	67	33	*	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	69	28	3	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	69	30	1	164
Size of Camp:				
2000 people and more	72	27	1	113
1000 - 2000	65	35	*	201
500 - 1000	76	23	1	115
200 - 500	65	35	*	201
- 200	72	23	5	66
Land:				
Bavaria	63	36	1	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	85	15	-	33
Northern Saxony	74	25	1	209
Schleswig-Holstein	65	34	1	291
Political Activity:				
Most active	69	30	1	115
Somewhat active	74	26	-	91
Politically interested only	71	26	3	178
Not active at all	65	35	*	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the relief- and welfare organizations do for expellees living in camps?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	37%	36%	27%	330
Women	36	35	29	369
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	34	36	30	632
Beyond elementary	52	31	17	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 150 DM	33	39	28	291
150 - 299 DM	40	34	26	296
300 DM and more	36	33	31	103
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 24 years	26	36	38	76
24 - 39 years	33	40	27	190
40 - 49 "	44	33	23	199
50 - 59 "	30	37	33	128
60 years and over	42	30	28	105
<u>Working Status:</u>				
Employed	38	31	31	192
Unemployed	33	43	24	154
Housewives	32	39	29	178
Independent	44	29	27	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	33	35	32	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	39	40	21	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	38	32	30	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>				
2000 people and more	29	37	34	113
1000 - 2000	38	35	27	201
500 - 1000	32	38	30	115
200 - 500	32	35	33	201
- 200	58	33	9	66
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	37	33	30	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	52	9	39	33
Northern Saxony	29	44	27	209
Schleswig-Holstein	39	34	27	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>				
Most active	55	29	16	115
Somewhat active	41	37	22	91
Politically interested only	36	34	30	178
Not active at all	28	39	33	315

"Do you have the impression that most local employers prefer to employ natives, or expellees, or do they make no distinction between them?"

	Natives	Expellees	No dis- tinction	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	54%	2%	35%	9%...100%	330
Women	42	3	36	19	369
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	48	2	35	15	632
Beyond elementary	42	3	46	9	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	49	2	33	16	291
150 - 299 DM	50	3	35	12	296
300 DM and more	39	3	45	13	103
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 24 years	51	5	36	8	76
24 - 39 years	47	2	40	11	190
40 - 49 "	41	3	41	15	199
50 - 59 "	56	1	23	20	128
60 years and over	48	1	31	20	105
<u>Working Status:</u>					
Employed	47	2	43	8	192
Unemployed	58	3	32	7	154
Housewives	44	3	35	18	178
Independent	41	1	33	25	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	45	2	39	14	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	47	3	35	15	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	55	2	30	13	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>					
2000 people and more	42	3	42	13	113
1000 - 2000	47	2	38	13	201
500 - 1000	49	-	33	18	115
200 - 500	50	3	32	15	201
- 200	53	5	30	12	66
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria \	54	2	38	6	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	27	-	49	24	33
Northern Saxony	47	2	38	13	209
Schleswig-Holstein	47	2	32	19	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>					
Most active	49	-	42	9	115
Somewhat active	63	2	32	3	91
Politically interested only	50	3	35	12	178
Not active at all	42	3	34	21	315

"Have you been offered a job by the employment office since you have been unemployed?"

(If "Yes": "Once or several times?")

(If "No": "Are you registered with the employment office?")

	Yes, once	Yes, several times	No, no offer No, not re- gistered with the employment office	No answer	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	5%	4%	24%	1%	66%..100%	330
Women	1	2	7	1	89	369
Education:						
Elementary school	3	3	15	*	79	632
Beyond elementary	6	-	16	3	75	67
Income (per month):						
Under 150 DM	5	5	24	1	65	291
150 - 299 DM	3	2	12	*	83	296
300 DM and more	-	-	2	-	98	103
Age:						
Under 24 years	4	8	13	-	75	76
24 - 39 "	5	4	15	*	76	190
40 - 49 "	4	2	17	1	76	199
50 - 59 "	3	1	23	-	73	128
60 years and over	-	1	7	-	92	105
Location of Camp:						
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhab- itants)	3	2	13	-	82	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	2	5	13	*	80	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	5	4	22	2	67	164
Size of Camp:						
2000 people and more	1	-	13	-	86	113
1000 - 2000	2	4	11	-	83	201
500 - 1000	2	2	21	3	72	115
200 - 500	6	2	17	*	75	201
- 200	5	6	18	-	71	66
Land†						
Bavaria	6	2	9	-	83	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	6	3	21	-	70	33
Northern Saxony	3	3	15	2	77	209
Schleswig Holstein	2	3	18	-	77	291
Political Activity:						
Most active	4	4	25	1	66	115
Somewhat active	6	3	20	2	69	91
Politically interested only	3	2	20	1	74	178
Not active at all	3	2	8	-	87	315

* Less than one half of one per cent..

R E S T R I C T E D

"Let us suppose you would be offered a job now - would you take the job no matter what it is, or would you wait for a more suitable offer?"

	Would take job	Would wait	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	24%	9%	1%	66%...100%	330
Women	5	5	1	89	369
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	14	7	1	78	632
Beyond elementary	13	9	3	75	69
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	22	11	1	66	291
150 - 299 DM	10	6	*	84	296
300 DM and more	2		-	98	103
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 24 years	14	1	-	75	76
24 - 39 years	16	7	1	76	190
40 - 49 "	15	7	2	76	199
50 - 59 "	17	9	-	74	128
60 years and over	5	3	-	92	105
<u>Location of Camp:</u>					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	11	7	-	82	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	14	3	1	80	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	21	10	2	67	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>					
2000 people and more	9	5	-	86	113
1000 - 2000	9	8	-	83	201
500 - 1000	16	9	3	72	115
200 - 500	20	5	*	75	201
- 200	20	9	-	71	66
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	10	8	-	82	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	24	6	-	70	33
Northern Saxony	12	8	2	78	209
Schleswig-Holstein	17	7	-	76	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>					
Most active	25	9	-	66	115
Somewhat active	21	8	2	69	91
Politically interested only	19	6	1	74	178
Not active at all	6	7	*	87	315

Less than one half of one per cent

"Do you think that you would have more opportunities for ~~work~~ other parts of West Germany or not?"

	Yes, where would that be?	No	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	25%	6%	3%	66%...100%	330
Women	5	3	3	89	369
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	14	4	3	79	632
Beyond elementary	20	2	3	75	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	22	6	6	66	291
150 - 299 DM	12	3	2	83	296
300 DM and more	1	1	-	98	103
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 24 years	19	3	3	75	76
24 - 39 years	17	4	3	76	190
40 - 49 "	13	6	5	76	199
50 - 59 "	19	4	4	73	128
60 years and over	4	4	-	92	105
<u>Location of Camp:</u>					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	10	5	3	82	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	14	3	3	80	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	24	4	5	67	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>					
2000 people and more	7	7	-	86	113
1000 - 2000	10	5	2	83	201
500 - 1000	19	2	7	72	115
200 - 500	18	4	3	75	201
- 200	22	2	5	71	66
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	9	6	2	83	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	12	18	-	70	33
Northern Saxony	14	3	5	78	209
Schleswig-Holstein	17	3	3	77	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>					
Most active	25	5	4	66	115
Somewhat active	22	7	2	69	91
Politically interested only	19	3	4	74	178
Not active at all	7	4	2	87	315

- X -

R E S T R I C T E D

As far as you can judge, how have most expellees - who do not live in camps - adjusted themselves here: well, satisfactorily, not well, or not at all?"

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	Well	Satis- factorily	Not well	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	17%	30%	21%	4%	28%	330
Women	25	28	16	2	29	369
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	22	28	18	3	29	632
Beyond elementary	19	34	21	-	26	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Under 150 DM	19	29	13	5	34	291
150 - 299 DM	21	29	25	1	24	296
300 DM and over	29	27	18	1	25	103
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 24 years	26	24	19	1	30	76
24 - 39 years	23	33	15	1	28	190
40 - 49 "	16	27	27	4	26	199
50 - 59 "	27	27	19	5	22	128
60 years and over	16	29	10	4	41	105
<u>Working Status:</u>						
Employed	23	25	25	2	25	192
Unemployed	20	30	19	5	26	154
Housewives	25	27	17	2	29	178
Independent	19	32	13	3	33	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>						
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	25	24	16	3	32	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	19	39	20	1	21	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	16	27	24	4	29	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>						
2000 people and more	21	35	13	-	31	113
1000 - 2000	20	28	15	3	34	201
500 - 1000	19	22	19	5	35	115
200 - 500	24	29	23	2	22	201
- 200	21	32	24	5	18	66
<u>Land:</u>						
Bavaria	18	31	19	3	29	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	30	21	12	-	37	33
Northern Saxony	20	31	20	4	25	209
Schleswig-Holstein	24	26	18	2	30	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>						
Most active	18	33	27	3	19	115
Somewhat active	22	29	26	8	35	21
Politically interested only	23	30	19	2	29	115
Not active at all	23	26	13	2	36	315

- XI -

R E S T R I C T E D

"Here we have some examples from daily life where expelled and natives come in contact with each other. Please place yourself in each of the respective situations and then name the alternative which comes closest to your own attitude." (Following alternatives were presented to respondents on a card) (Returns on "With whom would you prefer to work?")

1. Must be an expelled
2. Would prefer expelled, but wouldn't mind native
3. Must be native
4. Would prefer native, but wouldn't mind expelled

	EXPELLEE			NATIVE			No. of cases
	Must	Pre-fer	No differ-ence	Pre-fer	Must	No opinion	
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	9%	24%	65%	2%	-	*...100%	330
Women	11	25	59	2	-	3	369
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	11	25	62	1	-	1	632
Beyond elementary	6	18	66	7	-	3	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
Under 150 DM	9	25	62	2	-	2	291
150 - 299 DM	12	26	61	-	-	1	296
300 DM and more	9	19	65	6	-	1	103
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 24 years	12	21	63	3	-	1	76
24 - 39 years	11	19	67	2	-	1	190
40 - 49 years	8	28	61	1	-	2	199
50 - 59 years	9	26	63	1	-	1	128
60 years and over	11	28	54	2	-	5	105
<u>Working Status:</u>							
Employed	8	25	63	3	-	1	192
Unemployed	7	21	71	1	-	-	154
Housewives	12	25	60	2	-	1	178
Independent	12	26	56	1	-	5	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>							
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	9	20	68	2	-	1	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	11	32	53	1	-	3	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	10	24	62	2	-	2	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>							
2,000 people and more	14	24	57	2	-	3	113
1,000 - 2,000	9	28	60	1	-	2	201
500 - 1,000	10	16	74	-	-	-	115
200 - 500	9	26	61	2	-	2	201
- 200	9	23	62	3	-	3	66
<u>Land:</u>							
Bavaria	12	22	62	3	-	1	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	-	-	91	9	-	-	33
Northern Saxony	12	24	62	1	-	1	209
Schleswig-Holstein	9	28	60	1	-	2	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>							
Most active	10	27	62	1	-	-	115
Somewhat active	8	31	60	1	-	-	91
Politicall inter-ested only	8	25	63	3	-	1	178
Not active at all	12	21	63	1	-	3	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

"Here we have some examples from daily life where expellees and natives come in contact with each other. Please place yourself in each of the respective situations and then name the alternative which comes closest to your own attitude." (Following alternatives were presented to respondents on a card) (Returns on "With whom would you prefer to share an apartment?")

1. Must be an expellee
2. Would prefer expellee, but wouldn't mind native
3. Must be native
4. Would prefer native, but wouldn't mind expellee

	EXPELLEE			NATIVE			No. of cases
	Must	Pre-fer	No differ-ence	Pre-fer	Must	No opinion	
Sex:							
Men	21%	31%	44%	2%	4%	2%...100%	330
Women	20	32	41	3	1	3	369
Education:							
Elementary school	22	32	40	3	*	3	632
Beyond elementary	7	28	58	3	2	2	67
Income (per month):							
Under 150 DM	24	29	40	3	1	3	291
150 - 299 DM	19	35	42	2	*	2	296
300 DM and more	16	29	48	3	-	4	103
Age:							
Under 24 years	17	41	34	3	-	5	76
24 - 39 years	20	29	43	4	1	3	190
40 - 49 years	19	30	48	2	*	1	199
50 - 59 years	21	29	47	1	1	1	128
60 years and over	27	35	29	4	-	5	105
Working Status:							
Employed	17	34	44	1	-	4	192
Unemployed	19	30	46	4	-	1	154
Housewives	19	30	45	3	*	3	178
Independent	26	33	33	3	1	4	150
Location of Camp:							
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	19	29	47	2	1	2	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	23	40	32	1	-	4	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	22	27	44	5	-	2	164
Size of Camp:							
2,000 people and more	24	30	39	1	1	5	113
1,000 - 2,000	21	38	38	1	*	2	201
500 - 1,000	15	29	51	3	-	2	115
200 - 500	21	31	41	4	1	2	201
- 200	21	20	47	8	-	4	66
Land:							
Bavaria	25	29	42	2	1	1	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	-	15	79	6	-	-	33
Northern Saxony	24	26	45	2	*	3	209
Schleswig-Holstein	18	39	36	3	-	4	291
Political Activity:							
Most active	17	33	44	4	-	2	115
Somewhat active	19	34	42	1	2	2	91
Politically interested only	18	32	45	3	-	2	178
Not active at all	24	30	40	2	*	4	315

*Less than one half of one per cent

"Here we have some examples from daily life where expellees and natives come in contact with each other. Please place yourself in each of the respective situations and then name the alternative which comes closest to your own attitude." (Following alternatives were presented to respondents on a card) (Returns on "From which storeowner would you prefer to buy?")

1. Must be an expellee
2. Would prefer expellee, but wouldn't mind native
3. Must be native
4. Would prefer native, but wouldn't mind expellee

	EXPELLEE			NATIVE			No. of cases
	Must	Pre-fer	No differ-ence	Pre-fer	Must	No opinion	
Sex:							
Men	14%	21%	62%	2%	1%	-	330
Women	13	23	61	1	1	1	369
Education:							
Elementary school	13	23	60	2	1	1	632
Beyond elementary	12	13	70	3	-	2	67
Income (per month):							
Under 150 DM	13	20	62	3	1	1	291
150 - 299 DM	13	24	61	1	1	*	296
300 DM and more	16	25	56	3	-	-	103
Age:							
Under 24 years	18	24	54	-	3	1	76
24 - 39 years	17	19	63	1	-	-	190
40 - 49 years	8	26	62	4	-	-	199
50 - 59 years	12	22	62	2	2	-	128
60 years and over	14	22	61	1	-	2	105
Working Status:							
Employed	14	23	59	3	*	1	192
Unemployed	10	21	64	3	1	1	154
Housewives	13	22	62	2	1	*	178
Independent	17	23	58	1	-	1	150
Location of Camp:							
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	13	22	60	3	1	1	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	16	25	57	2	-	*	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	12	20	66	1	1	-	164
Size of Camp:							
2,000 people and more	17	18	64	1	-	-	113
1,000 - 2,000	12	28	55	3	1	1	201
500 - 1,000	12	16	69	1	1	1	115
200 - 500	13	23	61	3	*	-	201
- 200	14	20	64	-	-	2	66
Land:							
Bavaria	15	23	60	1	1	-	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	-	3	88	3	-	6	33
Northern Saxony	15	20	63	1	*	1	209
Schleswig-Holstein	13	26	58	2	1	-	291
Political Activity:							
Most active	8	24	65	3	-	-	115
Somewhat active	11	24	63	2	-	-	91
Politically interested only	12	25	62	-	1	-	178
Not active at all	17	20	59	2	*	2	315

*Less than one half of one per cent

- XIV -

RESTRICTED

Here we have some examples from daily life where expellees and natives come in contact with each other. Please place yourself in each of the respective situations and then name the alternative which comes closest to your own attitude. (Following alternatives were presented to respondents on a card): (Returns on "Whom would you prefer to have as a friend?")

Must be an expellee
Would prefer expellee, but wouldn't mind native
Must be a native
Would prefer native but wouldn't mind expellee

	EXPELLEE			NATIVE			No. of cases;
	Must	Pre-fer	No differ-ence	Pre-fer	Must	No opinion	
Sex:							
Men	16%	22%	60%	2%	1%	100%	330
Women	19	26	52	1	*	2	369
Education:							
Elementary school	18	25	55	1	*	1	632
Beyond elementary	12	12	70	2	1	3	67
Income (per month):							
Under 150 DM	17	28	52	1	*	2	291
150 - 299 DM	19	22	58	1	*	-	296
300 DM and more	16	18	62	2	-	2	103
Age:							
Under 24 years	16	20	57	5	1	1	76
24 - 39 "	17	22	58	2	-	1	190
40 - 49 "	17	26	55	1	1	*	199
50 - 59 "	17	23	58	-	-	2	128
60 years and over	21	27	50	-	-	2	105
Working Status:							
Employed	14	21	61	2	1	1	192
Unemployed	10	24	64	2	-	-	154
Housewives	23	28	46	1	1	1	178
Independent	22	21	54	-	-	3	150
Location of Camp:							
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	15	23	59	1	1	1	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	22	26	48	2	-	2	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	17	23	59	1	-	-	164
Size of Camp:							
2000 people and more	24	16	60	-	-	-	113
1000 - 2000	17	27	53	1	-	2	201
500 - 1000	14	21	63	-	-	2	115
200 - 500	16	27	54	1	1	1	201
- 200	21	20	53	3	-	3	66
Land:							
Bavaria	20	19	58	1	1	1	166
Wuerttembg.-Baden	-	6	88	3	-	3	33
Northern Saxony	20	20	56	1	-	3	209
Schleswig-Holstein	16	31	51	2	*	*	291
Political Activity:							
Most active	15	25	58	2	-	-	115
Somewhat active	18	25	56	1	-	-	91
Politically interested only	15	19	62	2	1	1	178
Not active at all	20	26	52	*	*	2	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

- XV -

R E S T R I C T E D

tives come in contact with each other. Please place yourself in each of the respective situations and then name the alternative which comes closest to your own attitude. (Following alternatives were presented to respondents on a card): (Returns on "Whom should a member of your family marry?")"

Must be an expellee

Would prefer expellee, but wouldn't mind native

Must be a native

Would prefer native but wouldn't mind expellee

	EXPELLEES			NATIVE			No. of cases:
	Must	Pre-fer	No differ-	Pre-fer	Must	opinion	
Sex:							
Men	11%	12%	75%	1%	1%	3%...100%	330
Women	12	14	69	1	*	4	369
Education:							
Elementary school	12	12	71	1	*	4	632
Beyond elementary	4	17	70	3	3	3	67
Income (per month):							
Under 150 DM	10	15	70	1	*	4	291
150 - 299 DM	12	12	72	1	*	3	296
300 DM and more	11	10	72	2	1	4	103
Age:							
Under 24 years	10	16	65	1	1	7	76
24 - 39 "	14	10	71	1	-	4	190
40 - 49 "	10	14	73	1	1	1	199
50 - 59 "	9	11	78	-	-	2	128
60 years and over	10	15	64	3	-	8	105
Working Status:							
Employed	12	12	69	1	1	5	192
Unemployed	9	13	76	1	-	1	154
Housewives	14	13	69	2	*	2	178
Independent	10	14	69	1	-	6	150
Location of Camp:							
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	9	12	73	*	1	5	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	12	17	66	1	1	3	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	15	8	73	2	-	2	164
Size of Camp:							
2000 people and more	12	13	67	-	-	8	113
1000 - 2000	10	13	72	1	-	4	201
500 - 1000	10	11	77	-	-	2	115
200 - 500	11	16	70	1	1	1	201
- 200	15	6	68	6	2	3	66
Land:							
Bavaria	13	12	69	1	1	4	166
Wuerttembg.-Baden	-	3	88	3	-	6	33
Northern Saxony	14	7	74	*	*	5	209
Schleswig-Holstein	10	19	68	1	*	2	291
Political Activity:							
Most active	10	13	75	-	1	1	115
Somewhat active	8	14	78	-	-	-	91
Politically interested only	11	14	70	3	*	2	178
Not active at all	12	12	68	1	*	7	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

here we have some examples from daily life where expellees and natives come in contact with each other. Please place yourself in each of the respective situations and then name the alternative which comes closest to your own attitude. (Following alternatives were presented to respondents on a card): (Returns on "Whom would you prefer to have as a teacher for your children (supposing you have children?)")

Must be an expellee

Would prefer expellee, but wouldn't mind native

Must be a native

Would prefer native but wouldn't mind expellee

EXPELLEES

NATIVE

	Must	Prefer	No differ- ence	Prefer	Must	No opinion	No. of cases:
--	------	--------	--------------------	--------	------	---------------	------------------

Sex:

Men	18%	21%	57%	1%	1%	2%...100%	330
Women	14	26	53	2	1	4	369

Education:

Elementary school	17	25	54	1	*	3	632
Beyond elementary	10	13	67	3	5	2	67

Income (per month):

Under 150 DM	16	23	54	2	1	4	291
150 - 299 DM	17	24	55	1	-	3	296
300 DM and more	15	26	55	1	-	3	103

Age:

Under 24 years	17	25	50	-	-	8	76
24 - 39 years	17	23	55	2	1	2	190
40 - 49 "	28	23	55	2	1	1	199
50 - 59 "	14	24	56	1	1	4	128
60 years and over	13	26	54	1	1	5	105

Working Status:

Employed	17	24	53	1	1	4	192
Unemployed	17	19	58	2	1	3	154
Housewives	15	25	55	2	1	2	178
Independent	14	26	54	1	1	4	150

Location of Camp:

Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	12	24	58	1	1	4	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	22	26	47	1	-	4	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	18	20	58	2	1	1	164

Size of Camp:

2000 people and more	19	20	55	-	-	6	113
1000 - 2000	17	27	50	1	1	4	201
500 - 1000	10	25	61	1	1	2	115
200 - 500	16	24	56	1	1	2	201
- 200	23	17	56	4	-	-	66

Land:

Bavaria	18	27	50	2	1	2	166
Wuerttembg.-Baden	-	6	73	9	9	3	33
Northern Saxony	22	22	52	*	1	3	209
Schleswig-Holstein	13	25	57	1	-	4	291

Political Activity:

Most active	14	23	61	-	-	2	115
Somewhat active	14	28	54	2	1	1	91
Politically interested only	16	24	54	3	1	2	178
Not active at all	18	22	53	1	1	5	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

- XVII -

R E S T R I C T E D

03000

"Do you think that the children of expellees have the same opportunities to get ahead in life as the children of natives, or don't the children of expellees have the same opportunities?" (IF: "Not the same": "Are they better or worse?")

	The same	Better	Worse	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	48%	1%	42%	9%	330
Women	47	1	38	14	369
Education:					
Elementary school	47	1	40	12	632
Beyond elementary	48	1	45	6	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	50	1	34	15	291
150 - 299 DM	42	1	47	10	296
300 DM and more	49	-	44	7	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	58	+	34	8	76
24 - 39 years	45	1	43	11	190
40 - 49 "	47	-	45	8	199
50 - 59 "	52	-	34	14	128
60 years and over	39	3	38	20	105
Working Status:					
Employed	52	-	39	9	192
Unemployed	49	-	40	11	154
Housewives	48	1	39	12	178
Independent	41	1	41	17	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	50	*	38	12	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	49	2	39	10	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	40	1	46	13	164
Size of Camp:					
2000 people and more	57	1	26	16	113
1000 - 2000	49	1	36	14	201
500 - 1000	44	1	44	11	115
200 - 500	43	1	47	9	201
- 200	45	2	50	3	66
Land:					
Bavaria	49	1	44	6	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	61	-	36	3	33
Northern Saxony	43	1	39	17	209
Schleswig-Holstein	48	1	39	12	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	42	2	53	3	115
Somewhat active	46	2	44	8	91
Politically interested only	55	-	34	11	178
Not active at all	46	*	38	16	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

- XVIII -

R E S T R I C T E D

"In general, do you think that the children of expellees will as adults receive the same respect as their parents in their homelands, or will the children of expellees receive more respect, or less?"

	The same	More	Less	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	60%	1%	22%	17%	330
Women	56	*	19	25	369
Education:					
Elementary school	57	1	20	22	632
Beyond elementary	61	-	26	13	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	56	1	19	24	291
150 - 299 DM	56	-	24	20	296
300 DM and more	63	1	18	18	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	62	-	14	24	76
24 - 39 years	58	*	24	48	190
40 - 49 "	60	*	21	19	199
50 - 59 "	58	2	18	22	128
60 years and over	48	-	22	30	105
Working Status:					
Employed	60	-	21	19	192
Unemployed	60	1	21	18	154
Housewives	57	1	21	21	178
Independent	56	1	17	26	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	63	*	17	20	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	51	1	26	22	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	56	1	21	22	164
Size of Camp:					
2000 people and more	56	-	12	32	113
1000 - 2000	56	-	22	22	201
500 - 1000	64	-	14	22	115
200 - 500	57	1	25	17	201
- 200	56	2	29	13	66
Land:					
Bavaria	62	1	25	12	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	55	-	18	27	33
Northern Saxony	58	1	15	26	209
Schleswig-Holstein	55	*	22	23	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	67	-	23	10	115
Somewhat active	57	-	31	12	91
Politically interested only	59	1	19	21	178
Not active at all	53	*	18	29	315

* Less than one half of one per cent.

- XIX -

RESTRICTED

"Do you have friendly relations with your fellow-countrymen or with other expellees?"

	Yes, fellow- countrymen	Yes, other expellees	Yes, with both	No	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	30%	21%	41%	18%	330
Women	26	14	36	24	369
Education:					
Elementary school	29	12	38	21	632
Beyond elementary	22	16	41	21	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	29	11	39	21	291
150 - 299 DM	28	14	38	20	296
300 DM and over	27	12	38	23	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	21	9	51	19	76
24 - 39 "	25	14	36	25	190
40 - 49 "	29	15	32	24	199
50 - 59 "	34	10	38	18	128
60 years and over	29	11	44	16	105
Working Status:					
Employed	28	8	43	21	192
Unemployed	30	16	36	18	154
Housewives	29	12	35	24	178
Independent	25	16	37	22	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 in- habitants)	25	12	39	24	340
Living in the country with trans- portation facilities to the working place	26	16	46	12	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	35	12	28	25	164
Size of Camp:					
2000 people and more	28	4	47	21	113
1000 - 2000	27	15	42	16	201
500 - 1000	26	16	35	23	115
200 - 500	30	11	35	24	201
- 200	27	23	26	24	66
Land:					
Bavaria	24	15	37	24	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	18	21	30	31	33
Northern Saxony	34	14	30	22	209
Schleswig Holstein	27	10	45	28	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	23	16	51	10	115
Somewhat active	33	13	37	17	91
Politically interested only	24	10	43	23	178
Not active at all	30	13	31	26	315

- XX -

R E S T R I C T E D

"And do you have friendly relations with natives?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	46%	54%	330
Women	28	72	369
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	35	65	632
Beyond elementary	50	50	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
Under 150 DM	29	71	291
150 - 299 DM	39	61	296
300 DM and over	51	49	103
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 24 years	49	51	96
24 - 39 "	39	61	190
40 - 49 "	35	65	199
50 - 59 "	34	66	128
60 years and over	29	71	105
<u>Working Status:</u>			
Employed	52	48	192
Unemployed	42	58	154
Housewives	24	76	178
Independent	27	73	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>			
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	37	63	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	35	65	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	37	63	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>			
2000 people and more	42	58	113
1000 - 2000	31	69	201
500 - 1000	29	71	115
200 - 500	40	60	201
- 200	45	55	66
<u>Land:</u>			
Bavaria	45	55	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	30	70	33
Northern Sazony	36	64	209
Schleswig Holstein	32	68	291
<u>Political activity:</u>			
Most active	50	50	115
Somewhat active	42	58	91
Politically interested only	42	58	178
Not active at all	27	73	315

"Do you think that in general there are noticeable differences between expellees and natives, outside of differences which are due to different economic conditions?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	33%	58%	9%...100%	330
Women	24	52	24	369
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	26	56	18	632
Beyond elementary	46	48	6	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 150 DM	28	53	19	291
150 - 299 DM	31	54	15	296
300 DM and over	21	65	14	103
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 24 years	22	62	16	76
24 - 39 "	27	59	14	190
40 - 49 "	25	56	19	199
50 - 59 "	37	46	17	128
60 years and over	29	52	19	105
<u>Working Status:</u>				
Employed	29	64	7	192
Unemployed	31	51	18	154
Housewives	24	52	24	178
Independent	25	55	20	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	24	58	18	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	29	53	18	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	35	52	13	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>				
2000 people and more	14	69	17	113
1000 - 2000	27	54	19	201
500 - 1000	33	45	22	115
200 - 500	29	57	14	201
- 200	44	45	11	66
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	21	71	8	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	21	33	46	33
Northern Saxony	36	45	19	209
Schleswig Holstein	27	56	17	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>				
Most active	33	61	6	115
Somewhat active	35	52	13	91
Politically interested only	33	52	15	178
Not active at all	22	55	23	315

"Do you have the impression that natives and expellees generally get along well with each other or not?"

	Well	Not well	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	54%	36%	10%...100%	330
Women	50	29	21	369
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	51	33	16	632
Beyond elementary	56	28	16	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 150 DM	50	29	21	291
150 - 299 DM	52	36	12	296
300 DM and over	56	32	12	203
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 24 years	60	25	15	76
24 - 39 "	52	34	14	190
40 - 49 "	50	34	16	199
50 - 59 "	48	37	15	128
60 years and over	54	26	20	105
<u>Working Status:</u>				
Employed	54	37	9	192
Unemployed	53	35	12	154
Housewives	48	30	22	178
Independent	55	25	20	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	54	28	18	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	53	35	12	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	48	37	15	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>				
2000 people and more	62	27	11	113
1000 - 2000	55	28	17	201
500 - 1000	43	35	22	115
200 - 500	52	36	12	201
- 200	39	41	20	66
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	66	25	9	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	46	12	42	33
Northern Saxony	45	37	18	209
Schleswig Holstein	49	35	16	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>				
Most active	62	29	9	115
Somewhat active	43	43	14	91
Politically interested only	54	34	12	178
Not active at all	49	30	21	315

"Do you belong to any organization or club?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	69%	31%	330
Women	74	26	369
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	74	26	632
Beyond elementary	48	52	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
Under 150 DM	76	24	291
150 - 299 DM	68	32	296
300 DM and over	65	35	103
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 24 years	78	22	76
24 - 39 "	67	33	190
40 - 49 "	69	31	199
50 - 59	75	25	128
60 years and over	76	24	105
<u>Working Status:</u>			
Employed	69	31	192
Unemployed	68	32	154
Housewives	78	22	178
Independent	72	28	130
<u>Location of Camp:</u>			
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	77	23	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	62	38	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	71	29	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>			
2000 people and more	66	34	113
1000 - 2000	75	25	201
500 - 1000	66	34	115
200 - 500	78	22	201
- 200	58	42	66
<u>Land:</u>			
Bavaria	71	29	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	88	12	33
Northern Saxony	68	32	209
Schleswig Holstein	72	28	291
<u>Political activity:</u>			
Most active	51	49	115
Somewhat active	76	24	91
Politically interested only	74	26	178
Not active at all	76	24	315

"Do you belong to any organization or club?"

If "Yes":

"Are there only expellees in this club or are there natives as well?"

	Expellees only	Natives too	No answer	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	20%	11%	69%..100%	330
Women	20	6	74	369
Education:				
Elementary school	19	7	74	632
Beyond elementary	33	19	48	67
Income (per month):				
Under 150 DM	16	8	76	291
150 - 299 DM	24	7	69	296
300 DM and over	23	12	65	103
Age:				
Under 24 years	8	14	78	76
24 - 39 "	22	12	66	190
40 - 49 "	24	8	68	199
50 - 59 "	21	4	75	128
60 years and over	19	5	76	105
Working Status:				
Employed	17	13	70	192
Unemployed	20	12	68	154
Housewives	20	3	77	178
Independent	23	5	72	150
Location of Camp:				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	16	8	76	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	27	10	63	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	22	7	71	164
Size of Camp:				
2000 people and more	25	9	66	113
1000 - 2000	18	7	75	201
500 - 1000	27	7	66	115
200 - 500	13	9	78	201
- 200	30	12	58	66
Land:				
Bavaria	18	11	71	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	9	3	88	33
Northern Saxony	26	6	68	209
Schleswig Holstein	19	9	72	291
Political Activity:				
Most active	29	20	51	115
Somewhat active	18	7	75	91
Politically interested only	17	10	73	178
Not active at all	20	4	76	315

"Have you ever attended a meeting of expellees?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	54%	46%...100%	330
Women	43	57	369
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	47	53	632
Beyond elementary	64	36	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
Under 150 DM	45	55	291
150 - 299 DM	51	49	296
300 DM and more	51	49	103
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 24 years	46	54	76
24 - 39 "	44	56	190
40 - 49 "	50	50	199
50 - 59 "	57	43	128
60 years and over	44	56	105
<u>Working Status:</u>			
Employed	54	46	192
Unemployed	52	48	154
Housewives	47	53	178
Independent	42	58	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>			
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	50	50	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	51	49	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	42	58	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>			
2000 people and more	49	51	113
1000 - 2000	57	43	201
500 - 1000	36	64	115
200 - 500	46	54	201
- 200	55	45	66
<u>Land:</u>			
Bavaria	47	53	166
Wuerttemberg Baden	36	64	33
Northern Saxony	50	50	209
Schleswig Holstein	49	51	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>			
Most active	85	15	115
Somewhat active	59	41	91
Politically interested only	39	61	178
Not active at all	37	63	315

"Which political party is doing most in your opinion to solve the refugee problem?"

	SPD	KPD	CDU	FDP/LDP	BHE	Others	None	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:									
Men	21%	-	2%	-	31%	-	19%	27%..100%	330
Women	11	-	1	-	21	1	13	53	369
Education:									
Elementary school	16	-	2	-	24	*	15	43	632
Beyond elementary	10	-	-	-	40	-	23	27	67
Income (per month):									
Under 150 DM	13	-	1	-	24	*	18	44	291
150 - 299 DM	21	-	1	-	29	*	14	35	296
300 DM and more	13	-	2	-	22	-	16	47	103
Age:									
Under 24 years	12	-	-	-	32	-	13	43	76
24 - 39 "	15	-	1	-	23	1	17	43	190
40 - 49 "	20	-	1	-	25	-	14	40	199
50 - 59 "	10	-	3	-	24	1	24	38	128
60 years and over	19	-	1	-	28	-	11	41	105
Working Status:									
Employed	18	-	3	-	30	-	17	32	192
Unemployed	17	-	2	-	26	1	20	34	154
Housewives	13	-	*	-	18	1	13	55	178
Independent	17	-	1	-	27	-	14	41	150
Location of Camp:									
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants	16	-	2	-	19	*	17	46	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	15	-	-	-	34	*	12	39	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	17	-	2	-	29	1	19	32	164
Size of Camp:									
2000 people and more	26	-	-	-	11	-	14	49	113
1000 - 2000	10	-	2	-	30	1	17	40	201
500 - 1000	13	-	-	-	25	-	17	45	115
200 - 500	20	-	2	-	24	-	14	40	201
- 200	9	-	3	-	42	2	20	24	66
Land:									
Bavaria	24	-	1	-	17	1	14	43	166
Wuerttbg.-Baden	12	-	3	-	3	-	9	73	33
Northern Saxony	13	-	2	-	23	*	21	41	209
Schleswig Holstein	14	-	1	-	35	*	14	36	291
Political Activity:									
Most active	20	-	3	-	44	-	16	17	115
Somewhat active	20	-	2	-	34	-	25	19	91
Politically interested only	17	-	2	-	29	-	16	36	178
Not active at all	12	-	1	-	14	1	13	59	315

*Less than one half of one per cent

"Have you ever heard of the block of expellees and people deprived of rights, the so-called BHE?"

	Yes	No	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	52%	17%	31%...100%	330
Women	43	36	21	369
Education:				
Elementary school	47	29	24	632
Beyond elementary	54	6	40	67
Income (per month):				
Under 150 DM	46	30	24	291
150 - 299 DM	46	25	29	296
300 DM and more	57	21	22	103
Age:				
Under 24 years	34	34	32	76
24 - 39 "	53	24	23	190
40 - 49 "	49	26	25	199
50 - 59 "	52	24	24	128
60 years and over	40	32	28	105
Working Status:				
Employed	48	21	31	192
Unemployed	54	20	26	154
Housewives	44	38	18	178
Independent	44	29	27	150
Location of Camp:				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	51	30	19	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	43	23	34	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	46	25	29	164
Size of Camp:				
2000 people and more	50	39	11	113
1000 - 2000	45	25	30	201
500 - 1000	45	30	25	115
200 - 500	51	25	24	201
- 200	44	14	42	66
Land:				
Bavaria	50	32	18	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	36	61	3	33
Northern Saxony	45	33	22	209
Schleswig Holstein	49	16	35	291
Political Activity:				
Most active	52	3	45	115
Somewhat active	55	10	35	91
Politically interested only	52	18	30	178
Not active at all	40	46	14	315

R E S T R I C T E D

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the BHE is doing for the expelled?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	10%	20%	22%	48% .100%	330
Women	7	11	26	56	369
Eduaction:					
Elementary school	8	15	24	53	632
Beyond elementary	10	18	25	47	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	8	16	22	54	291
150 - 299 DM	8	15	23	54	296
300 DM and more	10	14	33	43	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	4	12	18	66	76
24 - 39 "	9	18	25	48	190
40 - 49 "	9	15	26	50	199
50 - 59 "	9	17	27	47	128
60 years and over	10	11	19	60	105
Working Status:					
Employed	8	16	24	52	192
Unemployed	10	23	22	45	154
Housewives	5	10	29	56	178
Independent	11	11	22	56	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	9	14	28	49	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	9	16	18	57	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	8	16	22	54	164
Size of Camp:					
2000 people and more	6	14	30	50	113
1000 - 2000	10	12	22	56	201
500 - 1000	8	16	21	55	115
200 - 500	9	16	26	49	201
- 200	8	22	14	56	66
Land:					
Bavaria	11	11	28	50	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	9	12	15	64	33
Northern Saxony	5	12	28	55	209
Schleswig Holstein	10	20	19	51	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	9	24	17	50	115
Somewhat active	12	25	19	44	91
Politically interested only	17	15	30	48	178
Not active at all	8	9	25	58	315

"Do you think that a refugee party is necessary or not?"

	Necessary	Not necessary	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	62%	31%	7%...100%	330
Women	55	18	27	369
Education:				
Elementary school	59	23	18	632
Beyond elementary	54	37	9	67
Income (per month):				
Under 150 DM	57	22	21	291
150 - 299 DM	60	23	17	296
300 DM and more	57	35	8	103
Age:				
Under 24 years	50	25	25	76
24 - 39 "	58	24	18	190
40 - 49 "	56	29	15	199
50 - 59 "	63	23	14	128
60 years and over	60	18	22	105
Working Status:				
Employed	61	29	10	192
Unemployed	65	24	11	154
Housewives	48	26	26	178
Independent	59	15	26	150
Location of Camp:				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitant)	55	25	20	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	60	24	16	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	61	24	15	164
Size of Camp:				
2000 people and more	45	32	23	113
1000 - 2000	62	22	16	201
500 - 1000	63	16	21	115
200 - 500	57	27	16	201
- 200	65	27	8	66
Land:				
Bavaria	57	26	17	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	40	27	33	33
Northern Saxony	60	22	18	209
Schlewig Holstein	59	25	16	29
Political Activity:				
Most active	59	38	3	115
Somewhat active	70	27	3	91
Politically interested only	62	25	13	178
Not active at all	52	18	30	315

"Do you think the Federal government is making honest efforts to solve the refugee problem or not?"

	Is making honest efforts	Is not making honest efforts	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	55%	33%	12%...100%	330
Women	48	24	28	369
Education:				
Elementary school	51	27	22	632
Beyond elementary	56	38	6	67
Income (per month):				
Under 150 DM	52	26	22	291
150 - 299 DM	49	30	21	296
300 DM and more	56	30	14	103
Age:				
Under 24 years	50	33	17	76
24 - 39 years	52	29	19	190
40 - 49 years	49	32	19	199
50 - 59 years	54	26	20	128
60 years and over	51	21	28	105
Working Status:				
Employed	47	35	18	192
Unemployed	58	32	10	154
Housewives	51	23	26	178
Independent	47	25	28	150
Location of Camp:				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	51	30	19	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	54	26	20	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	50	27	23	164
Size of Camp:				
2,000 people and more	52	23	25	113
1,000 - 2,000	50	31	19	201
500 - 1,000	49	32	19	115
200 - 500	53	24	23	201
- 200	51	38	11	66
Land:				
Bavaria	54	32	14	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	82	3	15	33
Northern Saxony	45	36	19	209
Schleswig-Holstein	51	24	25	291
Political Activity:				
Most active	50	40	10	115
Somewhat active	53	35	12	91
Politically interested only	54	27	19	178
Not active at all	50	23	27	315

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"Do you think that the local authorities generally give preference to natives, or expellees, or do the authorities make no distinction?"

	Natives	Expellees	No distinction	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	27%	—	61%	12%..100%	330
Women	20	—	29	21	369
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	24	*	58	18	632
Beyond elementary	28	1	59	12	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	24	1	56	19	291
150 - 299 DM	25	—	61	14	296
300 DM and more	15	—	68	17	103
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 24 years	24	—	63	13	76
24 - 39 years	24	—	67	9	190
40 - 49 years	25	—	57	18	199
50 - 59 years	25	1	56	18	128
60 years and over	18	—	53	29	105
<u>Working Status:</u>					
Employed	27	—	65	8	192
Unemployed	34	1	56	9	154
Housewives	17	1	61	21	178
Independent	18	—	58	24	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	23	1	60	16	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	21	1	60	18	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	27	—	58	15	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>					
2,000 people and more	15	1	65	19	113
1,000 - 2,000	22	*	63	15	201
500 - 1,000	28	1	53	18	115
200 - 500	22	—	60	18	201
- 200	39	—	52	9	66
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	27	—	66	7	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	13	6	48	33	33
Northern Saxony	18	—	57	15	209
Schleswig-Holstein	20	—	60	20	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>					
Most active	20	1	70	9	115
Somewhat active	31	—	60	9	91
Politically interested only	27	1	59	13	178
Not active at all	21	*	56	23	315

*Less than one half of one per cent

"Are you of the opinion that West Germany could solve the
refugee problem alone, or will West Germany need the aid
of other nations in that?"

	Alone	Aid of other nations	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	7%	85%	8%...100%	330
Women	7	62	31	369
Education:				
Elementary school	7	72	21	632
Beyond elementary	9	82	9	67
Income (per month):				
Under 150 M	8	65	27	291
150 - 299 M	6	78	16	296
300 M and more	9	77	14	103
Age:				
Under 24 years	9	78	13	76
24 - 39 years	9	75	17	190
40 - 49 years	6	73	21	199
50 - 59 years	5	77	18	128
60 years and over	10	59	31	105
Working Status:				
Employed	10	80	10	192
Unemployed	3	85	12	154
Housewives	6	64	30	178
Independent	8	64	28	150
Location of Camp:				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	9	72	19	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	5	70	25	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	6	77	17	164
Size of Camp:				
2,000 people and more	12	58	30	113
1,000 - 2,000	7	73	20	201
500 - 1,000	6	77	17	115
200 - 500	4	78	18	201
- 200	9	76	15	66
Land:				
Bavaria	10	76	14	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	3	79	18	33
Northern Saxony	7	74	19	209
Schleswig-Holstein	6	70	24	291
Political Activity:				
Most active	8	84	8	115
Somewhat active	9	89	2	91
Politically interested only	7	80	13	178
Not active at all	7	60	33	315

R E S T R I C T E D

"Do you think that the other nations will contribute much, or little to the solution of the refugee problem in West Germany?" (Asked of those who mentioned "aid of other nations".)

	Much	Little	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	35%	40%	10%	15%..100%	330
Women	19	27	16	38	369
Education:					
Elementary school	26	32	14	28	632
Beyond elementary	29	44	9	18	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	24	29	12	35	291
150 - 299 DM	27	37	14	22	296
300 DM and more	31	35	12	22	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	29	34	15	22	76
24 - 39 years	26	35	14	25	190
40 - 49 years	28	34	11	27	199
50 - 59 years	25	36	17	22	128
60 years and over	25	24	9	42	105
Working Status:					
Employed	35	34	11	20	192
Unemployed	31	45	8	16	154
Housewives	19	29	16	36	178
Independent	22	25	15	38	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	25	32	15	28	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	26	33	11	30	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	30	37	10	23	164
Size of Camp:					
2,000 people and more	24	19	15	42	113
1,000 - 2,000	23	38	12	27	201
500 - 1,000	27	34	16	23	115
200 - 500	29	37	11	23	201
- 200	32	32	12	24	66
Land:					
Bavaria	27	40	9	24	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	21	34	24	21	33
Northern Saxony	26	34	14	26	209
Schleswig-Holstein	27	29	13	31	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	32	45	6	17	115
Somewhat active	32	44	13	11	91
Politically interested only	33	34	12	21	178
Not active at all	19	25	16	40	315

"Do you think that a final equalization of burdens act will be carried out?"

	Yes	No	No opinion - never heard of it	No. of cases
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Sex:

Men	24%	71%	5%...100%	330
Women	29	59	12	369

Education:

Elementary school	27	64	9	632
Beyond elementary	22	75	3	67

Income (per month):

Under 150 DM	23	64	13	291
150 - 299 DM	29	65	6	296
300 DM and more	28	68	4	103

Age:

Under 24 years	30	54	16	76
24 - 39 years	27	67	6	190
40 - 49 years	25	68	7	199
50 - 59 years	21	70	9	128
60 years and over	32	55	13	105

Working Status:

Employed	24	70	6	192
Unemployed	24	66	10	154
Housewives	25	65	10	178
Independent	34	57	9	150

Location of Camp:

Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	31	59	10	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	27	67	6	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	17	74	9	164

Size of Camp:

2,000 people and more	32	58	10	113
1,000 - 2,000	26	65	9	201
500 - 1,000	36	52	12	115
200 - 500	19	72	9	201
- 200	21	77	2	66

Land:

Bavaria	33	64	3	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	30	40	30	33
Northern Saxony	21	70	9	209
Schleswig-Holstein	26	65	9	291

Political Activity:

Most active	22	76	2	115
Somewhat active	20	77	3	91
Politically interested only	29	65	6	178
Not active at all	28	57	15	315

"Do you think that a final equalization of burdens act will be carried out?"

If "Yes":

"Do you think that you would receive something under the final equalization law?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	18%	4%	1%	77%..100%	330
Women	25	2	1	72	369
Education:					
Elementary school	22	3	1	74	632
Beyond elementary	18	3	3	76	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	19	3	1	77	291
150 - 299 DM	25	3	1	71	296
300 DM and more	20	5	3	72	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	18	8	1	73	76
24 - 39 "	21	5	2	72	190
40 - 49 "	21	2	2	75	199
50 - 59 "	20	2	-	78	128
60 years and over	29	1	3	67	105
Working Status:					
Employed	19	4	1	76	192
Unemployed	15	5	4	76	154
Housewives	22	2	1	75	178
Independent	30	2	1	67	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	25	4	2	69	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	21	4	2	73	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	16	1	-	83	164
Size of Camp:					
2000 people and more	26	5	1	68	113
1000 - 2000	22	2	2	74	201
500 - 1000	31	3	2	64	115
200 - 500	16	2	1	81	201
- 200	14	6	2	78	66
Land:					
Bavaria	27	6	-	67	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	30	-	-	70	33
Northern Saxony	18	1	2	79	209
Schleswig Holstein	21	3	2	74	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	17	2	3	78	115
Somewhat active	18	2	-	80	91
Politically interested only	23	6	1	70	178
Not active at all	23	3	2	72	315

"In your opinion are the expellees, who are living in the East Zone now, better off, or worse off than the expellees here?"

	Better off in the East Zone	Worse off in the East Zone	Both under the same bad condi- tions	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	2%	82%	1%	15%...100%	330
Women	4	78	1	17	369
Education:					
Elementary school	2	79	1	18	632
Beyond elementary	6	84	-	10	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	3	75	1	21	291
150 - 299 DM	3	82	1	14	296
300 DM and more	3	85	-	12	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	1	75	-	24	76
24 - 39 years	4	82	1	13	190
40 - 49 years	1	76	1	12	199
50 - 59 years	5	73	2	20	128
60 years and over	3	73	1	23	105
Working Status:					
Employed	3	80	1	16	192
Unemployed	1	83	1	15	154
Housewives	4	79	1	16	178
Independent	3	75	1	21	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	2	77	1	20	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	7	84	-	13	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	7	79	2	12	164
Size of Camp:					
2,000 people and more	1	82	-	17	113
1,000 - 2,000	2	77	1	20	201
500 - 1,000	5	77	-	18	115
200 - 500	1	84	2	13	201
- 200	9	77	-	14	66
Land:					
Bavaria	2	82	1	15	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	3	85	-	12	33
Northern Saxony	5	74	2	19	209
Schleswig-Holstein	2	82	-	16	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	4	86	-	10	115
Somewhat active	4	87	-	9	91
Politically interested only	3	80	-	17	178
Not active at all	2	75	2	21	315

R E S T R I C T E D

"Supposing you had the choice, what would you do then: would you return to your homeland, would you emigrate, or would you remain here in West Germany?"

	Return	Emigrate	Stay here	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	74%	3%	21%	2%..100%	330
Women	70	2	26	2	369
Education:					
Elementary school	73	2	23	2	632
Beyond elementary	70	3	27	-	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	71	3	23	3	291
150 - 299 DM	75	2	22	1	296
300 DM and more	72	3	24	1	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	68	5	24	3	76
24 - 39 "	71	2	26	1	190
40 - 49 "	71	2	25	2	199
50 - 59 "	78	2	18	2	128
60 years and over	71	2	22	5	105
Working Status:					
Employed	76	3	21	-	192
Unemployed	74	4	19	3	154
Housewives	72	2	25	1	178
Independent	67	1	27	5	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	71	2	25	2	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	80	*	17	3	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	67	5	26	2	164
Size of Camp:					
2000 people and more	68	2	22	2	113
1000 - 2000	75	1	21	3	201
500 - 1000	73	4	21	2	115
200 - 500	69	3	27	1	201
- 200	71	3	23	3	66
Land:					
Bavaria	74	4	21	1	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	60	3	37	-	33
Northern Saxony	69	3	26	2	209
Schleswig Holstein	76	1	21	2	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	81	2	16	1	115
Somewhat active	75	3	21	1	91
Politically interested only	70	1	27	2	178
Not active at all	70	3	24	3	315

*Less than one half of one per cent

"If it would be possible for you to return to your homeland
only through a war, would you then approve such a war or not?"

	Approve	Not approve	Qualified answer	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	19%	51%	1%	4%	25%...100%	330
Women	9	54	1	6	30.	369
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	13	53	1	5	28	632
Beyond elementary	16	52	2	1	29	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Under 150 DM	14	51	*	6	29	291
150 - 299 DM	14	54	2	5	25	296
300 DM and more	10	57	2	3	28	103
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 24 years	9	52	-	8	31	76
24 - 39 years	13	51	1	4	28	190
40 - 49 years	15	50	1	5	29	199
50 - 59 years	15	55	1	7	22	128
60 years and over	8	59	2	2	29	105
<u>Working Status:</u>						
Employed	15	54	2	5	24	192
Unemployed	22	48	1	3	26	154
Housewives	8	57	1	6	28	178
Independent	10	51	1	5	32	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>						
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	11	55	*	5	29	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	15	58	1	6	20	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	18	43	2	4	33	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>						
2,000 people and more	5	64	-	5	26	113
1,000 - 2,000	13	57	1	4	25	201
500 - 1,000	16	50	-	6	28	115
200 - 500	18	42	2	7	31	201
- 200	12	57	2	-	29	66
<u>Land:</u>						
Bavaria	14	57	1	2	26	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	22	39	-	-	39	33
Northern Saxony	16	43	3	7	31	209
Schleswig-Holstein	12	59	-	5	24	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>						
Most active	20	55	3	2	20	115
Somewhat active	17	54	1	3	25	91
Politically interested only	16	52	-	2	30	178
Not active at all	9	52	1	8	30	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

"Would you return even if the present government still existed in your homeland, or would you, under these circumstances, desist from returning?"

	Return even then	Desist	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	1%	74%	1	25%...100%	330
Women	-	69	1	30	369
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	*	72	*	28	632
Beyond elementary	-	71	-	29	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	*	71	-	29	291
150 - 299 DM	*	74	1	25	296
300 DM and more	-	72	-	28	103
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 24 years	-	67	1	32	76
24 - 39 years	-	71	1	28	190
40 - 49 years	1	71	-	28	199
50 - 59 years	1	76	-	23	128
60 years and more	-	71	-	29	105
<u>Working Status:</u>					
Employed	1	76	-	23	192
Unemployed	-	74	-	26	154
Housewives	-	71	1	28	178
Independent	1	66	-	33	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,00 inhabitants)	*	71	-	29	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	-	79	1	20	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	1	66	1	32	164
<u>Size of Camps:</u>					
2,000 people and more	1	73	-	26	113
1,000 - 2,000	-	75	-	25	201
500 - 1,000	-	73	-	27	115
200 - 500	-	68	1	31	201
- 200	2	69	-	29	66
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	1	73	-	26	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	-	61	-	39	33
Northern Saxony	*	67	1	32	209
Schleswig-Holstein	-	76	-	24	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>					
Most active	-	83	-	17	115
Somewhat active	-	75	-	25	91
Politically interested only	1	69	-	30	178
Not active at all	-	69	1	30	315

* Less than one half of one per cent..

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R E S T R I C T E D

If either "Return" or "Return if ..." to previous questions.

"If that were impossible, would you then rather stay here or would you prefer to emigrate?"

	Emigrate	Stay here	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	9%	65%	1%	25%..100%	330
Women	3	65	2	30	369
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	5	66	1	28	632
Beyond elementary	9	61	1	29	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	5	65	1	29	291
150 - 299 DM	5	68	2	25	296
300 DM and more	8	63	1	28	103
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 24 years	13	50	6	31	76
24 - 39 "	5	65	2	28	190
40 - 49 "	6	63	2	29	199
50 - 59 "	4	72	2	22	120
60 years and over	2	69	-	29	105
<u>Working Status:</u>					
Employed	7	67	2	24	192
Unemployed	10	62	2	26	154
Housewives	3	66	3	28	178
Independent	1	66	1	32	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	5	64	2	29	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	4	75	1	20	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	9	54	4	33	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>					
2000 people and more	4	70	-	26	113
1000 - 2000	3	71	1	25	201
500 - 1000	9	61	2	28	115
200 - 500	5	59	4	32	201
" 200	7	63	-	30	66
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	6	66	2	26	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	6	55	-	39	33
Northern Saxony	8	57	4	31	209
Schleswig Holstein	4	71	1	24	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>					
Most active	5	72	-	23	115
Somewhat active	6	68	1	25	91
Politically interested only	8	61	1	30	178
Not active at all	4	63	4	29	315

"And what do you think about your future, do you believe that you will return to your homeland or not?"

	Return	Not return	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	50%	20%	5%	25%	330
Women	37	28	5	30	369
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	43	24	5	28	632
Beyond elementary school	40	24	7	29	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	42	23	6	29	291
150 - 299 DM	45	24	6	25	296
300 DM and more	43	26	3	28	103
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 24 years	36	29	4	31	76
24 - 39 years	44	24	3	29	190
40 - 49 "	47	20	5	23	199
50 - 59 "	45	21	12	22	128
60 years and over	36	32	3	29	105
<u>Working Status:</u>					
Employed	53	23	1	23	192
Unemployed	51	20	3	26	154
Housewives	40	28	4	28	178
Independent	33	28	7	32	150
<u>Location of Camp:</u>					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	42	22	7	29	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	46	28	5	21	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	42	23	2	33	164
<u>Size of Camp:</u>					
2000 people and more	39	32	4	25	113
1000 - 2000	45	21	9	25	201
500 - 1000	45	24	4	27	115
200 - 500	45	21	3	31	201
- 200	35	30	6	29	66
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	38	32	4	26	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	36	15	9	40	33
Northern Saxony	42	16	10	32	209
Schleswig-Holstein	47	26	3	24	291
<u>Political Activity:</u>					
Most active	56	24	3	17	115
Somewhat active	52	16	7	25	91
Politically interested only	46	20	4	30	178
Not active at all	34	29	6	31	315

R E S T R I C T E D

"Do you think that a return to your homeland will be possible only after a war, or do you think that a return to your homeland will be possible without a war?"

	Yes, only after war	No, war not necessary	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	42%	29%	4%	25%...100%	330
Women	37	25	8	30	369
Education:					
Elementary school	39	28	5	28	632
Beyond elementary	40	25	6	29	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	39	25	7	29	291
150 - 299 DM	37	32	6	25	296
300 DM and more	41	26	5	28	103
Age:					
Under 24 years	45	26	8	31	76
24 - 39 "	44	24	4	28	190
40 - 49 "	33	32	6	29	199
50 - 59 "	44	28	6	22	128
60 years and over	30	33	8	29	105
Working Status:					
Employed	38	31	7	24	192
Unemployed	44	27	3	26	154
Housewives	41	24	7	28	178
Independent	36	24	8	32	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	37	27	7	29	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	37	35	8	20	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	46	19	2	33	164
Size of Camp:					
2000 people and more	32	37	5	26	113
1000 - 2000	39	28	10	25	201
500 - 1000	43	26	3	28	115
200 - 500	38	26	4	32	201
- 200	48	16	6	30	66
Land:					
Bavaria	40	30	4	26	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	46	9	6	39	33
Northern Saxony	39	23	7	31	209
Schleswig Holstein	38	31	7	24	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	40	38	3	19	115
Somewhat active	46	28	1	25	91
Politically interested only	34	28	7	31	178
Not active at all	39	23	8	30	315

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R E S T R I C T E D

STATISTICAL DATA

"How long have you been here in West Germany?"

	Since 1946 or earlier	Since 1947/48	Since 1949/ 50/51	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	67%	23%	10%...100%	330
Women	75	17	8	369
Education:				
Elementary school	72	20	8	632
Beyond elementary school	60	25	15	67
Income (per month):				
Under 150 DM	72	20	8	291
150 - 299 DM	72	20	8	296
300 DM and more	72	19	9	103
Age:				
Under 24 years	76	17	7	76
24 - 39 years	70	21	9	190
40 - 49 "	66	24	10	199
50 - 59 "	76	15	9	128
60 years and over	73	19	8	105
Working Status:				
Employed	75	21	4	192
Unemployed	63	25	12	154
Housewives	72	17	11	178
Independent	76	17	7	150
Location of Camp:				
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	65	23	12	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	79	16	5	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	74	19	7	164
Size of Camp:				
2000 people and more	81	17	2	113
1000 - 2000	63	27	10	201
500 - 1000	72	11	17	115
200 - 500	70	23	7	201
- 200	80	8	12	66
Land:				
Bavaria	63	33	4	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	-	3	97	33
Northern Saxony	71	22	7	209
Schleswig-Holstein	84	13	3	291
Political Activity:				
Most active	69	22	9	115
Somewhat active	67	21	12	91
Politically interested only	69	24	7	178
Not active at all	74	17	9	315

"Have you always lived in camps since you have been here in West Germany or not?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
Sex:			
Men	83%	17%	330
Women	84	16	369
Education:			
Elementary school	85	15	632
Beyond elementary school			67
Income (Per month):			
Under 150 DM	85	15	291
150 - 299 DM	82	18	296
300 DM and over	81	19	103
Age:			
Under 24 years	83	17	76
24 - 39 years	80	20	190
40 - 49 "	82	18	199
50 - 59 "	87	13	128
60 years and over	87	13	105
Working Status:			
Employed	83	17	192
Unemployed	77	23	154
Housewives	83	17	178
Independent	87	13	150
Location of Camp:			
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	92	8	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	81	19	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	66	34	164
Size of Camp:			
2000 people and more	93	7	113
1000 - 2000	94	6	201
500 - 1000	79	21	115
200 - 500	77	23	201
- 200	62	38	66
Land:			
Bavaria	87	13	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	100	-	33
Northern Saxony	65	35	209
Schleswig-Holstein	92	8	291
Political Activity:			
Most active	86	14	115
Somewhat active	79	21	91
Politically interested only	81	19	178
Not active at all	85	15	315

	Sude- ten- land	East Prussia Dansig	Sile- sia	Pom- mera- nia	Po- land	East Zone	Others	No. of cases:
Sex:								
Men	11%	22%	24%	26%	4%	4%	9%..100%	330
Women	10	21	21	30	6	3	9	369
Education:								
Elementary school	10	20	23	29	6	3	9	632
Beyond elementary	12	22	18	19	4	11	14	67
Income (per month):								
Under 150 DM	10	23	17	30	5	3	12	291
150 - 299 DM	11	19	25	29	6	2	8	296
300 DM and more	9	23	32	20	4	8	4	103
Age:								
Under 24 years	17	17	28	25	4	1	8	76
24 - 39 years	10	20	24	22	5	7	12	190
40 - 49 "	10	20	24	28	8	3	7	199
50 - 59 "	9	24	16	32	4	4	11	128
60 years and over	8	25	20	36	4	-	7	105
Working Status:								
Employed	12	16	33	23	4	4	8	192
Unemployed	10	22	17	24	7	8	12	154
Housewives	9	21	19	31	6	4	10	178
Independent	9	26	18	35	5	-	7	150
Location of Camp:								
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	9	18	29	26	5	4	9	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	10	21	14	43	5	4	3	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	14	26	19	15	6	4	16	164
Size of Camp:								
2000 people and more	1	15	46	29	3	3	3	113
1000 - 2000	21	11	22	32	4	4	6	201
500 - 1000	4	29	11	31	4	2	19	115
200 - 500	11	27	18	24	10	2	8	201
- 200	3	32	16	17	4	14	14	66
Land:								
Bavaria	36	3	37	2	3	2	17	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	12	12	12	6	15	15	28	33
Northern Saxony	3	20	37	15	7	6	12	209
Schleswig-Holstein	1	33	4	55	4	2	1	291
Political Activity:								
Most active	10	18	24	38	3	3	4	115
Somewhat active	7	20	28	28	7	3	7	91
Politically interested only	8	24	19	29	4	6	10	178
Not active at all	12	21	22	24	7	3	11	315

"What kind of job did you have last in your homeland?"

	Em- ployed	Un- employed but able to work	Un- employed not able to work	House- wives	Income inde- pendent from work	In training	No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	87%	-	2%	-	1%	10%	330
Women	30	*	-	61	1	8	369
Education:							
Elementary school	57	*	1	33	1	8	632
Beyond elementary	54	-	2	25	-	19	67
Income (per month):							
Under 150 DM	59	*	1	33	1	6	291
150 - 299 DM	57	-	1	32	1	9	296
300 DM and more	49	-	-	31	2	18	103
Age:							
Under 24 years	21	-	1	28	1	49	76
24 - 39 "	65	1	-	19	2	13	190
40 - 49 "	52	-	-	48	-	-	199
50 - 59 "	66	-	2	32	-	-	128
60 years and over	66	-	1	29	3	1	105
Working Status:							
Employed	71	-	-	7	1	21	192
Unemployed	84	-	*	5	1	10	154
Housewives	26	-	-	70	1	3	178
Independent	42	1	2	52	2	1	150
Location of Camp:							
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	52	-	1	36	1	10	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	54	*	1	33	2	10	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	70	-	-	23	1	6	164
Size of Camp:							
2000 people and more	43	-	2	40	1	14	113
1000 - 2000	59	-	-	28	*	13	201
500 - 1000	51	-	2	39	4	4	115
200 - 500	64	*	*	28	-	8	201
- 200	68	-	-	27	-	5	66
Land:							
Bavaria	57	-	1	27	2	13	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	61	-	-	36	-	3	33
Northern Saxony	63	*	1	29	-	7	209
Schleswig Holstein	52	-	1	36	1	10	291
Political Activity:							
Most active	78	-	-	16	-	6	115
Somewhat active	77	-	-	15	-	8	91
Politically interest- ed only	58	-	1	29	2	10	178
Not active at all	43	*	1	45	1	18	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

"And what kind of job do you have now?"

	Em- ployed	Unem- ployed but able to work	Unem- ployed not able to work	House- wives	Income inde- pendent from work	In training	No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	42%	34%	6%	-%	17%	1%...100%	330
Women	13	11	1	48	26	1	369
Education:							
Elementary school	26	21	4	26	22	1	632
Beyond elementary	30	25	2	24	15	4	67
Income (per month):							
Under 150 DM	4	34	7	20	34	1	291
150 - 299 DM	37	17	1	30	14	1	296
300 DM and over	58	2	2	29	8	1	103
Age:							
Under 24 years	46	25	1	17	1	10	76
24 - 39 years	30	24	3	30	12	1	190
40 - 49 "	25	24	3	33	15	-	199
50 - 59 "	26	26	8	26	14	-	128
60 years and over	8	8	4	8	72	-	105
Location of Camp:							
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	31	18	4	28	28	1	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	23	20	4	26	27	*	191
Living in the country with almost no trans- portation facilities to the working place	20	33	4	19	23	1	164
Size of Camp:							
2000 people and more	34	14	6	28	18	-	113
1000 - 2000	33	18	3	24	20	2	201
500 - 1000	10	28	5	23	33	1	115
200 - 500	26	25	2	28	17	2	201
- 200	23	29	1	23	23	1	66
Land:							
Bavaria	36	18	3	22	19	2	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	9	30	9	37	12	3	33
Northern Saxony	30	22	4	25	19	-	209
Schleswig-Holstein	21	23	3	27	25	1	291
Political Activity:							
Most active	30	34	4	8	23	1	115
Somewhat active	37	31	7	13	11	1	91
Politically interested only	32	25	2	24	16	1	178
Not active at all	19	13	3	36	27	2	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

"And where would you like to live now: in a city, in a smaller town or in the country?"

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	City	Smaller town	In the country	No dif- ference	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	31%	34%	18%	16%	1%...100%	330
Women	27	41	19	12	1	369
Education:						
Elementary school	27	37	20	15	1	632
Beyond elementary	44	41	9	6	-	67
Income (per month):						
Under 150 DM	25	36	21	17	1	291
150 - 299 DM	30	41	16	13	*	296
300 DM and more	36	35	21	8	-	103
Age:						
Under 24 years	24	46	16	14	-	76
24 - 39 years	35	45	11	8	1	190
40 - 49 "	31	37	18	14	-	199
50 - 59 "	26	27	26	20	1	128
60 years and over	21	32	27	17	3	105
Working Status:						
Employed	33	35	16	15	1	192
Unemployed	30	40	15	14	1	154
Housewives	27	39	23	11	-	178
Independent	26	36	20	16	2	150
Location of Camp:						
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (with more than 100,000 inhabitants)	35	33	16	16	*	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	20	45	22	13	-	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	28	38	20	12	2	164
Size of Camp:						
2000 people and more	46	27	16	11	-	113
1000 - 2000	22	41	20	17	-	201
500 - 1000	26	37	20	17	-	115
200 - 500	27	42	19	10	2	201
- 200	35	36	15	14	-	66
Land:						
Bavaria	40	30	16	13	1	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	30	21	12	37	-	33
Northern Saxony	27	42	18	13	-	209
Schleswig-Holstein	24	41	21	13	1	291
Political Activity:						
Most active	33	44	13	10	-	115
Somewhat active	31	42	14	13	-	91
Politically interested only	33	32	20	13	2	178
Not active at all	25	37	21	16	1	315

* Less than one half of one per cent

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R E S T R I C T E D

"Did you live in the city, in a smaller town, or in the country in your homeland?"

	City	Smaller town	In the country	No opinion	No of cases
Sex:					
Men	25%	28%	47%	*	330
Women	21	31	48	*	369
Education:					
Elementary school	21	28	51	*	632
Beyond elementary	44	37	19	-	67
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	24	26	50	*	291
150 - 299 DM	21	31	48		296
300 DM and more	24	33	43		103
Age:					
Under 24 years	16	21	63		76
24 - 39 years	24	31	44	1	190
40 - 49 "	24	30	46		199
50 - 59 "	26	30	44	1	128
60 years and over	21	28	50	1	105
Working Status:					
Employed	22	29	49	-	192
Unemployed	27	30	42	1	154
Housewives	23	27	50	-	178
Independent	21	29	49	1	150
Location of Camp:					
Industrial area or in vicinity of a city (more than 100,000 inhabitants)	24	26	50	*	340
Living in the country with transportation facilities to the working place	20	33	47	-	191
Living in the country with almost no transportation facilities to the working place	25	30	44	1	164
Size of Camp:					
2000 people and more	22	23	55	-	113
1000 - 2000	20	33	47	-	201
500 - 1000	21	29	50	-	115
200 - 500	38	29	33	-	201
Land: - 200	21	29	50	*	66
Land:					
Bavaria	19	30	50	1	166
Wuerttemberg-Baden	30	21	49	-	33
Northern Saxony	30	32	38	-	209
Schleswig-Holstein	20	27	53	*	291
Political Activity:					
Most active	27	33	40	-	115
Somewhat active	27	30	43	-	91
Politically interested only	25	30	44	1	178
Not active at all	19	27	54	-	315

*Less than one half of one per cent

FOLLOW UP STUDY OF GERMAN VIEWS ON THE
CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT VERSUS THE RUSSIAN UNITY PROPOSAL

Report No. 137

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REAGIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

The present study is based upon an 800 case probability sampling of West Germany conducted between April 28th and May 10th, 1952. It supersedes and amplifies a preliminary "flash" study conducted between April 18th and 21st. Detailed evaluations of the contractual agreement *par se* have not been pursued in the present study as it has been deemed desirable to wait until the West German public has been given more information upon which to base judgment.

As usual, interviews were gathered under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

S U M M A R Y

1. The indication is firm from successive surveys that the Russian unity proposal failed to elicit widespread support among the West German people.

Few believe the proposal sincere, and no more than the order of one in five is inclined to recommend Western power acceptance.

2. The West German populace tends to be more favorably than unfavorably disposed toward the projected contractual agreement with its defense participation corollary.

However, the results to "bracketing" inquiries in successive surveys - describing the projected agreement in favorable and less favorable terms prior to requesting reactions - make it evident that the margin of approval over disapproval will depend strongly on the extent to which the agreement will appear to the Germans as granting independence plus equality in defense participation.

But whatever doubts some may have about the attractiveness of the contractual agreement, most with opinions definitely prefer it to the Russian unity proposal, if a choice had to be made.

3. By way of interpretation, it is clear from the returns that there is widespread dislike of the Russian proposal as it stands. But it is unwise to go any further and attempt to conclude that there is positive German liking for the Western course of action.

Now as before, the course of action that the preponderance of West Germans really like is to remain neutral and stay completely out of the East-West struggle.

On the other hand, most who long for neutrality have indicated in past surveys the impracticability of such a course, and have been inclined, however unenthusiastically, to throw their lot in with the West.

4. A final point in need of careful attention is that if the Russians are prepared to relinquish their Oder/Neisse provision, and give evidence of meaning what they say, they could cut seriously into rank and file inclinations to line up with the West on the future course of West Germany.

With the Oder/Neisse condition dropped, support for the Russian proposal draws up to better than even with the proportion who maintain their disapproval under such circumstances.

Moreover analysis reveals the appeal of an Oder/Neisse-purged Russian proposal is not confined solely to Germans of neutralist inclinations, but tends to make heavy inroads among those who priorly listed themselves as in the Western Camp.

- a -

SINCERE OR ONLY PROPAGANDA? ...

With the present findings almost identical with prior "flash" returns, the indication is firm that only about the order of one in ten in West Germany react to the Russian unity proposal as a genuine offer. And in no population group examined does the opinion that Russia is now ready and willing to make concessions reliably exceed one in five.

"Do you have the impression that Russia is now ready and willing to make real concessions in regard to Germany or do you consider the Russian proposal nothing but propaganda?" (Asked of all respondents after those not priorly aware of the Russian proposal were told - "Russia recently made a proposal for the reunification of Germany")*

	WEST GERMANY (800)	British Zone (415)	UZ Zone (292)	French Zone (93)
Real concessions	10%	10%	11%	9%
Nothing but propaganda	67	68	68	56
No opinion	23	22	21	35
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Real concessions	Only propaganda	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	13%	69%	18%...100%	373
Women	8	64	28	427
Education:				
Elementary school	8	67	25	650
Beyond elementary	20	64	16	148
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	9	61	30	172
150 - 299 DM	6	67	27	275
300 - 399 DM	15	73	12	181
400 DM and more	13	71	16	129
Age:				
Up to 29 years	9	69	22	195
30 - 49 years	9	69	22	339
50 years and over	12	63	25	258
Party Preference:				
SPD	11	78	11	189
CDU/CSU	5	77	18	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	14	75	11	44
Other parties	18	69	13	56
No party	8	44	48	150
Don't know	11	63	26	213
Occupation:				
Professionals	23	59	18	34
Businessmen	14	71	15	90
White-collar workers	14	69	17	117
Skilled laborers	10	68	22	155
Semi-skilled laborers	3	69	28	98
Farmers	12	59	29	91
Housewives	-	70	30	27
Unemployed	4	71	25	28
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	8	63	29	142
Religion:				
Catholics	8	69	23	349
Protestants	12	65	23	407
Origin:				
Natives	10	66	24	636
Expellees	10	71	19	162

* Figures on the extent of West German awareness of the Russian unity proposal and of the contractual negotiations now in progress can be found in an appendix to the present report. Based as they are in an 800 case regular sampling these figures supercede the preliminary "flash" returns.

ACCEPT OR REJECT THE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL? ...

Clear also in the close correspondence of present returns with earlier preliminary findings, is that the dominant West German reaction is thumbs down to the Russian proposal when its provisions are spelled out in detail.

"The Russian proposal consists of the following points:

- A reunification of all Germany through free elections under Four-power supervision.
- Germany shall have the right to build up a limited army of its own, but shall not be allowed to make military treaties against any of the Four Great Powers.
- Germany shall give up its claim to the former German territories, East of Oder and Neisse.
- Peace treaty for Germany and withdrawal of all occupational powers."

"If the Western powers had to decide to either accept or reject this Russian proposal as it stands, would you then prefer to see this proposal accepted or rejected?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Prefer to see accepted	17%	16%	17%	20%
Prefer to see rejected	62	65	60	55
No opinion	21	19	23	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%

What appears to stick most in the German craw in re the Soviet proposal, is the provision that all claims must be given up to the former German territories East of the Oder Neisse.

If "Prefer to see proposal rejected":

"Why would you prefer to see this proposal rejected?"

West Ger.	Br. -Z.	US -Z.	Fr. -Z.
-----------	---------	--------	---------

We cannot give up the former German Eastern territories:

Because it would mean that we must give up our native territories in Silesia and would never see them again; these former territories belong to Germany - loss of them means the same as death; we cannot abandon the Oder/Neisse territory because it is essential for Germany in the agricultural field; because the refugees couldn't go back, we need Silesia; because I'm a refugee myself, and I'm personally interested in getting back our Eastern territories; because the Germans will never recognize the Oder/Neisse line; because we never shall give up our Eastern territories; because of the Oder/Neisse line - I could be called a dirty character if I would be for the Oder/Neisse line; because of item 3 - we can't give up without protest these territories as we can't give up the Saar territory either; if the Eastern territories should be definitely handed over, we will no longer be able to stand on our feet; etc.

37% 39% 33% 38%

(Cont'd on next page)

You can't trust the Russians:

Because you can't trust the Russians; because it is all a big swindle - they are not honest; there are many idle words and nothing behind them; I can't believe the Russians, they have broken their promises too often; it's all propaganda of the Russians - nobody will believe that the Russians will feel bound to the treaty, they are too well-known; they offered peace so often but worked to the contrary; they promised to release the prisoners-of-war, but they are still held back; all that is coming from Russia is bad, I know her from my captivity - they only want to exterminate us; the Russians will draw the same profit from us as they did from those in the Eastern zone - they will move all of us to Siberia; we don't want anything from the East - they should leave us in peace; the East never sends good things; the Russians try now to change our mind by kindness in order to prevent our going with the West; etc.

20% 20% 24% 11%

Withdrawal of the Western Powers would leave Russia with a free hand in Germany (Europe):

Because the Russian diplomats are not honest - they try to force the Western occupation powers to withdraw in order to get a free hand in Europe; because the same would happen to us as to the people in the satellite countries; because I don't trust the Russians - what they want is to integrate Germany into the Eastern bloc; the Russians only want to lull us into security in order to overrun us one day; they probably want to demonstrate another Korea; when the occupation powers leave, the Russian informants will have free play for the extension of communism; the conditions are such that the Russians will keep all trumps in their hands; etc.

7 7 6 10.

We need military cooperation with the West for our own security, and our decisions as to the conclusion of treaties must be free:

Because it means our ruin if we are not allowed to conclude alliances, we must stand with the West; Germany will never be able to resist the Russians without the Western powers and with their own army only; Germany alone can't oppose the Russians we need assistance of the West; an army according to their proposal won't be sufficient - it will consist of puppets only; our own army without integration into another is of no use; we don't want directions from the Russian side as to the nations with which we are allowed to conclude alliances; etc.

4 3 4 5

Others:

As long as no peace treaty with Germany exists, one shouldn't make suggestions, neither accept them nor reject them - it will never come to a final point; that which the West arranges, the East doesn't recognize and vice versa; the intentions of the Americans are better than those of the Russians; it is the same as the Western proposal; in order to avoid the raising of a German army; because war will follow; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

3 5 3 2
1 1 2 2
72% 75% 72% 66%

* Adds to more than proportion favoring rejection as some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

WHAT IF RUSSIA WOULD RELINQUISH ODER/NEISSE CONDITION? ...

That the Oder/Neisse condition plays a pivotal role in determining West German reactions to the Russian proposal is underscored in further questioning. It may be seen below that if the Russians would ~~forgo~~ this provision an additional 22 per cent express themselves in favor of acceptance. This added to 17 per cent already approving means a total of 39 per cent favoring the Russian proposal under such revised conditions, a proportion which competes, if anything, better than even with the 33 per cent who maintain their disapproval.

"Supposing the Russians would no longer insist on point 3, that is to say, they would not demand the final recognition of the Oder/Neisse line, would you then prefer the Russian proposal accepted or rejected?" (Asked of all who initially indicated proposal should be rejected)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Accepted	22%	20%	23%	23%
Rejected	33	38	28	25
No opinion	$\frac{7}{62\%}$	$\frac{7}{65\%}$	$\frac{9}{60\%}$	$\frac{7}{55\%}$
Total accepting Russian proposal with Oder/Neisse condition dropped	39%	36%	40%	43%
Reject even if O/N condition dropped	33	38	28	25
No opinion	$\frac{28}{100\%}$	$\frac{26}{100\%}$	$\frac{32}{100\%}$	$\frac{32}{100\%}$

There is more than a suggestion, then, that if the Russians are prepared to relinquish their Oder/Neisse provision, and give evidence of meaning what they say, they could cut seriously into rank and file inclinations to line up with the West on the future course of West Germany.

GROUP COMPARISONS ...

R E S T R I C T E D

As the Russian proposal now stands the most influential population elements (i.e. the men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated) appear to be most against acceptance.

But were the Oder/Neisse condition to be dropped, rejection would apparently not be appreciably greater among the more influential West Germans than among less influential population elements. And in no population group examined, it should be noted, would a majority favor rejection under such revised conditions.

"Supposing the Russians would no longer insist on point 3, that is to say, they would not demand the final recognition of the Oder/Neisse line, would you then prefer the Russian proposal accepted or rejected?"

	Should accept Russian proposal	Accept proposal if Oder/ Neisse condition dropped (reject otherwise)	Reject proposal even if Oder/Neisse condition dropped	No opi- nion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	18%	29%	34%	19%...100%	373
Women	16	15	32	37	427
Education:					
Elementary school	16	20	32	32	650
Beyond elementary	19	30	36	15	148
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	15	15	28	42	172
150 - 299 DM	15	22	31	32	275
300 - 399 DM	23	26	35	16	181
400 DM and more	18	28	39	15	129
Age:					
Up to 29 years	23	23	31	23	195
30 - 49 years	14	24	33	29	339
50 years and over	16	19	33	32	258
Party Preference:					
SPD	23	29	32	16	189
CDU/CSU	13	18	44	25	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	27	27	34	12	44
Other parties	18	25	45	12	56
No party	14	13	20	53	150
Don't know	14	22	31	33	213
Occupation:					
Professionals	18	38	26	18	34
Businessmen	22	23	39	16	90
White-collar workers	14	24	38	24	117
Skilled laborers	17	24	34	25	155
Semi-skilled laborers	21	18	31	30	98
Farmers	15	19	24	42	91
Houswives	11	11	37	41	27
Unemployed	18	7	50	25	28
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	14	19	29	38	142
Religion:					
Catholics	16	21	36	27	349
Protestants	16	22	32	30	407
Origin:					
Natives	17	21	32	30	636
Expellees	14	25	36	25	162

R E S T R I C T E D

II. REACTIONS TO THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT

SHOULD AGREEMENT BE ACCEPTED OR REJECTED ...

To obtain from all respondents an evaluational reaction to the contractual negotiations, the procedure was utilized in the preceding preliminary study of first briefly characterizing the contractual agreement and then asking all to express a preference as to Bundestag acceptance or rejection. The results as obtained from the 400 case "flash" sampling were as follows:

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?" (After all were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany almost complete independence and at the conclusion of the agreement, West Germany is to become an equal partner in West European defense.")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Accept it	55%	62%	46%	50%
Reject it	14	9	23	7
No opinion	31	29	31	43
	100%	100%	100%	100%

It was emphasized that the above returns represent the level of Western support that might be anticipated under the most favorable conditions, i.e. if in fact the realities when they emerge square with the description- "almost complete independence" and joining West European defense as "an equal partner."

Rather than repeating the question in this favorable framework in the present follow-up inquiry, the opportunity was taken to bracket West German sentiments, so to speak, by obtaining reactions now within a distinctly less favorable frame of reference, i.e. speaking of "considerable independence" resulting from the agreement rather than "almost complete," and, probably more importantly, referring to German defense participation both more badly and without any explicit specification of equal rights. Within this more stringent framework, it will be noted below, approval of the contractual agreement continues to outweigh disapproval, but by a very considerably lesser margin.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?" (After all respondents were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany considerable independence. At the same time West Germany accepts the responsibility to participate with divisions in a West European army.")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Accept it	39%	43%	32%	41%
Reject it	31	27	38	27
No opinion	30	30	30	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The conclusion that emerges from the bracketing inquiries above is that the West German populace tends to be more favorably than unfavorably disposed toward the projected contractual agreement with its defense participation corollary, but that the margin of approval over disapproval will depend strongly on the extent to which the agreement will appear to the Germans as granting independence, and the extent to which defense participation will appear to be on equal terms.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP COMPARISONS ON ACCEPTANCE VERSUS REJECTION ...

Within the present more stringent framework of questioning the direction of group variation continues to be favorable, with the greater support for the contractual agreement emanating from the more influential population elements (the men, the better educated, and the better off).

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?" (After all respondents were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany considerable independence. At the same time West Germany accepts the responsibility to participate with divisions in a West European army.")

	Accept it	Reject it	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	47%	33%	20%...100%	373
Women	31	30	39	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	35	32	33	650
Beyond elementary	55	29	16	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	29	26	45	172
150 - 299 DM	32	35	33	275
300 - 399 DM	50	34	16	181
400 DM and more	54	26	20	129
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	40	36	24	195
30 - 49 "	36	32	32	339
50 years and over	43	26	31	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	43	44	13	189
CDU/CSU	58	20	22	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	61	27	12	44
Other parties	43	39	18	56
No party	16	26	58	150
Don't know	32	29	39	213
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	47	23	30	34
Businessmen	42	33	25	90
White-collar workers	52	28	20	117
Skilled laborers	38	35	27	155
Semi-skilled laborers	29	34	37	98
Farmers	34	31	35	91
Housewives	22	41	37	27
Unemployed	43	28	29	28
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	35	28	37	142
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	40	30	30	349
Protestants	39	30	31	407
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	38	33	29	636
Expellees	44	22	34	162

R E S T R I C T E D

With the issue as posed in the present survey, security considerations vie rather evenly with aspirations to independence and equality as arguments for favoring Bundestag acceptance of the projected contractual agreement.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?" (After all respondents were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany considerable independence. At the same time West Germany accepts the responsibility to participate with divisions in a West European army.")

If "Accept":

"Why should the Bundestag accept it?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Because security would be increased:

It means the sole possibility to defend ourselves against the Eastern menace; it is the sole possibility to keep off Communism; we must be well armed; in order not to be left alone; you can't expect anything good from the East; we need a certain protection against Stalin; something must happen in order to resist Communism - that means we must approve it; only this way we will attain our object; defense against the Russians; in order to build up protection against the East, it can't be done quickly enough; there is no other choice to keep off the Russians; because Russia is an immense danger for us; if we do nothing, the Americans might let us down; what should we do then against the Russians?; etc.

13%

14%

12%

15%

Because independence and equality would be more easily realized:

In order to get free again, no slaves any longer; it would mean a great advantage for us, we wouldn't be under pressure so much; we would be our own masters again; we would achieve more freedom and more rights; if we don't stand to the West, we'll never achieve a united Germany again; we shall become independent again and able to say a word; in order to get peace at last; in order to be deemed as partner with equal rights, so that peace is secured; if we are offered independence, we must accept it; because we would become independent from other powers; in order to get more liberty to act; etc.

8

9

8

4

Because Germany has no choice - would be the lesser evil:

It's better to choose the lesser evil, I don't sympathize with the Russians; we must decide for something, and I believe that this agreement is the lesser evil; we must accept it otherwise the Allies will drop us; if we don't agree, they will call it to our mind all the time; there is no other possibility to keep the Russians off; I can't see any signs yet that the contractual agreement might make reunification of Germany impossible or that the gap between East and West can't be bridged, therefore, I would say "accept it," it is the lesser evil and would give us a certain protection; we must make up our mind - we can't decide for the Russians because Bolshevism is out of the question; we must join the West in order to be able to live; the German policy is dependent on the West, therefore the German government can't do otherwise; etc.

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- 8 -

R E S T R I C T E D

Because there would be a chance to improve economic conditions:

Our economy would revive; otherwise they would handicap our trade; only the contractual agreement can help us to get on our feet again as far as our economy is concerned; an army will follow this agreement and work for the industry; it would be better for us because we could enlarge our trade; because dismantling would be stopped at last; because the number of unemployed would be diminished by the calling in for the West European army; we would have an army and better prospects to keep our jobs; we would get more jobs even if it would take a little time; etc.

4% 4% 4% 3%

Because alliance and cooperation of the nations of Europe is necessary:

The time has come not to think as a single nation but in European terms; only a great European community is able to cope with the present situation; because of the European solidarity; if we all stick together, situation might improve; we cannot stand alone; in order to make the new established West European defense useful; etc.

3 4 3 3

General answers, expressing belief in progress and improvement:

In order to achieve a positive result finally; I think the general situation demands it; I think it is a great step in advance; because we only profit by it; it would be better for the public; I believe that it is good for us; etc.

3 4 2 2

Own army (compulsory service) is necessary:

We cannot afford to be completely unarmed because of our geographical situation; there are always volunteers who like to be a soldier, but they must accept volunteers only; etc.

2 2 1 3

Military service is good for young people:

In order to take people off the street, especially the young fellows; military service is quite alright for young guys; in order to take the juveniles off the street; etc.

2 1 2 3

Because there would be a better chance of ultimate unification:

Germany would be reunited by it; in order to get a real Germany again; only this way we will attain our object; reunification; etc.

1 1 2 -

Others:

There is nothing to expect from the East; I consider union with the West the right thing; etc.

1 1 1 2

No opinion:

$\frac{1}{44\%}$ $\frac{2}{47\%}$ $\frac{1}{39\%}$ $\frac{2}{48\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHY SHOULD AGREEMENT BE REJECTED ...

Opposition to German defense participation and fear of increasing the danger of war figure most prominently in the commentaries of respondents recommending Bundestag rejection of the contractual agreement.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?" (After all were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany considerable independence. At the same time West Germany accepts the responsibility to participate with divisions in a West European army.")

If "Reject":

"Why should the Bundestag reject it?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

I am against rearmament:

I entirely oppose the military; my opinion is that it has already led us into trouble; because defense contribution is demanded; I don't like the military any longer; we just have had an army and now they already want our men again; I don't want to become a soldier; because we don't want to become soldiers; I am opposed to a participation under these conditions; they only want the Germans as cannon fodder; because we'll have another army and that is what I don't want; because we shall be used as cannon fodder only; we don't need the military; we don't want any more soldiers; I reject an army; because soldiers will be called in again and my husband had to join the army as well; we don't want any soldiers; because in case of a war against America we would be obliged to fight for American interests; etc.

13%

11%

15%

18%

It increases the danger of war:

Because the raising of an army only leads to another war, and that is what they want, we are to stick out our necks for them; why must we have an army again?; it only leads to another war; acceptance means an army, rearmament and war, I reject war; I'm afraid of a war, we shall be sent to the front line - the "agreement" is dictated to us, and the slogan "defense" used as a bait; we don't need an army otherwise they start a war; if we are involved in a defense system, war will be unavoidable; if we accept it, we'll have another war before you can say "Jack Robinson," so that it is better to leave it as it is; otherwise another war might break out too easily; the same will happen as in Korea; civil war between East and West; soldiers mean another war; the set-up of divisions discourages me, we can go on without soldiers; it has been the rule: if soldiers were called in, war followed; we don't want a war; etc.

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15

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The West wants to exploit us for its own ends:

They want to keep us as slaves for ever; there is no point in it, the Allies treat us as they like; because the Germans will be obliged then to do everything that the West wants; because the British don't take it seriously, they still feel as victors and grudge us everything; because we then get dependent on the US, it would be better to make peace with Russia; etc.

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1

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R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

WEST GERMANY Zone	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Germany must be united first and conclude a peace treaty:

German reunification should be settled first; because Germany's reunification isn't settled yet; because it isn't all Germany, West Germany only shall be the partner, and that isn't right; as long as the stolen territories aren't given back, such agreements are illusive; etc. To come to an agreement with the East will become more difficult:

2%	2%	1%	1%
----	----	----	----

Because we provoke the Eastern people by that; because we shouldn't break completely with the East, one must keep a back door open; otherwise the Russians will march in, they are already waiting for that; didn't Pieck announce it by radio that they will come if we set up an army; if the contractual agreement will be accepted, the return of our prisoners-of-war will become more unlikely; we would be forced to take the part of one side instead of acting as a mediator in the big conflict; etc.

1	2	1
---	---	---

Others:

They should make this nonsense without us; if Adenauer would have a sound character he would resign now and leave the office to a younger one; the majority of the people is against it and so am I; I consider it a dictation and not an agreement; because the people do not wish to be ignored when decisions have to be made; as long as soldier's honor hasn't been restored yet and the prisoners-of-war are still kept back, Germany's participation in a European army should be out of the question; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

4	4	4	1
*	*	1	-
33%**	29%**	40%**	29%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT VERSUS RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ...

Whatever doubts many Germans may have about the desirability of the contractual agreement, it is clear from the returns to the next inquiry that most with opinions prefer it to the Russian unity proposal, if a choice had to be made.

"Here is a short description of the contractual agreement (CARD) and here one of the Russian proposal (CARD). Suppose one had to decide for one or the other, which proposal should be accepted?"*

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Contractual agreement	56%	59%	52%	54%
Russian proposal	16	13	19	16
No opinion	28	28	29	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

This pattern of returns departs in only a minor way from the figures below obtained in the prior "flash" survey, when the contractual agreement, as discussed in the prior section, was presented in more favorable terms.

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Contractual agreement	63%	69%	54%	67%
Russian proposal	8	9	10	-
No opinion	29	22	36	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The indication is, then, that however much lessening the attractiveness of the contractual agreement may dampen respondents' approval of the contract per se, it does not appear to seriously cut into the lead of the Western course of action over the present Russian counterproposal.

* These descriptions were those appearing in preceding questions and were presented on cards to the respondents.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Group variations reveal that in no segment of the population examined does the contractual agreement, even when less than most favorably described, fail to distinctly outweigh support for the Russian unity proposal.

"Here is a short description of the contractual agreement (CARD) and here one of the Russian proposals (CARD). Suppose one had to decide for one or the other, which proposal should be accepted?"

	Contractual agreement	Russian proposal	Don't know	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	58%	20%	22%..100%	373
Women	53	12	35	427
Education:				
Elementary school	55	15	30	650
Beyond elementary	62	18	20	148
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	51	14	35	172
150 - 299 DM	56	12	32	275
300 - 399 DM	62	19	19	181
400 DM and more	59	23	18	129
Age:				
Up to 29 years	54	20	26	195
30 - 49 "	56	14	30	339
50 years and over	57	13	30	258
Party Preference:				
SPD	61	22	17	189
CDU/CSU	70	13	17	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	57	27	16	44
Other parties	57	20	23	56
No party	40	11	49	150
Don't know	53	10	37	213
Occupation:				
Professionals	53	20	27	34
Businessmen	56	21	23	90
White-collar workers	61	14	25	117
Skilled laborers	59	17	24	155
Semi-skilled laborers	52	16	32	98
Farmers	44	12	44	91
Housewives	45	7	48	27
Unemployed	68	4	28	28
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	57	15	28	142
Religion:				
Catholics	58	13	29	349
Protestants	56	16	28	407
Origin:				
Natives	54	17	29	636
Expellees	65	9	26	162

TOTAL PICTURE WEIGHS AGAINST A SPEEDUP ...

All respondents who did not express themselves as opposing the projected contractual agreement (i.e. preferred acceptance or expressed no opinion) were asked whether the contract should be effected as soon as possible or delayed for prior negotiations with the Russians. Results were as follows:

"What would be better for Germany: if the contractual agreement and a participation with divisions in West European defense were put into effect as soon as possible, or if one would delay a decision and would first negotiate about the Russian proposal?" (Asked of all who did not indicate a preference for rejecting the contractual agreement)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Contract as soon as possible	26%	32%	19%	20%
Delay for prior Russian negotiations	17	16	17	23
Neither-nor	2	1	3	-
No opinion	24	24	23	30
	<u>69%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>62%</u>	<u>73%</u>

Support for speed outweighs somewhat support for delay among the respondents questioned. But taking the whole population into account the situation must be looked upon as on the negative side as far as a speedup is concerned, since the 31 per cent opposed to the contract (as less than favorably described, however) and the 17 per cent for delay, add up to a 48 per cent total on the delaying side as versus 26 per cent in favor of dispatch.

SPEED VERSUS DELAY FOR SAAR NEGOTIATIONS ...

For comparative purposes an analogous query was posed about speed versus delaying the contractual decisions for prior solution of the Saar problem. Delaying sentiments, among respondents not opposed to the contract, were, if anything, slightly more prevalent for the Saar issue than for the Russian unity proposal.

"What would be better for Western Germany: if the contractual agreement and a participation with divisions in West European defense were put into effect as soon as possible, or if one would wait until the Saar problem is solved?" (Asked of all who did not indicate a preference for rejecting the contractual agreement)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Contract as soon as possible	22%	29%	12%	22%
Delay for prior Saar negotiations	22	20	25	19
No opinion	25	24	25	32
	<u>69%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>62%</u>	<u>73%</u>

BUT SPEEDUP WIDELY ANTICIPATED ...

Whatever may be West German inclinations to delay or a speedup in bringing a Western contract into effect, it is well to recall from the prior survey that most with opinions expect that in fact a speedup will ensue.

"And what do you think will happen - will the contractual agreement and military cooperation with the Western powers be put into effect as fast as possible, or will it not be hurried quite so much and negotiations first made about the Russian proposal?" (Asked of all respondents)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Contract as soon as possible	43%	47%	39%	41%
First the Russian proposal	18	19	19	14
No opinion	39	34	42	45
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Group comparisons show no unitary trends on the issue of delay in contract negotiations - thus tending to suggest that numerous cross-cutting considerations are at work.

"What would be better for Germany: if the contractual agreement and military cooperation with the Western powers would be put into effect as fast as possible - or if one would not hurry quite so much and first negotiate about the Russian proposal?"

	The con- tractual agreement as soon as possible	Delay for Russian negotia- tions	Neither/ nor	No opi- nion	Not asked as op- posed to con- tract as described in pre- sent survey	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	30%	22%	2%	13%	33%	100% 373
Women	23	13	1	33	30	427
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	24	15	2	28	31	650
Beyond elementary	38	26	2	5	29	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 149 DM	18	17	4	35	26	172
150 - 299 DM	24	13	1	27	35	275
300 - 399 DM	32	19	2	13	34	181
400 DM and more	34	27	-	12	27	129
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	26	17	2	19	36	195
30 - 49 years	24	17	2	25	32	339
50 years and over	30	18	2	24	26	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	26	17	2	10	45	189
CDU/CSU	40	20	1	19	20	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	34	32	-	7	27	44
Other parties	27	23	4	7	39	56
No party	13	11	2	48	26	150
Don't know	24	15	2	30	29	213
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	18	44	-	15	23	34
Businessmen	33	20	1	13	33	90
White-collar workers	38	17	4	13	28	117
Skilled laborers	28	15	2	20	35	155
Semi-skilled laborers	25	13	1	28	34	98
Farmers	14	19	1	35	31	91
Housewives	15	7	-	37	41	27
Unemployed	21	18	-	32	29	28
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	25	14	3	30	28	142
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	30	16	2	22	30	349
Protestants	24	19	1	26	30	407
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	25	16	2	24	33	636
Expellees	33	20	2	24	21	162

R E S T R I C T E D

"What would be better for Western Germany: if the contractual agreement and a participation with divisions in West European defense were put into effect as soon as possible, or if one would delay a decision and would first negotiate about the Saar question?"

	The Contractual agreement as soon as possible	Delay for Saar negotiations	No opinion	Not asked as opposed to contract as described in present survey	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	25%	28%	14%	33%...100%	373
Women	18	17	35	30	427
Education:					
Elementary school	19	21	29	31	650
Beyond elementary	36	27	8	29	148
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	15	23	36	26	172
150 - 299 DM	19	18	28	35	275
300 - 399 DM	29	21	16	34	181
400 DM and more	26	36	12	26	129
Age:					
Up to 29 years	23	20	21	36	195
30 - 49 years	20	22	26	32	339
50 years and over	24	25	25	26	258
Party Preference:					
SPD	25	17	13	45	189
CDU/CSU	33	25	22	20	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	32	32	9	27	44
Other parties	18	32	11	39	56
No party	9	21	44	26	150
Don't know	18	21	32	29	213
Occupation:					
Professionals	26	29	21	24	34
Businessmen	21	25	21	33	90
White-collar workers	27	30	15	28	117
Skilled laborers	25	19	21	35	155
Semi-skilled laborers	18	17	31	34	98
Farmers	12	22	35	31	91
Housewives	26	29	29	41	27
Unemployed	18	25	28	29	28
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	22	23	27	28	142
Religion:					
Catholics	23	21	26	30	349
Protestants	22	23	25	30	407
Origin:					
Natives	20	22	24	34	636
Expellees	27	22	29	22	162

R E S T R I C T E D

VI. SOME CAUTIONS IN INTERPRETATION

NEUTRALIST YEARNINGS STILL WIDESPREAD ...

It will have been noted that the basic comparative question in the present study on preference for a contractual agreement with the West versus acceptance of the Russian unity proposal, was posed in either/or terms, that is to say without consideration of other alternatives. This formulation was deliberately selected to get at showdown opinion on the Western versus the Eastern course of action, but it makes caution necessary in drawing conclusions.

In the either/or framework of questioning the Western course was found to be preferred over the Russian unity proposal by more than a three to one margin. Such a finding clearly means that there is widespread West German dislike of the Russian proposal as it stands. But it is unwise to go any further and to attempt to conclude from such returns that there is positive German liking for the Western course of action.

It is well to remember from prior RAS studies, which are brought up to date in the more recent trend tabulations below, that now as before the course of action that the preponderance of West Germans would really like is to remain neutral and stay completely out of the East-West struggle.

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle; should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it altogether? (What side should she join with?)"

WEST GERMANY

	<u>1951</u> June 15/24	<u>1951</u> Oct 29/ Nov 12	<u>1952</u> Apr 28/ May 10
Side with West	37%	33%	34%
Side with East	*	*	*
Try to keep out	49	52	46
No opinion	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%

	<u>British Zone</u>			<u>US Zone</u>			<u>French Zone</u>		
	<u>1951</u> June 15/ 24	<u>1951</u> Oct 29/ Nov 12	<u>1952</u> Apr 28/ May 10	<u>1951</u> June 15/ 24	<u>1951</u> Oct 29/ Nov 12	<u>1952</u> Apr 28/ May 10	<u>1951</u> June 15/ 24	<u>1951</u> Oct 29/ Nov 12	<u>1952</u> Nov 28/ May 10
Side with West	35%	35%	39%	39%	30%	27%	38%	29%	38%
Side with East	*	*	*	-	-	*	-	-	-
Try to keep out	50	50	41	48	55	56	50	53	35
No opinion	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

On the other hand most of the West Germans who long for neutrality have indicated in further inquiry in past surveys the impracticability of such a course, and have been inclined, however unenthusiastically, to throw their lot in with the West.

ATTRACTIVENESS OF SOME RUSSIAN PROPOSALS NOT CONFINED SOLELY TO NEUTRALISTS ...

A final additional complexity that is worthy of taking cognizance of in interpreting the present findings, is that the rather impressive extent of support the Russian offer would apparently elicit were the Oder/Neisse provision relinquished, does not seem to be in any sense a simple reflection of the neutralist feelings spoken of above. It may be observed in the cross tabulation below that though support for an Oder/Neisse-purged Russian offer is greater among neutralists than among proponents of siding with the West, the difference is much less than might have been anticipated. And such support among the presumably pro-Western element is not very appreciably less than the extent of opposition to a revised Russian offer.

"Supposing the Russians would no longer insist on point 3, that is to say, they would not demand the final recognition for the Oder/Neisse line, would you then prefer the Russian proposal accepted or rejected?"

"What should Western Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side, or should she try to keep out of it altogether? (What side should she join with?)"

	Accept Russian proposal with Oder/Neisse condition dropped	Reject Russian proposal even if Oder/Neisse condition dropped	No opinion	No. of cases
Try to keep out of East-West struggle	48%	30%	22%...100%	366
Side with West	37	46	17	274
*Side with East				3
No opinion	18	16	66	157

*Number of cases too few to percentage.

The indication is that the Russian proposals - purged of any Oder/Neisse condition - contains the kind of appeals that are effective in attracting support not only from neutralists, but from Germans who had listed themselves as in the Western camp. Among the considerations that should not be overlooked in any surmises about the nature of these appeals, is that the Russian-proposed all-German free elections under four power supervision injects a kind of assurance that the Western powers will underwrite and possibly guarantee Germany's neutral independent status, which tends to show up this course of action at one of its weakest points - vulnerability to subsequent Russian aggression.

R E S T R I C T E D

APPENDIX

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF CONTRACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS

"Have you heard about the negotiations on the contractual agreement between the Federal government and the Western powers which is supposed to grant greater independence to Western Germany?"
(With further probe where indicated)

"We mean the negotiations, which for some time have taken place between the Federal government and the three High Commissioners."

	West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Yes, heard about it	55%	59%	53%	50%
No, not heard about it	45%	41%	47%	50%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Yes, heard about it	No, not heard any- thing about it	No. of cases
Sex:			
Men	74%	26%...100%	373
Women	40	60	427
Education:			
Elementary school	49	51	650
Beyond elementary	83	17	148
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	40	60	172
150 - 299 DM	51	49	275
300 - 399 DM	66	34	181
400 DM and more	74	26	129
Age:			
Up to 29 years	55	45	195
30 - 49 years	55	45	339
50 years and over	58	42	258
Party Preference:			
SPD	67	33	189
CDU/CSU	61	39	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	79	21	44
Other parties	66	34	56
No party	35	65	150
Don't know	49	51	213
Occupation:			
Professionals	77	23	34
Businessmen	64	36	90
White-collar workers	73	27	117
Skilled laborers	59	41	155
Semi-skilled laborers	44	56	98
Farmers	46	54	91
Housewives	26	74	27
Unemployed	50	50	28
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	49	51	142
Religion:			
Catholics	53	47	349
Protestants	56	44	407
Origin:			
Natives	57	43	636
Expellees	54	46	162

- I. -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF DEFENSE PARTICIPATION CONDITION

"As far as you know, are there any conditions which West Germany must meet before the contractual agreement can be concluded?"
(Asked of 55% aware of contractual negotiations)

If participation in European army not mentioned:

"Do you know whether West Germany is expected to join the West European defense army in connection with this agreement?"

	West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Aware of defense participation condition	45%	47%	41%	42%
Unaware of condition	10	12	12	8
Unaware of contractual negotiations	45	41	47	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Aware of defense participation condition	Unaware of defense participation	Not asked as unaware of contractual agreement	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	61%	13%	26%...100%	373
Women	30	10	60	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	38	11	51	650
Beyond elementary	69	14	17	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	32	8	60	172
150 - 299 DM	38	13	49	275
300 - 399 DM	56	10	34	181
400 DM and more	59	15	26	129
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	41	14	45	195
30 - 49 years	43	12	45	339
50 years and over	49	9	42	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	53	14	33	189
CDU/CSU	50	11	39	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	68	11	21	44
Other parties	52	14	34	56
No party	25	10	65	150
Don't know	39	10	51	213
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	59	18	23	34
Businessmen	45	19	36	90
White-collar workers	64	9	27	117
Skilled laborers	49	10	41	155
Semi-skilled laborers	31	13	56	98
Farmers	36	10	54	91
Housewives	19	7	74	27
Unemployed	39	11	50	28
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	39	10	51	142
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41	12	47	349
Protestants	44	12	44	407
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	45	12	43	636
Expellees	44	10	46	162

- II -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF RUSSIAN UNITY PROPOSAL

"Do you happen to know if the Russians recently made a proposal in regard to Germany?"

	West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Yes, they did	49%	53%	47%	40%
No, they did not	9	8	9	15
No opinion	42	39	44	45
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Yes, they did	No, they did not	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	65%	9%	26%..100%	373
Women	35	10	55	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41	10	49	650
Beyond elementary	85	5	10	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	34	14	52	172
150 - 299 DM	41	7	52	275
300 - 399 DM	66	11	23	181
400 DM and more	66	6	28	129
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	45	11	44	195
30 - 49 "	51	8	41	339
50 years and over	51	9	40	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	55	9	36	189
CDU/CSU	54	9	37	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	78	11	11	44
Other parties	59	4	37	56
No party	32	12	56	150
Don't know	44	9	47	213
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	73	6	21	34
Businessmen	61	8	31	90
White-collar workers	69	7	24	117
Skilled laborers	55	10	35	155
Semi-skilled laborers	33	5	62	98
Farmers	35	14	51	91
Housewives	22	26	52	27
Unemployed	39	18	43	28
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	42	7	51	142
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	45	11	44	349
Protestants	51	8	41	407
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	48	9	43	636
Expellees	56	9	35	162

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R E S T R I C T E D
EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF ODER/NEISSE CONDITION

"Could you tell me what the proposal is about? What are the details of the proposal?" (Asked of those indicating awareness of Russian proposal).

"And was anything said about the Oder/Neisse line in the proposal? What?" (Asked of those who did not mention recognition of Oder/Neisse line in prior query)

	West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Total aware of Oder/Neisse condition	29%	33%	26%	19%
Not aware of condition	20	20	21	21
Not aware of Russian proposal	51	47	53	60
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Aware of Oder/Neisse condition	Unaware	Not asked because unaware of Russian proposal	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	43%	22%	35%..100%	373
Women	16	19	65	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	22	19	59	650
Beyond elementary	57	26	17	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	19	15	66	172
150 - 299 DM	22	19	59	275
300 - 399 DM	40	26	34	181
400 DM and more	41	25	34	129
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	26	19	55	195
30 - 49 "	31	20	49	339
50 years and over	28	22	50	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	35	20	45	189
CDU/CSU	31	22	47	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	57	18	25	44
Other parties	41	18	41	56
No party	7	24	69	150
Don't know	27	18	55	213
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	47	26	27	34
Businessmen	34	28	38	90
White-collar workers	46	24	30	117
Skilled laborers	32	24	44	155
Semi-skilled laborers	17	15	68	98
Farmers	16	17	67	91
Housewives	7	15	78	27
Unemployed	32	7	61	28
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired; etc.	25	17	58	142
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	24	21	55	349
Protestants	32	19	49	407
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	26	21	53	636
Expellees	39	16	45	162

EAST ZONE THINKING ON THE RUSSIAN UNITY PROPOSAL
VERSUS THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT
With Comparisons to West Berlin and West German Reactions

Report No. 138

Series No. 2

May 23, 1952

Classification cancelled
by authority of ^{RESTRICTED} Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

OFFICE OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMPARISON FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

The present study is part of a series devoted to an appraisal of German rank and file reactions to the projected contractual agreement versus the Russian unity proposal. West German opinions were discussed in two preceding reports.* The present paper focuses upon East German reactions as compared to attitudes in West Berlin and in West Germany.

The East Zone sampling, carried out between May 2nd and May 5th, 1952, followed a pattern layed down in prior RAS Eastern surveys with interviews conducted in West Berlin with East Zone residents who for various reasons were passing through. East Berlin residents were omitted from the present inquiry in the interest of utilizing the limited field staff to gather as many East Zone cases as possible (189 were obtained) within a limited period of time. The West German returns presented for comparative purposes derive from an 800 case regular sampling conducted between April 28th and May 10th. The West Berlin findings are based upon an 178 case sample gathered between April 30th and May 12th.

The East Zone indications should of course be interpreted with the caution in mind that the sample is considerably less than optimally representative. However, with all its limitations, it probably offers the most objective basis obtainable for inferences about East Zone thinking.

SUMMARY

1. The Russian unity proposal has apparently elicited no more support in East Germany than it has in the West.

The strongly preponderant opinion among East Zone residents interviewed in West Berlin, is that the proposal is nothing but propaganda and should be rejected.

Even if recognition of the Oder/Neisse border is removed as a stipulation of the proposed agreement, rejection continues to strongly outweigh approval both among East Zone and West Berlin respondents. This finding contrasts sharply with that obtained in West Germany where the omission of the Oder/Neisse provision apparently causes the Russian proposal to be acceptable to as many, if not more, people than would reject it.

2. Clear also from the present study is that among both East Zone residents and West Berliners, approval of the contractual agreement strongly dominates disapproval.

This finding contrasts somewhat with the situation in West Germany where, though approval preponderates, attitudes are very sensitive to the degree of independence to be obtained in the projected contractual agreement, and the degree of assurance that West Germany will participate as an "equal partner" in European defense.

3. As to promptness in executing the contractual agreement versus delay pending prior Russian negotiations, East German and West Berlin opinion is preponderantly on the side of speed.

This frame of mind contrasts with the situation in West Germany where delaying and opposition sentiments taken together considerably outweigh interest in dispatch.

4. The strongly pro-Western orientations of the East Zone respondents on the present issues must be considered all the more notable in view of the stringency of their present situation, which half describe as worse than a year ago. The Russian proposal on the surface offers release from oppression by putting East Germany back in German hands. That the East Germans, in spite of their difficult circumstances do not swallow this lure, and on the contrary subscribe to a course which might leave them under Russian control for an indefinite period, would seem to attest to their stamina as well as their insight into the value of Soviet promises.

* See particularly RAS report # 137, dtd May 21, 1952, entitled "Follow Up Study of German Views on the Contractual Agreement Versus the Russian Unity Proposal."

RESTRICTED

I. AWARENESS AND REACTIONS TO RUSSIAN UNITY PROPOSAL

MAJORITY AWARENESS OF RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ...

It appears from the results of the present sampling of East Germans that a majority (62%) of East Zone residents are aware of the recent Russian proposal regarding Germany's future. As the table below indicates, although awareness is somewhat less than among West Berliners, it is somewhat greater among East Germans than among West Germans in the Bundesrepublik.

"Do you happen to know if the Russians recently made a proposal in regard to Germany?"

	East Zone (189)	West Berlin (178)	West Germany (800)
Yes, they did	62%	73%	49%
No, they did not	4	3	9
No opinion	34	24	42
	100%	100%	100%

MAJORITY DOUBTS ITS SINCERITY ...

Only about two in ten believe that the proposal is a genuine attempt to compromise with the West on Germany's future. A large preponderance of both East Zone respondents and West Berliners express the opinion that the Soviets are not ready and willing to make real concessions.

"Do you have the impression that Russia is now ready and willing to make real concessions in regard to Germany or do you consider the Russian proposal nothing but propaganda?"
(Asked of all respondents after those unaware were told - "Russian recently made a proposal for the reunification of Germany.")

	East Zone	West Berlin	West Germany
Ready to make real concessions	23%	9%	10%
Nothing but propaganda	69	83	67
No opinion	8	8	23
	100%	100%	100%

LARGE MAJORITY HOLDS THAT TEST SHOULD REJECT PROPOSAL ...

In order to inform those who were not already familiar with the Russian proposal a brief outline of its salient points was presented, and all respondents were asked whether they would advocate its acceptance or rejection by the Western powers, as it stands. The result was that seven in 10 East Zone Germans sampled voted for rejection. This sentiment is echoed by West Berliners among whom almost nine in ten say they would prefer to see the proposal rejected.

"The Russian proposal consists of the following points:

A reunification of all Germany through free elections under Four Power supervision.

Germany shall have the right to build up a limited army of its own, but shall not be allowed to make military treaties against any of the Four Great Powers.

Germany shall give up its claim to the former (Eastern) German territories, East of Oder and Neisse.

Peace treaty for Germany and withdrawal of all occupational powers."

"If the Western powers had to decide to either accept or reject this Russian proposal as it stands, would you then prefer to see this proposal accepted or rejected?"

East Zone West Berlin West Germany

Would prefer to see it accepted	14%	11%	17%
Would prefer to see it rejected	72	86	62
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>21</u>
	100%	100%	100%

CDER/NEISSE CONDITION MAJOR OBJECTION TO RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ...

By far the most frequent objection to the proposal is aimed at point three - i.e., the maintenance and final recognition of the Oder/Neisse line. Unwillingness to surrender their former Eastern territories to the Russians is voiced by more than half of those who advocate rejection of the proposal. Following in second place (16%) is the contention that the Soviets cannot be trusted and the proposal is just another fraud and delusion.

"Why would you prefer to see this proposal rejected?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "would prefer to see it rejected" to previous question.)

East Zone West Berlin West Germany

Because of the Oder/Neisse stipulation:

Because of the Oder/Neisse line; because we as Germans cannot tolerate a "worker's state" giving in to a Communist and socialist state and renouncing its just claims to the Eastern territories; because we want our homeland back, the Eastern territories; because we would then have to give up Silesia, and that's my homeland; term 3 is impossible, we need our Eastern territories; the Oder/Neisse line to represent the border is impossible; that is Russian imperialistic policy - the Russians have so much ground already and now they even want our East, having no claim to it at all; because of the refugees, who would not be able to go back to their homeland; etc.

43%

62%

37%

(cont'd on next page)

You can't trust the Russians:

Because there is no final solution of the problem with the East, whatever comes from them is fake; because this proposal is not honest, besides I never trust the Russians; the Russians will do whatever they like - if they think something else might suit them better they will break the agreement; because the Russians don't keep their word; because that's only the Russians' delaying tactic, there will never be secret free elections; that's a lie and they will never agree to secret free elections; because I don't care for the Russians; you cannot trust the Russians, that's nothing but propaganda; because nothing good will come of it, everything coming from the Russians is propaganda, we have experienced that during the last few years; because I don't believe that the Russians would really withdraw from Germany; etc.

16%

26%

20%

Russia would have a free hand in Germany and would force her under its rule:

The motives of this proposal are plain enough, they want to keep the Western powers wide of the mark so they can have freedom of action; because we would then be here all alone, we would have no help and it would be easy for the Russians to stab us in the back; because Russia wants to be the number one world power, Communism wants to rule over all the world; it would be the greatest mistake to accept this proposal, after a very short time Germany would be under Russia's control - that's all the Russians are waiting for; to start from the Oder and overrun all of Germany; they only come up with proposals favorable for themselves, all of Germany will then turn Communist; because the Russians only exploit us, they want us to turn Russian; because in the end we would be under Russian rule; etc.

11

22

7

(cont'd on next page)

We need our freedom to conclude treaties and contracts:

It is impossible that we should not be allowed to conclude alliances; because we would not be allowed to sympathize with other nations and enjoy their friendship; what good is independence to us if we are not allowed to conclude treaties; we are not allowed to enter an alliance with another nation; they cannot forbid us to conclude treaties; etc.

4%

14%

4%

We do not want an army of our own, it would increase the danger of war:

We do not want an army of our own, the Russians did not want that for Western Germany either - why now, out of the blue?; it would only arouse angry feelings; because of point 2, we do not want to set up an army, that might only lead to another war; I am opposed to the establishment of troops of our own; we do not want a German army of our own any more - as described in item 2; why should we have a national army, that's all baloney; etc.

4

Others:

All occupational powers, the Russians and the Americans, want everything for themselves, but nothing for us; because we are fed to the teeth with them, I am opposed to that on principal; to me that sounds like dictatorship, first there ought to be negotiations about it, especially about an army; because these items are only favorable for the Russians, not for us; they should conclude a peace treaty with Austria first, so we can see their good will; with the exception of item 1, none of the terms can be accepted; etc.

3

2

3

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{83\%}$

$\frac{-}{126\%}$

$\frac{1}{72\%}$

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

BUT ODER/NEISSE NOT DECIDING FACTOR FOR MOST EAST GERMANS ...

But even if final recognition of the Oder/Neisse border were no longer a stipulation of the proposed agreement, rejection continues strongly to outweigh approval both among East Zone and West Berlin residents. This finding contrasts sharply with that obtained in West Germany, where, it will be noted, the omission of the Oder/Neisse provision causes the Russian proposal to be acceptable to as many, if not more, people than would reject it.

"Supposing the Russians would no longer insist on point 3, that is to say, they would not demand the final recognition of the Oder/Neisse line, would you then prefer to see the Russian proposal accepted or rejected?"

	East Zone	West Berlin	West Germany
Accepted	19%	23%	22%
Rejected	48	59	33
No opinion	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	72%	86%	62%
Total accepting Russian proposal with Oder/Neisse condition dropped	33%	34%	39%
Total rejecting proposal even if Oder/Neisse condition dropped	48	59	33
No opinion	<u>19</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>28</u>
	100%	100%	100%

The suggestion is that East Germans and West Berliners considerably more than West Germans have learned to be distrustful and negative toward Soviet proposals, however attractive their surface appearance.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

II. AWARENESS AND REACTIONS TO CONTRACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS

MAJORITY INDICATE AWARENESS OF CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT ...

A majority of East zone respondents (61%) claim they have heard of the negotiations on the contractual agreement between the Western powers and the Federal government.

"Have you heard about the negotiations on the contractual agreement between the Federal government and the Western powers which is supposed to grant greater independence to Western Germany?"

	East Zone	West Berlin	West Germany
Yes, heard about them	61%	80%	55%
No, not heard anything about them	$\frac{39}{100\%}$	$\frac{20}{100\%}$	$\frac{45}{100\%}$

SKEPTICISM APPARENT TO SOVIET CHARACTERIZATION OF CONTRACTUALS ...

Although conceptions of the agreement appear to be in many cases Soviet-inspired, considerable skepticism as to what they have heard in the East is apparent throughout the comments of the East Zone respondents on the contractual agreement. While the term "Generalkriegsvertrag", commonly applied by the Eastern press to the projected agreement, is often used by these East Germans, in most cases it is prefaced by "we are told ..." or "it is supposed to be ...". Few of the comments indicate outright adherence to the Soviet line.

"Have you heard about the negotiations on the contractual agreement between the Federal government and the Western powers which is supposed to grant greater independence to Western Germany?"

"What have you heard?"

East Zone

It is supposed to be a treaty that leads to war - it is called "Generalkriegsvertrag":

It is generally said that the contractual agreement leads to war and not to peace; "Generalkriegsvertrag" - we are told this from early morning until late evening; we are to fight against the "Generalkriegsvertrag" - that is written in the papers and told at meetings; it is said here that it is a kind of "Generalkriegsvertrag", there is much ado about it; "Generalkriegsvertrag" is connected with war - the mere name tells you that; we are for the "Generalkriegsvertrag" because it grants security; our papers tell us that it is a treaty that leads to war; etc.

11%

Rearmament:

It is for rearmament; an army is supposed to be set up for defense; another army will be set up; a large army is supposed to be set up in Europe; etc.

10

Equality, independence and peace for Germany:

It is supposed to make us equal; it is supposed to be a step towards sovereignty and, furthermore, a turning away from the occupation statute; Germany is supposed to get independence again; because of the peace treaty; a separate peace treaty between the Western powers and West Germany in order to create normal conditions for West Germany at least; we are told by RIAS that this treaty will bring freedom for all; etc.

7

Alliance with the West:

An alliance with the Western powers; assistance for Western Europe and a European Union are the questions; a European Union is to be established with Germany as a member; solidarity between us and the West is supposed to be increased; that Germany will ally with the US; a united Europe is to come out of it; the objective is a united Europe; etc.

5

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

East Zone

Reunification:

The question is Germany's reunification; it is something about unification of Germany; East and West Germany are supposed to be reunited; etc.

Security against the East:

The problem is not to be overrun by the East and to stop Communism; here in the East they want to start rearmament - the contractual agreement is directed against that, the West must take necessary precautions; etc.

Others:

In case of reunification the contractual agreement requires revision under any circumstances; we hope that the West will grow strong and that we will be liberated soon; the exact wording has not been determined yet, we don't know why the Eastern government is opposed to it - Pieck dreads the unification of Europe, then his plans will go down the drain - he cries for a national army; if the West signs that agreement, Pieck will set up an army; occupation forces will stay here longer; here it is said that the Western powers reserve the right to control Germany for 50 years; the complete subjecting of Western Germany in military matters means that our troops always and at any time can be used in any Western theatre of operation; this agreement is not good for the East; we should oppose it; it is for Germany's unity - the contractual agreement would intensify antagonism; etc.

No opinion/no answer:

12
17
65%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

ACCEPT OR REJECT THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT? ...

The clear indication from the present study is that East Zone Germans (to the extent that the present sample is representative) are preponderantly in favor of Bundestag acceptance of the contractual agreement.

"What would you prefer: should the West German Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?", (After all were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany considerable independence. At the same time West German accepts the responsibility to participate with divisions in a West European army.")

	East Zone	West Berlin	West Germany
Accept it	65%	68%	39%
Reject it	17	22	31
No opinion	18	10	30
	100%	100%	100%

It is evident from the comparative figures above that the East zone and West Berlin approval of the contractual agreement is greater than support in West Germany. In the latter area, readers of a preceding report will recall,* attitudes are very sensitive to the way in which the contractual agreement is characterized in the question, with support rising markedly if "almost complete" independence is spoken of instead of "considerable" independence and, probably more important, if it is explicitly indicated that West Germany will participate as an "equal partner" in European defense.

* See RAS report # 137, dated May 21, 1952, entitled "Follow Up Study of German Views on the Contractual Agreement Versus the Russian Unity Proposal."

R E S T R I C T E D

CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT VERSUS RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ...

That most East Germans line up with the Western course of action is additionally corroborated when instead of evaluating each separately, the contractual agreement and the Russian proposal are squared off against each other. Almost six times as many East Zone respondents would choose the former as the latter, if a choice between the two had to be made.

"Here is a short description of the contractual agreement (card) and here one of the Russian proposal (card). Suppose one had to decide for one or the other; which proposal should be accepted?"**

	East Zone	West Berlin	West Germany
Contractual agreement	72%	79%	56%
Russian proposal	13	13	16
Neither - nor	3	-	-
No opinion	12	8	28
	100%	100%	100%

** These descriptions were those appearing in preceding questions and were presented on cards to the respondents.

PROMPT EXECUTION OF CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT URGED BY PREPONDERANCE ...

All the respondents who had not previously expressed opposition to the projected contract (i.e. those who either favored it or had expressed no opinion) were then queried as to whether the agreement should be effected as soon as possible or should be delayed pending prior negotiations on the Russian proposal.

By far the most popular course of action among East Germans is the prompt execution of the agreement. Only one in ten (11%) among those who support the contract advocate delay, and even when these people are added to those who oppose the agreement, a total of only 28 per cent would favor delay, as against 53 per cent who would support immediate ratification.

These findings are in direct contrast to the situation in West Germany, where, it will be noted, only 26 per cent favor speed against a total of 48 per cent (17 plus 31) on the side of delay.

"What would be better for Germany: if the contractual agreement and a participation with divisions in West European defense were put into effect as soon as possible, or if one would delay a decision and would first negotiate about the Russian proposal?" (Asked of all who did not priorly advocate rejection of the contractual agreement)

	East Zone	West Berlin	West Germany
Contractual agreement as soon as possible	53%	58%	26%
Delay for prior negotiations with Russians	11	14	17
Neither-nor	2	1	2
No opinion	17	5	24
(Reject agreement)	17	22	31
	100%	100%	100%

SECURITY AGAINST EAST MAJOR ARGUMENT FOR CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT ...

The most frequent argument (16%) for recommending acceptance of the contractual agreement is that it would mean greater security for both West Germany and the West against the threat of the East. Almost as many (15%) count on an improvement in the economic and political situation in West Germany and, as a result, in East Germany, by joining firmly with the West. Others see German independence, equality and reunification resulting from, or being facilitated by, the terms of the agreement. As can be noted, the order of frequency of East zone arguments conforms closely with that in West Berlin and West Germany.

"Why should the Bundestag accept it?"

East Zone West Berlin West Germany

Security against the East would be increased:

In order to give the West enough strength against the East; so that Germany can defend herself; they must defend themselves - should they let themselves be overrun by the Russians?; because there is no other possibility to meet such an enemy; force can only be answered by force if all other means don't work; the East wouldn't dare then use violent measures against the West; because Germany on her own is helpless against Communism; Germany by herself will again lose a war; if she joins the West, Bolshevism can't do her any harm; if the agreement will be accepted, West Germany can't be attacked during the next period of time, but it must be accomplished soon otherwise we will bleed to death; in order to keep the balance against the East; if the agreement is rejected, Germany will become neutral and that is too dangerous with respect to the menace from the East; etc.

16%

32%

13%

Answers expressing belief in general improvement of the economic and political situation by alliance with the West:

Because we believe that our situation will improve; the West supports West Germany and West Germany us; the more conditions in the West improve the more favorable for us; because we believe we'll get a better life by it; we agree with all means that might help us; because we were better off formerly; we want to live in freedom, not so dependent as we are now; because it is important that we cooperate with the West; etc.

15%

6%

3%

Freedom, independence and equality would be more easily realized:

Because it makes us equal; if Germany becomes independent by it, we only can welcome it; because we will become a great and independent power; Germany must accept the agreement in order to become a normal state again, otherwise we would be degraded to a colony; there is no other chance for us; this means should suit us in order to attain freedom, which only the West allies can grant us; we could do as we like then because it is like a peace treaty; it makes Germany a member of the Western defense community, and that is good because Russia will leave us alone then; etc.

9

16

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

East Zone West Berlin West Germany

There would be a better chance for reunification:

Because this seems to be the sole solution in order to get a reunited Germany again; it might cause a better chance of reuniting Germany; people in the Eastern zone might get free at last; the contractual agreement might press the Russians, thus reunification might be easier to attain; through it reunification might be brought about; if the Western countries stick together, the Russians might withdraw; if we refuse it, we shall be in a jam as to the Russians; otherwise we'll never be reunited; etc.

6%

1%

West Germany's superiority will force Russia to give in:

Russia probably may give in if she notices that the West has come to an agreement, and the European army is ready; an army would provide the West with the necessary superiority better an end with terror than a terror without an end; if the Russians are facing a strong power they will withdraw; in order to enable the Americans to press the Russians, for instance, to induce them to free elections; if West Germany joins the West and is strengthened by it, the Russians might give way; because it will provide us with a certain power without which we are helpless; etc.

6

An army is necessary:

Well, an army is always useful; we need an army - every nation needs one; every country needs an army in order to defend itself; conditions would be stabilized; we need an army; etc.

4

6

2

A European Union would be more easily realized:

because it gets close to my ideals; a European Union; in order to speed up union of the West as a power against the East; because it is the sole reasonable solution for the moment, a step towards an All-Europe; etc.

3

1

3

Recovery of the Oder/Neisse territories would be more likely:

We expect a great improvement by it because we'll get back the territories we come from; we might be able to return to the territories we came from - Russia will never give them back voluntarily; etc.

2

8

2

Military service is good for young people:Because Germany has no choice - it would be the lesser evil:

-

2

6

Because there would be a chance to improve economic conditions:

-

-

4

Others:

The Western powers are stronger in the financial field, and that will have its effect in the course of a war; if we don't accept it, one would support the Russians; it would mean a boom for Western Germany; You can't expect the Western powers to grant assistance if Western Germany doesn't contribute her share;

(Cont'd on next page)

- 10 -

R E S T R I C T E D

the general situation might improve, and the Eastern zone, in any case, would be better off; the Russians would treat the people more carefully and better; we would be backed by it; we depend on the Western powers, and they shall stop assistance if we reject this agreement; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

3%
2
70%

-
-
69%

1%
1
44%

REASONS FOR OPPOSING CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT ...

Fear of increasing the threat of war, opposition to German rearmament, and apprehensions concerning the degree of independence Germany will be granted, are the most frequent reasons advanced by the small minority who advocate Bundestag rejection of the contractual agreement.

If "Reject it":

"Why should the Bundestag reject it?"

East Zone West Berlin West Germany

It increases the danger of war:

Armies mean war; because of the West European army, I am opposed to having an army because I am afraid that will cause war; because of the defense contribution, then our boys must become soldiers and possibly fight in a civil war; if we have an army again, all must come along and our men must march again; because it might bring another war, the American policy proves that - the many bases that are built, the increase in force of the occupation troops; because it increases the tensions between East and West; because it is intended for war production; etc.

6%

9%

10%

Contractual agreement would not grant us complete independence:

Because by this agreement also, the German sovereignty would only be limited; because it does not provide for the possibility of withdrawing the occupation forces - we shall never become a free Germany; the divisions are to fight for American interests and under the star-spangled banner - I don't believe in our independence, history has shown how things stand in this respect; all would like to fight under the German banner; it means a certain obligation toward other nations; because it cannot bring about independence, politico-economically speaking - more urgent would be the question of the reunification of Germany, armies cost money and are a burden for the citizen - so that cannot produce independence; because its period of validity is planned for 50 years and would mean a prolongation of the occupation; etc.

4

-

1

I am against rearmament:

As Germans we are not interested in the setting up of an army, we are fed up with that once and forever; because we do not want an army; because we would then have to contribute our share to an army - it would be possible to come to an understanding in a fair way, this road may not be the wrong one, but an agreement might be reached by other means; we do not want an army any more; etc.

3

7

13

(Cont'd on next page)

- 11 -

RESTRICTED

East Zone West Berlin West Germany

It prevents reunification:

Because it only includes Western Germany, it would not apply for the Eastern Zone; because it would put the reunification of Germany in question if West Germany alone contributes to an army; because that would worsen the position of Germany and delay reunification; because we shall otherwise never get together again, the East and the West; because we must first have a united Germany - first we must bring about reunification and then we can think of Europe (-united Europe and conatactual agreement); etc.

2% - 3%

As a countermeasure the East would set up an army, too:

If the West signs this agreement, the East would also set up an army; because Pieck will then also set up an army; etc.

1 - -

The West wants to exploit us for its own ends:

- 3 3

Others:

Because it would be a safer weapon against Communism to increase the standard of living than to set up an army; because we would encounter difficulties by that; a united Europe would be a much better idea, that's also the opinion of all my friends; etc.

1 7 3

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{18\%}$ $\frac{7}{26\%}$ $\frac{3}{33\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

III. A SIDELIGHT ON MORALE

EAST GERMANS REVEAL STAMINA ...

The strongly pro-Western orientations of the East Zone respondents revealed in their preferences for the contractual agreement over the Russian unity proposal, must be considered all the more notable in view of the stringency of their present circumstances. Fifty-seven per cent, it will be seen below, see the present situation as worse than a year ago.

"Do you think the morale of the East Zone population is generally higher than a year ago - or lower - or unchanged? (Much lower or somewhat lower?)"

	East Zone
Higher at present time	14%
Much lower at present time	37
Somewhat lower at present time	20
Unchanged	26
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

The Russian proposal on the surface offers release from oppression by putting East Germany back in German hands. That the East Germans in spite of their difficult circumstances do not swallow this lure, and on the contrary subscribe to a course which might leave them under Russian control for an indefinite period, would seem to attest to their stamina as well as to their insight into the value of Soviet Promises.

WHY HAS THE SITUATION WORSENERD ...

Economic vie with political reasons in the minds of those who see the present morale situation in East Germany as somewhat to much lower than a year ago.

"Why is the morale at the present time much lower (somewhat lower) than a year ago?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "much lower" or "somewhat lower" to prior question.)

Poor economic situation, low standard of living:

Because the difficulties in the economic situation have grown stronger; unemployment, no chance to get a job on account of the poor economic situation; there is no progress; there is still no more food; the situation won't improve, wages are being reduced instead of being raised; there is nothing to work with, we must get all tools, tires, wire, etc. from the West - it makes me sick; living conditions are getting worse instead of improving - in order to get half a pound of butter I was forced to ask for it at the shop every day for a fortnight; the standard of living is going down from day to day; we haven't achieved a decent standard of living yet - seven years after the end of the war; things are getting worse in every respect - no material for the industry to work with; rations are much too small, only the rich ones are able to buy at the HOs (shops where coupons are not necessary); here (Western Zone) the situation is improving every day - we people in the East Zone can't see any progress at all; etc.

East Zone

27%

(cont'd on next page)

Political pressure, compulsion, restriction of liberty:

Because of the political situation - it is all coercion; because we experience more violence than during last year; we are treated too badly in every respect; because they give us hell - we don't dare open our mouths; you suspect a spy everywhere; I was fired from my job with the government because I have relatives in West Germany; because the pressure is growing; the political pressure is growing; the workmen are suppressed, and people forced to join political organizations; because everything is so uncertain; you can't talk freely; the "Aktivisten" are specially favored; because we are not allowed to express our own opinions; the situation is getting worse; we are forced to join the party; everything is rotten - there is nothing but violence; etc.

17%

Discontent with the Eastern government and the Russians:

Because of their never-ending agitation and their "For the Peace" - slogans; aversion to the Russians is growing; because most of the people see through the Eastern system by now, they see that the state authorities get everything; because the people do not agree with what the Russians want; they don't agree with the East Zone government; discontent toward the government has grown; etc.

10

No reunification, no peace, no free elections, no liberation from the Russians:

One is disappointed that general elections are not being carried through; because we aren't achieving peace and unity; because hopes for liberation are decreasing more and more; everybody waits with impatience for the elections, and nothing happens; because we are still waiting for peace and union; etc.

4

Idle promises of the West:

We have turned pessimistic regarding the West; things the West does do not correspond with the fine speeches they make; we are always told that the West will help us, but when she ought to help us, she turns out to be rather mean; the West shows too little initiative; everything is getting worse in our zone; we expect that the West will do something; the people have grown stubborn; they have become resigned to their fate; the West promises a lot, but nothing happens; they are all idle promises, that embitters us; etc.

3

Fear of war (remilitarization):

Because of the raising of a national army; because compulsory military service is supposed to be introduced in our zone, we presume that another war will break out; everybody is talking about war; they are afraid of another war; because of the military preparations which the West is said to be making and which are being made here; etc.

2

Others:

Because the people are for the West; three sisters of mine are living in the West, and I would like to go over as well; the living conditions have improved, but that does not satisfy the people; everybody knows this, I don't want to talk about it any more; etc.

2

No opinion/No answer:

65%*

*Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS FOR SEEKING IMPROVEMENT ...

The minority who judge morale conditions in the East Zone to be higher than a year ago argue mainly that economic factors have improved. Few indeed see any improvement in the political situation.

"Why is the morale at the present time higher than a year ago?"
(Asked of those respondents who answered "higher" to prior question.)

East Zone

Improving economic conditions - rising standard of living:

Because, generally speaking, the situation has somewhat improved; living conditions have improved already, I don't want to praise the R*public, it's a totalitarian regime, no doubt; because the living standard of the average person has risen; we lead a better life at the present time; the situation has improved, we can now and then go to the West to do some shopping, things are generally looking up; because they realize that after the Two-Years'-Plan and the Five-Years'-Plan started the whole situation improved and living conditions are getting nearer to what they are in the West; because people realize that the economic situation is improving; because production has increased; wages were raised somewhat; etc.

More food:

Because they get enough food; at the present time people have a little more to eat; because there are more cereals available; the quality of sausages and all kinds of foods has improved a little; the morale of the people depends largely on what food they get; because there are enough food stuffs available; etc.

Falling prices:

Prices are going down, people are able to buy more; HO-prices (state-controlled shops) were reduced; through the reduction of prices in HO-shops the standard of living was slightly raised; prices have come down a little; reduction of prices; etc.

Hope for reunification and withdrawal of Russians:

People are hoping that there will be a change in the course of this year, that the Russians will leave, it's generally believed that something is going to happen this year; people are looking hopefully to the Americans, everybody realizes that they have now taken up the position they should have taken up back in 1945, hope of liberation through the Americans has increased considerably, the government here is being kept in power only by party functionaries; prospects for reunification are good, the Western powers and the Soviet Union will come to an agreement, because things have taken long enough; people are more hopeful for an early reunification, for it's obvious that the East is at the end of its rope regarding its economy; etc.

Others:

Because all the people living in our district are fruit-growers, those who have money can get everything; the people are getting more steadfast through the hardships they have had to suffer over a long period of time; the younger generation gets wiser at the time passes, the older generation, however, comes to a stand-still, they don't keep up with the times; on the basis of Russian propaganda, the people, especially the younger generation, are very much pro-Russian; etc.

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

APPENDIX

GROUP VARIATIONS IN EAST ZONE ATTITUDES

Since information on the East zone is as valuable as it is difficult to obtain, major group breakdowns of the present findings are listed in the following pages. These are to be used cautiously, in view of the general limitations of the sampling employed as well as the very limited number of cases. Notwithstanding this precautionary note, these group indications are distinctly better than less objective methods of inference, if estimates have to be made of East Zone thinking on the issues covered.

"Do you happen to know if the Russians recently made a proposal in regard to Germany?"

	Yes, they did	No, they did not	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	76%	1%	23%...100%	116
Women	40	10	50	73
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	54	5	41	141
Beyond elementary	85	2	13	48
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM (East)	54	-	46	28
150 - 299 DM (east)	51	9	40	75
300 DM (east) and more	76	1	23	78
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	63	7	30	107
40 years and over	60	1	39	82

"Do you have the impression that Russia is now ready and willing to make real concessions in regard to Germany or do you consider the Russian proposal nothing but propaganda?"

	Ready to make real conces- sions	Nothing but pro- paganda	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	23%	72%	5%...100%	116
Women	22	64	14	73
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	19	71	10	141
Beyond elementary	33	63	4	48
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM (East)	32	57	11	28
150 - 299 DM (East)	17	78	5	75
300 DM (East) and more	27	63	10	78
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	20	69	11	107
40 years and over	27	68	5	82

"The Russian proposal consists of the following points:

A reunification of all Germany through free elections under Four Power supervision.

Germany shall have the right to build up a limited army of its own, but shall not be allowed to make military treaties against any of the Four Great Powers.

Germany shall give up her claims to the former German territories east of Oder and Neisse.

Peace treaty for Germany and withdrawal of all occupational powers.

"If the Western powers had to decide to either accept or reject this Russian proposal as it stands, would you then prefer to see this proposal accepted or rejected?"

	Would prefer to see accepted	Would prefer to see rejected	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	9%	83%	8%..10%	116
Women	22	55	23	73
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	16	72	12	141
Beyond elementary	8	73	19	48
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM (East)	7	72	21	28
150 - 299 DM	13	72	15	75
300 DM and more	19	72	9	78
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	17	73	10	107
40 years and over	11	71	18	82

"Supposing the Russians would no longer insist on point 3, that is to say, they would not demand the final recognition of the Oder/Neisse line, would you then prefer to see the Russian proposal accepted or rejected?" (Asked of those who answered "would prefer to see it rejected" to prior query.)

	Accepted	Rejected	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	23%	57%	3%	17%..100%	116
Women	13	34	8	45.	73
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20	47	5	28	141
Beyond elementary	15	52	6	27	48
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM (East)	28	39	4	29	28
150 - 299 DM	19	48	5	28	75
300 DM and more	17	51	4	28	78
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	22	45	6	27	107
40 years and over	13	53	5	29	82

R E S T R I C T E D

"Have you heard about the negotiations on the contractual agreement between the Federal government and the Western powers which is supposed to ~~grant greater independence to~~ Western Germany?"

	Yes, heard about them	No, not heard anything about them	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	74%	26%...100%	116
Women	40	60	73
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	56	44	141
Beyond elementary	75	25	48
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 149 DM (East)	68	32	28
150 - 299 DM	57	43	75
300 DM and more	64	36	78
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	56	44	107
40 years and over	67	33	82

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?" (After all were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany considerable independence. At the same time West Germany accepts the responsibility to participate with divisions in a West European army.)

	Accept it	Reject it	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	71%	20%	9%...100%	116
Women	55	14	31	73
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	63	15	22	141
Beyond elementary	69	25	6	48
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM (East)	72	7	21	28
150 - 299 DM	65	16	19	75
300 and more	62	24	14	78
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	63	19	18	107
40 years and over	66	16	18	82

R E S T R I C T E D

"Here is a short description of the contractual agreement (Card) and here one of the Russian proposals (Card). Suppose one had to decide for one or the other, which proposal should be accepted?"

	Contractual agreement	Russian proposal	Neither/ or	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	78%	11%	3%	8%...100%	116
Women	62	15	3	20	73
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	73	13	3	11	141
Beyond elementary	69	12	2	17	48
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM (East)	68	11	3	18	28
150 - 299 DM (East)	71	8	4	17	75
300 DM (East) and more	73	19	1	7	78
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	71	14	3	12	107
40 years and over	73	11	2	14	82

"What would be better for Germany: if the contractual agreement and a participation with divisions in West European defense were put into effect as soon as possible, or if one would delay a decision and would first negotiate about the Russian proposal?" (Asked of those who favored Bundestag approval of the contractual agreement or had "No opinion")

	Contractual agreement soon	Delay	Neither/ or	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	57%	11%	3%	9%	20%...100%	116
Women	48	10	-	29	13	73
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	52	11	2	20	15	141
Beyond elementary	54	13	-	8	25	48
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 149 DM (East)	53	4	-	36	7	28
150 - 299 DM (East)	56	8	1	19	16	75
300 DM (East) and more	47	17	3	9	24	78
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	51	11	1	18	19	107
40 years and over	55	11	2	16	16	82

"Do you think, the morale of the East Zone population is generally higher than a year ago - or lower - or unchanged? (Much lower or somewhat lower?)"

	Higher at present time	Much lower at present time	Somewhat lower at present time	Un- changed	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	14%	42%	22%	19%	3%...100%	116
Women	14	32	15	38	1	73
Education:						
Elementary school	13	34	18	31	4	141
Beyond elementary	15	48	23	14	-	48
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM (East)	18	25	14	43	-	28
150 - 299 DM	12	34	23	28	3	75
300 DM and more	14	41	19	22	4	78
Age:						
Under 40 years	16	26	27	26	5	107
40 years and over	11	52	10	27	-	82

**DO THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE BELIEVE
THE U.S. IS FOR GERMAN UNITY?**

**With Comparative Judgments
About the British and French**

**Report No. 139
Series No. 2**

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**OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF**

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

This report on German appraisal of the position of the US and its Western Allies on the German unity issue is based on the findings of three surveys made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The major findings were gathered in a survey made during the first two weeks of May 1952 throughout West Germany utilizing a probability sample of 800 cases. Additional sidelights on the issue are reported from studies made among West Germans from March 18th - April 2nd, 1952, with a probability sample of 1200 cases; and among East Germans visiting West Berlin, May 2nd - 8th, 1952, in which 189 persons were interviewed.

In the West German survey, interviewing as usual was done by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research. Interviewing among East Germans followed a pattern customarily used in East Zone surveys establishing what is in effect German sponsorship conditions by interviewers identifying themselves in the course of a brief explanation of the idea of polling as coming from an "Institut fuer Meinungsforschung."

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The reactions of the West German people toward American policy and actions regarding the reunification of Germany must be considered cause for some concern. They express, to be sure, more confidence that the US is for unity than one would expect from the interpretations of their opinions on this score given by various commentators and publicists, both American and German. But considered in the framework of the compelling desire of the German people for unity, and the relation of this desire to the Western policy to integrate West Germany into the Western defense, the picture is far from bright, as the following summary of the results suggests:

- ... A preponderance of the West German public is convinced that the US is for the reunification of Germany, but the preponderance is only of the order of 47 per cent. Thus, half of the population remains unconvinced on this score.
- ... By way of comparison, the West Germans are even more skeptical of British zeal for German unity, and are largely convinced that the French do not want a united Germany. The tendency is to ascribe the alleged intransigence of the French to their traditional hostility toward Germany rather than to any immediate evidence of French opposition to unity.
- ... Even less favorable to the American position are reactions toward the adequacy of US efforts to bring about German unity. There the opinion that the Americans lag or do nothing to reunite Germany matches in extent the view that they are doing their utmost in this regard. Additionally a relatively large group are unable to judge American efforts. In sum, then, only a minority of the West German people can be safely characterized as satisfied that the US is doing all it can for German unity.

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

....Somewhat modifying the adverseness of this picture vis-a-vis American policy are two further findings:

- 1) Not all of the people who assert that the US could do more than it is doing for German unity are negatively critical; some of them cite extenuating circumstances for the failure - as they see it - of the US to do more.
- 2) as compared with the efforts of the Western powers generally, American action fares much better in German eyes. Not only is German opinion more critical of what the Western powers taken together are doing, but the criticism is more intense. Few find extenuating conditions regarding the Western powers as a whole, and many of their critical comments are distinctly hostile in tone, and refer at times explicitly to other powers than the United States.

These results pose certain problems. As is well known, the desire for German unity is almost unanimous among the West German people. Integration with the West, through the instrumentality of the contractual agreement, has at the minimum the effect of postponing reunification. This the German people know, and preponderantly accept. But their acceptance is grounded in the belief that unity will be an end-product of Western integration. Currently, they preponderantly believe that the United States shares this view that Germany must be united, but they are somewhat doubtful of the British position in this regard, and highly convinced that France opposes the reuniting of Germany. Thus, the role of the United States assumes great importance in German opinion. It must be both a leader and a counter-balance to what many Germans regard as French opposition. It follows that until there is greater assurance on the part of the West German public that the United States is unequivocally for reunification, and if so is utilizing every approach and means at hand to find the way to reunite Germany, many West Germans will move into the phase of Western integration reluctantly and with continued doubts as to whether the wisest course has been chosen.

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R E S T R I C T E D

I. DOES THE US FAVOR GERMAN REUNIFICATION?

UNITY ISSUE IN FOREFRONT OF GERMAN ATTENTION ...

There is little doubt that the unity issue is in the forefront of West German attention. When presented with a list of current tasks facing West Germany, unity is selected as having the highest priority by more people (39%) than is any other single issue. (It now outdistances unemployment - 24% mention - which in the past has generally been ranked way above any international or more purely political problem by the West German public.) An additional 18 per cent select it as the second most pressing problem, which means that more than half (57%) of the West German people consider settlement of the unity issue as of prime importance. Moreover, as may be noted in the list below, the solution of many of the other tasks selected as of highest importance is related directly or indirectly to German unity.

"These are a few important tasks West Germany faces. Of course, the Federal government must try (hard) to solve them all, which of them, however, do you consider the most important one?" (And which holds second place?)

WEST GERMANY		
	First place	Second place
Reunification of all of Germany	39%	18%
Elimination of unemployment	24	18
Settling of refugee problem	8	17
Restoration of lost Eastern territories	7	16
Bringing about West German independence	7	5
Close cooperation in economic and political fields with other West European countries	4	8
Participation in West European defense	2	4
Settling of Saar problem	1	3
No opinion	9	11
	101%*	100%

*Some respondents named more than one task holding first place.

As to the American position on Germany's unity, doubts of varying degrees occur among many segments of the West German population. The preponderance (47%), however, are convinced that the United States favors reunification, and only a very small fraction (3%) goes to the extreme of being certain that the US opposes German unity. In between are 19 per cent somewhat doubtful and 6 per cent very doubtful of the American position. And a quarter (25 per cent) do not know what the American position is.*

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning a reunification of Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
I'm sure the US is for a reunification of Germany	47%	54%	39%	40%
I have some doubts that the US is for a reunification of Germany	19	14	24	26
I am very doubtful that the US is for a reunification of Germany	6	4	8	4
I'm sure the US is not for a reunification of Germany	3	1	4	4
No opinion	25	27	25	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%

REASONS WHY THE U.S. FAVORS UNITY ...

Various reasons are advanced for being certain that the United States favors German unity. Some believe that the Americans desire a bulwark against the Russians (13%), others that a united Germany would offer better trade and business opportunities (11%); while other point to the record of American aid and friendship as proof (10%). A few say that the US has indicated its stand in past negotiations with the Russians (2%).

Reasons Given for Being Sure US for German Reunification

America needs a strong Germany as a bulwark against the Russians:

America needs a strong Germany to ward off the Russians; because we would then be the strongest partner, they need us to fight off the Russians; the Americans need us against the Russians and together with the Eastern territories we are stronger; America is interested in having a reliable outpost in Europe; to prevent Communism from infiltrating any further into Europe; because Communism means a threat to America, too, and we are the only bulwark; they dread the Russians and know Germany's qualities and hope to have a bulwark against Communism in Germany; because America also gets to feel the Russian preponderance and therefore tries to achieve reunification in order to prevent Russia from growing too strong; America intends to have us grow strong again so we are on its side, should there be another war; etc.

13% 13% 12% 11%

(cont'd on next page)

*It is possible that the current figures represent some falling off from prior more favorable levels. However, since this suggestion emanates only from findings on a small scale "Flash" survey, further study is being made of trend indications. It will of course be important in this connection to appraise the effect of the Western reply to the Russian unity proposal.

(con't from preceding page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

A reunited Germany offers more economic advantages for America:

Europe is the biggest market for America - a reunited Germany could become of quite a value to America; in order to take up real trade relations with all of Germany and to extend existing commercial relations; everything would improve, commerce and trade and by this means America would also gain; there is bigger business to be done with a big Germany than with a small one; America would profit politically and economically in case of reunification; if safe conditions prevail in Germany, America also will have its advantages - politically and economically speaking; etc.

11% 15% 8% 10%

America has proved herself friendly to Germany:

They want the best for us, have always helped us in every respect; the Americans have helped us since 1945 wherever they can; in my opinion America took care shortly after the war that we stayed alive, it is interested in Germany; they certainly want to see us united, they are going to help us; America has shown its good will - I cannot tell you more, I just think so; I have the impression that America is taking special pains for our sake; America is always by our side, it helps us always; They want to help us, otherwise they would not invest so much money here; because they are really trying - they stand up for poor people - wherever the Russians were, things worked differently; I have so much confidence in the word of the Americans that I believe they will live up to their promises; in my opinion America is pretty much pro-German - why should they then be against it?; I draw my conclusions from the general attitude of the Americans; I believe the Americans are honest with us; etc.

10 12 9 10

A reunited Germany would help achieve an American objective - decrease of European tensions:

Because one cause of disturbances would be eliminated by this means; after all, a split Germany is a too uncertain factor in the heart of Europe; America wants peace - but the Americans know that it is no use talking about that in Europe as long as reunification of Germany cannot be achieved; America thinks it can abolish the European tensions by this; etc.

3 3 3 2

America has supported unification negotiations with Russia:

Otherwise they would not take so much trouble to negotiate with the Russians; America supports our intentions towards the Russians; they have always made proposals to the Russians for the reunification; it was America that caused a commission of the United Nations to check the conditions for that and make the necessary arrangements; because America wanted to send so-called investigation committees into the Eastern Zone to check the conditions for free elections; the proposal for elections under Four-Power-Control in regard to reunification of Germany came from America; etc.

2 3 1 1

Others:

I cannot imagine that America should be working against our interests which do not even concern them personally; America has no profit from our division; America claims it is as much for a reunification of Germany as Russia is; America is forced to support a united Germany in regard to future world developments; otherwise it would face the same complaints as the Russians now; etc.

7 8 4 8
2 1 3 3
48% 55% 40% 45%

No opinion/No answer:

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS FOR DOUBTING U.S. SUPPORT FOR UNITY ...

Arguments advanced by those doubting that the Americans favor German unity, though differing in emphasis and detail are all variations on the same theme - a basically negative view of US intentions toward Germany in general, and the unity issue in particular. One fraction (6%) asserts that the Americans fear the trade and business competition they will meet from a united Germany. Another (5%) argues that the US sees no advantage to itself in a united Germany, and since self-advantage is the keystone of US policy, opposes unity. A few (3%) merely say the Americans are not to be trusted, or that the unity is only a ruse to get German military cooperation (1%), and so on.

Reasons Given for Doubting US for German Reunification

	WEST	British	US	French
<u>Reunification hampers American economic advantages:</u>	GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

For the US, business is too big an object; they think they will not be able to have such good business with us any longer; the US fears it will lose its favorable economic position if Germany is reunited - then they won't have a market here any longer; fear of competition plays a role, too, because the German is so much superior to the American as far as work and the technical field are concerned; that's all only a racket, the US fears Germany's independence after reunification; being the victors they want to really exploit us first - after reunification they cannot exploit us any more - economically speaking; they all feel awfully swell here and do not want to leave, here they can make a lot of money; you can trust nobody - during World War II the Americans intervened pretty late, toward the end of the war - they step in only the moment there is money-making involved; etc.

6% 5% 7% 6%

The US is interested only in its own advantages and is indifferent to Germany's fate:

The US has never shown so much interest, I don't know, maybe they need a bone of contention; they only favor reunification as long as that suits their plans; because they don't care very much for us, they simply are not interested in a reunification and a small Germany certainly is easier for them to handle; if they really wanted it Germany could have been reunited long ago, all negotiations usually come to nothing; they don't do anything but talk; they live and feast here at our expenses; etc.

5 3 6 8

America has shown little effort to achieve German unity:

By the obstinacy shown during the negotiations with the East - if they would not be so headstrong, Germany would have been reunited long ago; because they do not agree at all with the Russian proposal; why does the US not negotiate?, everything is rejected and so nothing comes of it; the Americans are still so determined, they make no promises at all; because the American politicians - as one can hear in the radio - are not in favor of reunification; because till today they have not made a clear decision - they don't get ahead; you can notice that every where, otherwise they would have stood up for us much more; that is not so easy, the Americans are easy-going and like to avoid difficulties; etc.

5 4 7 5

(Cont'd on next page)

(cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

US fears growing German strength:

By reunification Germany would become too strong and powerful; US might think we shall become too independent and start a new war; because they are afraid of the German soldiers, otherwise they would have done something about it; they want no strong Germany that does not suit their purpose, dread neo-fascism; because the US is afraid that a reunited Germany would work her way up fast; a country that is not united is easier for them to govern; the Americans fear we could grow too powerful; the US is afraid of Germany's becoming too strong; they are little interested in that; fear of Germany's growing strength; I don't know for sure, but I think they might be afraid of us after reunification; etc.

4%	3%	7%	1%
----	----	----	----

You cannot trust the US:

I said already you came to know the Americans after the war, the Americans are always the cause of our misery; the reasons are that the Americans did not behave very nicely when occupying Germany; because they have dropped bombs on and shot at defenseless people I cannot trust them completely yet; I cannot tell so precisely, the Americans promise a lot and fulfill little; I cannot really tell you, yet I think they are not 100% ok; etc.

3	2	3	10
---	---	---	----

The US want to have Germany as a military ally:

The Americans only need us as soldiers and therefore make concessions; by rearmament they only want to play us off against the East; first they let us starve and now - after realizing that the Russians turned into their opponents - they want us to play along with them again; the US would like us to become an ally against Russia, etc.

1	*	1	2
---	---	---	---

The US dreads the East and Communism:

That they have something up their sleeve to protect themselves from the Russians; then they should not have bombed Germany so badly in the last minute - well, they are our enemies even though they want to go along with us now - that's only their fear of the Russians; etc.

1	1	1	2
---	---	---	---

Others:

The Western powers all agree among themselves as soon as the fight is against us; the hatred of the Jews in the US against us is bitter; the Americans are not very interested in Europe, it is too far off; because the contractual agreement is to include West Germany only, that means the split between East - and West Germany will even be deepened; the US puts off everything, we ought to have a peace treaty long ago; etc.

1	2	2	-
2	1	3	-
29%	21%	37%	34%

No opinion:

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

OPINION LEADERS MORE CERTAIN THAN OTHERS, U.S. IS FOR UNITY ...

More frequently convinced than others that the US favors German unity are the opinion leading elements: the better educated, upper income groups, and the men. Among most other population groups, somewhat smaller preponderances share the conviction of their higher status compatriots that the US is for unity. In certain groups - the younger elements, those in the lowest income brackets, followers of SPD, and the farmers - doubts are so prevalent as to make it impossible to say, beyond errors of chance, whether certainty that the US is for unity or uncertainty on this score prevails. It should be noted, however, that while SPD sympathizers are divided on the issue, as many as 49 per cent are certain that the US is for unity, thus contradicting the more negative intimations of some of their party spokesmen.

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning a reunification of Germany?"

	I'm sure the US is for a reunification of Germany	I have some doubts that the US is for a reunification of Germany	I am very doubtful that the US is for a reunification of Germany	I'm sure the US is not for a reunification of Germany	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	54%	20%	8%	4%	14%..100%	373
Women	41	17	4	2	36	427
Education:						
Elementary school	43	18	6	3	30	650
Beyond elementary	64	22	5	1	8	148
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	32	15	6	5	42	172
150 - 299 DM	42	20	6	3	29	275
300 - 399 DM	60	18	4	2	16	181
400 DM and more	60	25	7	3	5	129
Age:						
Up to 29 years	41	26	7	2	24	195
30 - 49 years	48	19	6	1	26	339
50 years and over	51	13	5	5	26	258
Party Preference:						
SPD	49	24	10	4	13	189
CDU/CSU	56	17	4	3	20	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	57	30	2	2	9	44
Other parties	61	11	12	5	11	56
No party	42	21	5	1	31	213
Don't know	33	11	2	3	51	150
Occupation:						
Professionals	59	35	-	-	6	34
Businessmen	56	27	6	1	10	90
White-collar workers	58	21	4	1	16	117
Skilled laborers	50	19	5	3	23	155
Semi-skilled laborers	46	13	6	6	29	98
Farmers	26	18	8	4	44	91
Housewives	36	11	4	7	42	27
Unemployed	35	18	7	-	40	25
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	46	13	7	3	31	142
Religion:						
Catholics	49	17	5	2	27	349
Protestants	44	21	6	3	26	407
Origin:						
Natives	47	18	6	3	26	636
Expellees	47	21	4	3	25	162

FEWER ARE SURE BRITAIN IS FOR GERMAN UNITY ...

In order to afford a basis of comparison for opinions on the American stand on unity, respondents were also queried on their views on the British and French stand on the matter. Though opinions on the British position regarding German unity follow a similar pattern as those vis-a-vis the American stand, fewer West Germans are firmly convinced that Britain is for reunification and more have not made up their minds on where Britain stands on the matter.

"And how about England: which view comes closest to what you think is the attitude of England concerning a reunification of Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
I'm sure that England is for a reunification of Germany	33%	35%	31%	28%
I have some doubts that England is for a reunification of Germany	17	19	13	21
I am very doubtful that England is for a reunification of Germany	6	6	5	4
I am sure that England is not for a reunification of Germany	5	5	7	4
No opinion	<u>39</u> 100%	<u>35</u> 100%	<u>44</u> 100%	<u>43</u> 100%

The leading argument (12%) given by those who doubt that Britain is for Germany's unity is that the British fear German competition in the world market. Two other views expressed with some frequency are that Britain is just in general afraid of a united Germany (5%), and that the British (or Mr. Churchill) do not like the Germans and desire no good for them (4%).

Reasons Given for Doubting Britain for German Reunification

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Britain fears economic competition of Germany:</u> They are afraid that we will become too powerful, that we will conquer the world market; for economic reasons, Germany with its combined industries would be a keen competitor in the world market; the British are our competitors in the world market and if we would oust them in their market areas this would be quite a blow to them; economic reasons, as long as Germany is impoverished, it is not a serious competitor in the world market; England wants to have a monopoly in trade with the East - England therefore favors a divided Germany; just like the Americans, the British are businessmen above all else, both (nations) don't want us to get too powerful in the economic field; it always has feared Germany as a competitor in the economic field; for economic reasons, envy of competition; this is connected with business interests; because England is keenly competing with us in trade and commerce, they don't want Germany to be united; etc.	12%	12%	10%	14%
<u>Britain fears a united Germany (general):</u> Germany would become too strong and powerful through reunification; they are afraid, we would get too strong; it's the same with the French, they are afraid of us; England regards us as its colony; it wants to rule everywhere, as in Persia, Egypt, etc; if Germany is reunited and strong, they stand in fear of us; England is undecided about what it wants, they just are afraid of us; etc.	5	7	3	3

RESTRICTED

(cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY Zone	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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Britain desires no good for Germany:

The hate against everything German, they are enemies; Mr. Churchill has no sympathy for us; at that time Churchill was all for partitioning Germany, so I can't believe he is in favor of reunification now; they don't like us too well; up to a year ago England carried out the dismantling policy in Germany, therefore I can't believe that they are now, all of a sudden, in favor of a reunification; the British is a low character, they trample us under their feet, they started the first world war and they are to blame for the outbreak of the last war, too; they would like to starve Germany; it's not the first time they have deceived us; etc.

4%	5%	4%	4%
----	----	----	----

No advantages for Britain:

If the British should favor reunification, there must be something in that deal for them - and I don't see any advantages for them; the British played us for suckers, they don't see any advantage for them in German reunification; because they would not profit by that; etc.

2	1	2	2
---	---	---	---

Britain is not interested:

I don't think England is interested; because the Tommies are always so indifferent; the British are not interested at all in us or in Western Europe; because they only care what's going on in their country, they are not interested in us; they are not keenly interested in reunification, the British are very placid and indolent, they don't want to take much trouble, they don't want to stick out their necks; because they keep more or less out of it, they won't do much for it; etc.

2	1	3	4
---	---	---	---

Britain has obligations towards its Allies:

As it cooperates with the US and France, it can't be all for a reunification - it must go along with the others, it is, however, not as opposed to reunification as are the others; out of consideration for France; out of friendship with France; they don't want to make the Americans sore; etc.

1	2	1	1
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Others:

That's just politics, and we are the ones that lost the war; England is inclined to make concessions to the Russians - it would never give all out support to reunification efforts for fear of Russia, etc.

1	2	1	1
$\frac{1}{28\%}$ *	$\frac{1}{31\%}$ *	$\frac{2}{26\%}$ *	$\frac{1}{29\%}$

No opinion:

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

ALL POPULATION GROUPS DIVIDE ON WHETHER BRITAIN IS PRO OR CON UNITY ...

The views of the opinion leading elements on the British position regarding German unity differ from their views vis-a-vis the United States. Opinion leaders are divided between doubts and certainty that Britain wants a united Germany. Similar divisions obtain in other population groups as well.

"And how about England: which view comes closest to what you think is the attitude of England concerning a reunification of Germany?"

	I'm sure that England is for a reunifi- cation of Germany	I have some doubts that England is for a reuni- fication of Germany	I am very doubtful that Eng- land is for a reunifica- tion of Germany	I'm sure that Eng- land is not for a reunifica- tion of Germany	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	36%	24%	8%	7%	25%...100%	373
Women	29	11	4	4	52	427
Education:						
Elementary school	30	15	5	5	45	650
Beyond elementary	42	28	7	6	17	148
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	19	14	7	5	55	172
150 - 299 DM	31	14	4	5	46	275
300 - 399 DM	42	21	4	7	26	181
400 DM and more	41	24	8	7	20	129
Age:						
Up to 29 years	34	18	5	4	39	195
30 - 49 "	31	18	6	5	40	339
50 years and over	33	16	5	8	38	258
Party Preference:						
SPD	38	22	8	9	23	189
CDU/CSU	38	15	6	5	36	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	43	23	4	9	21	44
Other parties	46	20	4	12	18	56
No party	25	18	6	3	48	213
Don't know	22	9	3	2	64	150
Occupation:						
Professionals	32	38	3	6	21	34
Businessmen	39	20	4	9	28	90
White-collar workers	43	20	3	5	29	117
Skilled laborers	41	12	5	5	37	155
Semi-skilled la- borers	30	13	6	6	45	98
Farmers	17	12	8	3	60	91
Housewives	18	29	-	4	49	27
Unemployed	18	18	11	-	53	28
Not employed; pen- sioners; students; retired; etc.	28	16	9	7	40	142
Religion:						
Catholics	34	15	4	6	41	349
Protestants	29	20	6	6	39	407
Origin:						
Natives	33	17	6	6	38	636
Expellees	31	18	6	4	41	162

PREPONDERANCE DOUBTS FRANCE FAVORS UNITY ...

The picture becomes distinctly more adverse when the French position is evaluated. A fifth (21%) assert that they are certain that France opposes German reunification, and almost as many (17%) are very doubtful that France is for it. An additional fifth (21%) has some doubts about whether the French are for unity. Thus the large preponderance (59%) are unconvinced that the French favor German unity. In contrast only one in ten (11%) are sure France favors German unification. The remainder (30%) express no opinion.

"And what is your impression of the attitude of France toward a reunification of Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
I'm sure that France is for a reunification of Germany	11%	12%	10%	6%
I have some doubts that France is for a reunification of Germany	21	24	16	22
I am very doubtful that France is for a reunification of Germany	17	18	16	16
I am sure France is not for a reunification of Germany	21	16	29	21
No opinion	30	30	29	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%

... Historic animosities are close to the surface in the reasons given for doubting that France does not want a reunited Germany. Most frequently advanced (53%) is the argument that France wishes to keep Germany weak and disunited because the French are afraid of the Germans. In second place (16%) is the contention that France opposes German unity because she is the sworn enemy of Germany; third, is the view expressed by 9 per cent that France wishes to retain the Saar.

Reasons Given for Doubting France for German Reunification

France dreads Germany's growing strength; wants to keep us weak:

We are to remain split and weak, that is what France really wants; because they do not want us Germans to get on our feet again; France feels threatened by a united Germany; no country likes to see Germany grow powerful again, above all, France is afraid of that; the French government dreads the revival of German power; because the French are already afraid of West Germany, the more so after possible reunification of East- and West Germany; France in her satisfaction about the smashed Germany forgets everything else.- France wants to keep Germany down as much as possible, so the split through Germany fits wonderfully into her plans; because they do not trust us, they have fought us three times in one century and they are afraid we might become too strong again; they are afraid we might take them by surprise once more; a weak Germany is to France's advantage; they do not want a strong Germany since they are afraid that we threaten them in a warlike manner then; France dreads a united East- and West Germany, militarily speaking; etc.

WEST
GERMANY

British
Zone

US
Zone

French
Zone

33% 32% 35% 30%

(cont'd on next page)

France is our sworn enemy:

France will always remain skeptical about us, the hatred against us plays an important part; talking about France, you never know where you stand - the French hate us still; France is our sworn enemy, she does not want to forget about the past, still hates us today; France has always been our sworn enemy, we heard that in school; you keep hearing that France hates Germany; France's immortal hatred, nothing else - you can observe that now during the debates on the Saar question; the French always had an hostile attitude towards us; the French have been and always will be our enemies - go down into the Saar territory, how odious are the French there toward the Germans - how often have the French been thrown out of Germany, and yet they always come back; etc.

16%	15%	19%	16%
-----	-----	-----	-----

France wants to keep the Saar territory:

Because of the Saar territory - after we are all together again they also must return the Saar territory to us; because France does not handle the Saar problem in the interest of Germany and therefore I assume France is also against a reunification of Germany; because the Saar area would have to be returned to us since this is German territory just as well; that can be noticed on the Saar question already, where we are expected to waive our claim, too; France is a country that can't support herself any longer, therefore she clings to the Saar territory; etc.

9	10	7	12
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France fears economic disadvantages:

On the ground of the Schuman Plan, for - in case of reunification - the Schuman Plan would not apply - in a reunited Germany we have all industrial branches and are not dependent on France; for economic reasons France is interested in a weaker neighbor; is afraid of an economically reunited Germany; etc.

2	3	1	1
---	---	---	---

France works against us:

That can be observed during all the negotiations - all our proposals are thwarted by the French; it can be noticed during the negotiations taking place; everything is vetoed and so nothing is ever accomplished; the through and through negative policy of the French; etc.

3	3	1	4
---	---	---	---

Others:

France does not appreciate the good will displayed by Germany now - that is the tragedy of the present relationship between Germany and France; because the Russians and the French don't like each other; they are a lot of strangers who are not interested in our country; France would not be able to accept any additional burdens - it is too small a country and has enough of its own problems; we should build Europe without France, but with England; France has not realized yet that she needs Germany if she does not want to cease to exist - only Germany can prevent Communism from coming to France by keeping it off; etc.

4	3	4	3
1	1	2	2
68%	67%	69%	66%

No opinion:

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

OPINION LEADERS MOST DOUBTFUL OF FRENCH SUPPORT OF UNITY ...

Regarding the French stand on German unity, the opinion leading elements tend to take a negative view more frequently than do their counterparts--thus the men, the better educated, upper income groups are more inclined to be sure that France does not want German unity, or to be very doubtful that it is desired by the French. Sympathizers with the Christian Democratic party, it will be noted, are more inclined than SPD followers to be sure that France is for unity, but among them, too, the preponderance is negative.

"And what is your impression of the attitude of France toward a reunification of Germany?"

	I'm sure that France is for a reunifi- cation of Ger- many	I have some doubts that France is for a reunifi- cation of Ger- many	I am very doubtful that France is for a re- unifica- tion of Germany	I'm sure that France is not for a reunifi- cation of Ger- many	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	10%	23%	20%	30%	17%...100%	373
Women	11	19	15	14	41	427
Education:						
Elementary school	10	20	14	20	36	650
Beyond elementary	11	23	30	28	8	148
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	11	14	18	16	41	172
150 - 299 DM	11	19	14	20	36	275
300 - 399 DM	11	29	16	24	20	181
400 DM and more	9	22	23	32	14	129
Age:						
Up to 29 years	14	19	12	26	29	195
30 - 49 years	8	23	18	20	31	330
50 years and over	11	19	21	19	30	258
Party Preference:						
SPD	9	25	19	31	16	189
CDU/CSU	17	19	19	22	23	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	16	27	23	23	11	44
Other parties	20	20	13	32	15	56
No party	7	21	19	18	35	213
Don't know	7	15	10	10	58	150
Occupation:						
Professionals	3	30	32	28	7	34
Businessmen	17	25	14	28	16	90
White-collar workers	9	23	21	26	21	117
Skilled laborers	12	19	19	23	27	155
Semi-skilled laborers	10	21	13	12	44	98
Farmers	5	12	13	20	50	91
Housewives	15	22	8	22	33	27
Unemployed	4	15	15	22	44	28
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	12	21	18	18	31	142
Religion:						
Catholics	11	20	16	23	30	349
Protestants	9	22	18	18	33	407
Origin:						
Natives	11	19	18	22	30	636
Expellees	9	27	13	20	31	162

II. IS EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BEING DONE TO REUNITE GERMANY?

The crux of the unity issue in German thinking is not so much whether or not the United States and the other Western powers are in principle for German unity, but what they are doing to further it. To measure reactions to this aspect of the issue, opinions were sought on the adequacy of American efforts in this regard. By way of comparison, West German views on the adequacy of Western efforts, in general as well as those of the Federal government - both obtained in a previous survey - are presented in this section.

OPINIONS DIVIDE ON ADEQUACY OF US EFFORTS ...

Somewhat more than a third (36%) say the United States is doing "everything it can" to reunite Germany. But approximately as many are of the opinion that the Americans "could do more." Only very few (2%) assert that nothing is being done by the US for German unity, and three in ten (29%) are unprepared to express an opinion.

"Do you think that the US is doing everything it can to reunite Germany or could it do more?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Doing everything it can	36%	41%	29%	37%
Could do more	33	29	43	23
Not doing anything at all	2	3	2	1
No opinion	29	27	26	39
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The fact that proportionately fewer people say that the US is doing everything possible for German unity than are convinced that the US is for unity, should be understood as in no wise inconsistent. The scope of the inquiry is broader - the phrase "everything possible" is an elastic measurement, subject to varying interpretations - and negative replies are not necessarily adverse. To some people probably the only satisfactory proof of the good intentions of the US would be the accomplishment of that intent - that is to say, a unified Germany. Until that is accomplished, the United States, it could be argued, is not doing enough.

As may be noted in the cross-comparison of the two questions, a relatively large minority of those who are sure that the US is for German unity, feel that not enough is being done about it. However, the critics of American efforts are largely concentrated in those who are doubtful whether America is for unity, or certain it is opposed.

The United States Is Doing:

	All it can	Not all it can	Nothing	No opinion
Sure US is for unity	62%	25%	-	13%..100%
Doubtful, or sure US not for unity	11	64	8	17

Some of the reasons advanced to explain why the United States is not doing everything possible for German reunification, support the point that the negative view is not necessarily adverse. Thus, 6 per cent argue that the US is not doing more because it fears a united Germany would come under Russian control (a fear shared by many Germans); and others reason that the US cannot move faster than its Allies (2%); wishes to prevent war (1%); or cannot or does not reach an agreement with Russia (1%); or has to deal with other pressing problems (1%). Other reasons are clearly adverse: 8 per cent argue that the US does not do more because it wants to keep Germany under its control; and other fractions assert that it does not want a strong Germany (5%), or is disinterested and lacks good will (4%).

R E S T R I C T E D

"And why is the US not doing everything it can to reunite Germany?"
(Asked of those who were doubtful or negative.)

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

The US wants to keep Germany dependent to exploit us economically, politically or military:

Because this way they can extract more out of us; they even extract taxes out of Germany, this would stop after reunification; for economic reasons, so they can do more trading with us; because business means everything to them; because the US is a businessman looking out for his profit first; capital rules the US, and capital lives on political tensions throughout the world; they might fear they would not have to say so much any more in a reunited Germany; they simply do not want the reunification of Germany because they would lose their influence here; the US wants to put us off a little longer to make us more pliant to its wishes; they think they could not do such good business with us any longer; etc.

8% 6% 12% 7%

The US fears increased power of Russia and Communism:

They fear the danger coming from the Eastern Zone which already is so much under the influence of Russian interests; because they are afraid of the East; America fears Russian influence in case of reunification; I assume the Russians frighten them too much; America is afraid that Russia get out of control; etc.

6 6 7 -

The US does not want to see a strong Germany any more:

They want to be the most powerful nation and do not want us to be tops again; they do not want to let us grow strong; the US fears that Germany would grow too strong again; to prevent Germany's getting ahead; so we do not get on our high horse again and get ahead too fast; because they do not like to see the Germans get ahead again; etc.

5 4 6 6

The US is not interested in it - lack of good will:

They don't care how we are doing, they only care for their own advantages; because the US is indifferent towards this problem; they probably are not interested enough; I am of the opinion that Germany could have been reunited long ago if the US really wanted that; I said already, they are not interested in us and so they don't try to help us; because the Americans might not be so seriously interested after all; etc.

4 3 5 4

(Cont'd on next page)

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WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
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The US must have regard for its allies:

It must take the other nations, i.e. France, and England, into consideration; it must have regard for its Allies, otherwise they feel neglected; as one of the allies it must pay attention to England and France; it is diplomatic and does not want to hurt England's and France's feelings; it is careful in view of its allies; in order not to lose England and France as partners; etc.

2	2	2	2
--------------	--------------	--------------	--------------

The US wants to prevent war:

They want to achieve it in a peaceful way, without war and fighting; they do not want to quarrel with the Russians; they do negotiate with the Russians alright, but they ought to put some pressure on them, they have the power to do it - but they are probably afraid that this would cause war, etc.

1	2	1	1
---	---	---	---

The US cannot agree with Russia:

Because they do not want to give up anything to the Russians and because they do not want to leave Germany; because the US cannot come to an agreement with Russia in regard to Germany; because they do not want to get involved in negotiations with the Russians, they completely ignore the Russian proposals; during negotiations with the Russians they should display more willingness to compromise; etc.

1	1	3	-
---	---	---	---

The US has enough troubles of its own:

Problems inside their own country require all of the Americans' attention: the coming elections, the quarrel of the government with the steel workers; it is not lack of good will, it simply has sufficient other troubles - in the course of time everything will work out; too much trouble with Korea, no time for us now; etc.

1	1	-	1
---	---	---	---

Others:

There is easier fishing in troubled waters; they should put more pressure on the French against their opposition; otherwise they would handle the refugee problem quite differently, we are not able to manage that alone; I am not so sure, but from hear-say I figure that the Americans are mad at us and are scolding; maybe because of the Jewish problem - I cannot judge that; because they don't withdraw the occupation forces out of Germany; etc.

1	1	3	-
---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{7}{36\%}$	$\frac{1}{32\%}$	$\frac{8}{47\%}$	$\frac{3}{24\%}$
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer

R E S T R I C T E D

ALL POPULATION ELEMENTS DIVIDE ON ADEQUACY OF U.S. EFFORTS ...

Within almost all population groups, about as many say the United States could do more as say it is doing all it can to reunite Germany. The only exceptions reliably beyond chance, occur among the age group 50 years and older, and among CDU affiliates, both of which more frequently say that the U.S. is doing everything it can.

"Do you think that the US is doing everything it can to reunite Germany or could it do more?"

	Doing every- thing it can	Could do more	Not doing every- thing at all	No opinion	No. of cases
--	------------------------------------	---------------------	---	---------------	-----------------

Sex:

Men	39%	37%	4%	20%...100%	373
Women	34	30	1	35	427

Education:

Elementary school	35	31	2	32	650
Beyond elementary	40	46	1	13	148

Income (per month):

0 - 149 DM	30	28	2	40	172
150 - 299 DM	36	33	1	30	275
300 - 399 DM	39	40	4	17	181
400 DM and more	43	37	3	17	129

Age:

Up to 29 years	35	40	2	23	195
30 - 49 years	34	34	2	30	339
50 years and over	40	28		30	258

Party Preference:

SPD	37	43	5	15	189
CDU/CSU	49	33	1	17	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	32	52	2	14	44
Other parties	43	34	5	18	56
No party	32	32	1	35	213
Don't know	29	17	-	54	150

Occupation:

Professionals	35	53	-	12	34
Businessmen	36	47	-	17	90
White-collar workers	44	35	2	19	117
Skilled laborers	40	32	6	22	155
Semi-skilled laborers	32	24	1	43	98
Farmers	27	29	2	42	91
Housewives	30	32	-	38	27
Unemployed	43	36	-	21	28
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	37	27	2	34	142

Religion:

Catholics	39	30	2	29	349
Protestants	35	36	2	27	407

Origin:

Natives	37	33	3	27	636
Expellees	33	34	1	32	162

MORE EAST THAN WEST GERMANS BELIEVE U.S. OIGH ALL IT CAN ...

Findings obtained in a concurrent survey of East German opinions suggest that the people beyond the Elbe river are more appreciative of American efforts on behalf of German unity than are their countrymen in West Germany. The preponderance (55%) of East Germans express the view that the United States is doing all it can, though as many (37%) as in West Germany take the position that more could be done. Comparisons with West Germany aside, this finding suggests that the Communist campaign to present the Russians as the sole champions of German unity has failed to convince many East Germans.

"Do you think that the US is doing everything it can to reunite Germany or could it do more?"

	East Germany
Doing everything it can	55%
Could do more	37
Not doing anything at all	1
No opinion	7
	100%

EAST ZONE COMMENTS ON WHY U.S. NOT DOING MORE ...

Less than half of the minority of East Germans who advance reasons why they think the US is not doing everything possible about German unity sound a distinctly anti-American note. They say that the US wants to keep Germany under its control in order to exploit the Germans (9%), and that the US is not interested (4%). The other remarks, as in the case of some of the West Germans, tend to extenuate the Americans rather than accuse them: the Americans are too prone to negotiate and discuss, while the Russians can only understand direct action (5%); the US wishes to avoid war (3%); the US fears Russia and/or Communist power would increase if Germany were united (1%), and so on.

"And why is the US not doing everything it can to reunite Germany?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "could do more" and "not doing anything at all" to previous question).

East Germany

America wants to keep Germany under control in order to exploit it:
Because "business interests are at stake, America is too egotistical, because otherwise they will see their advantages go down the drain; through their economic relations they would make the going tough for the government every so often; they make more money, so long as our country is divided; because it's to America's advantage if Germany is not able to compete; in order to exploit it more thoroughly, America cares as little for us as the Soviet Union; America is the country where capital is all-important, they want to amass more money, that's what they are after - this they can do more easily as long as West Germany is under their control; because thus they probably will make more money - if our country is divided they can exploit it more easily; America wants Germany to remain divided in order to keep it under its thumb and to manage its economy; every country looks out for its advantages, it's the same with America - America wants to remain the leading power in the world market - why were recent wars started?; because we were too strong in the economic field; etc.

9%

America should act, not talk and try fruitless negotiations:

They are too slack, they probably lack guts in dealing with the Russians; America should do some more plain talking, for the Russians only favor the "direct-approach-method"; the (US) want to bring things about just through negotiations; because they don't act - perhaps they are not ready yet - there are great strategic aims at stake, which we can't quite fathom; it's doing too much negotiating; because America is not strong enough to bring some pressure to bear
(cont'd on next page)

* Comments made by East Zone respondents are reported in their entirety (not sampled as in the case of West German results) in order to throw as much light as possible on the trend of East German thinking on this issue.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Germany

on the East; because it never experienced misery and pressure itself, if they know how big the avalanche is that was started, they wouldn't negotiate any more but would act; developments are too slow, for this the American system is to be blamed - America is governed in too democratic a way, therefore decisions take too long; it's difficult to answer this question, as I'm not familiar with conditions in the US - America should have acted at an earlier stage (of developments); etc.

America is not interested in a reunification:

Because they do not take so keen an interest in us - everybody is egotistical and looks out first of all for his own interest; America probably just is not interested enough; because they are not interested - we are a defeated country after all, we are the defeated and have no say on things; I don't know, I guess they're concerned only with their own affairs; America is not so interested in this problem, it doesn't want to shoulder any responsibilities, it doesn't want to stick its neck out too far; America could have done something about it ever since 1946; etc.

America wants to avoid war:

Because they want to avoid war, though there will always be wars all the same; because America is afraid that there will be another war, if it tackles things too energetically; the Americans want to avoid war, therefore they go about things in such a half-hearted manner; they don't want to fall out with the Russians completely, they want to avoid actual war; they don't want to act as the representatives of the world, they want to avoid war, they want to secure advantages for Germany by peaceful means, by negotiating, they will never succeed that way dealing with the Russians, however; in order to avoid another war; America wants to bring about reunification by peaceful means not through war, tackling this problem in an amiable way, however, will never get them anywhere; maybe America doesn't want to go on the offensive, people shouldn't be able to claim later on that it was America that started things; etc.

America is not aware yet of the extent of the danger:

Because America doesn't yet realize the Russian menace; because they did not realize up till now how serious the situation is - they are not aware yet of the danger the world is in through the Russian menace; on account of the American mentality - the Americans are so used to individual freedom that they simply can't understand conditions here; they think these conditions are just post-war symptoms, while they are typical for Russia; etc.

America fears spread of Russia (Communism):

America fears the new regime that gains ground in the Eastern Zone - it is afraid that through reunification capitalism might be overthrown; they are afraid of the Russians taking over Germany completely, America is far off, while the Russians are right across the border; they see a danger in reunification as they think the progressive democratic regime of the DDR (German Democratic Republic) might spread over all of Germany; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

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R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Germany

America has enough problems of its own:

America has too many responsibilities to meet all over the world; they have let themselves get involved in too many affairs, thus they get set back; they don't have enough time to lose on our problems; they are still too busy in Korea, I guess, thus they can't tackle German problems; etc.

1%

Others:

Because it's mainly our affair; if the Russians stay in our country, then it would be better to fight right now than later on; nationalism is to be blamed - America is not in a position to make the Senate arrive at the conclusion that it is necessary to help now before it is too late; of them all, one is as mean as the other, they just want to exploit us; it's the final stage in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, and the US represent capitalism; they can't always distribute their funds at will in the US; the people don't see the necessity of investing such large sums in foreign countries; America tries very hard to bring about the conclusion of the contractual agreement, this, however, is a definite obstacle to reunification; America doesn't want to forfeit all chances right from the beginning; England still has trade relations with Russia - I can't tell if these relations are purely economic in character; because they don't reach an agreement with the East - every party keeps to its point of view and insists that its point of view is the right one; some of us think there exists a secret agreement between America and Russia - therefore America is not really interested in tackling the problem; in regard to Katyn one of the Nuremberg trials ought to have been rechecked - at the time of the trials they didn't want to admit that Stalin is a worse criminal than Hitler had been; maybe America is not yet sure what course Germany will take in economic and political respect, whether it will incline towards the East or towards the West; etc.

No opinion:

6
7
38%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

OPINIONS DIVIDE ON ADEQUACY OF WEST'S EFFORTS TO UNITE GERMANY ...

As already stated, the West Germans were queried in a previous study on what they thought about the efforts of the Western powers as well as those of their own government to reunite Germany. Adverse judgments on the adequacy of the Western efforts to reunite Germany outweigh satisfaction. In sum 41 per cent believe that the Western powers are either not doing all they can (35%) or doing nothing at all (6%). Three out of ten (30%) say the West is doing everything possible, and the remainder (29%) do not judge.

The fact that almost as many appear satisfied with the efforts of the Western powers as with those of the US, is not only counterbalanced by the larger adverse vote against the Western powers, but by the greater intensity of the criticism directed toward them. This is apparent in their comments, reported below, which, it will be noted, are distinctly adverse in tone and in some instances clearly directed at powers other than the United States.

"And do you believe the Western powers are doing everything they can to achieve reunification of all Germany, or could they do more?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Doing everything they can	30%	30%	29%	34%
Could do more	35	36	36	31
Not doing anything at all	6	7	6	5
No opinion	29	27	29	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And why do you think the Western powers are not doing everything they can to reunite Germany?" (Asked of those who said "could do more" and "not doing anything at all" to previous question.)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

The West wants to keep Germany dependent to take advantage of Germany economically, politically, or militarily:

Because they couldn't take advantage of Germany then, we are useful to them only as long as we are split up; we have to pay such a high emergency tax for Berlin (Notopfer), that they make money out of it; the Western powers want to make profits from us, they can do it best when Germany remains separated; reunification would make our rearmament doubtful; because they make money by it, if we are united the occupation powers have to withdraw; in order to keep the Germans down; they don't like to see it happen, they know very well they would be deprived of their hitherto existing rights; because they want to build streets for tanks and barracks, and because they want to exploit Germany even more; the Western powers consider Germany an advanced post in their own defense and therefore don't particularly try to reach unification sooner; for money's sake they prefer a division in two parts; etc.

9%	9%	8%	10%
----	----	----	-----

The West fears a united strengthened Germany:

Perhaps they are afraid of our becoming a full-fledged state again; they are afraid of revival of a Great Germany; they are afraid we will grow too powerful if we are reunited; fear of competition, they fear we might become too powerful again; they are probably afraid of Germany getting to the top again; they fear that Germany will grow too strong and will take up arms again; etc.

9	10	8	9
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(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The West is not interested in reunification:

They don't care at all; this question is not important enough to them, it doesn't interest them particularly; they aren't interested yet, they don't care whether we are united or not; because they aren't interested in it; one has the feeling they could do more, but they don't want to; this is not very important to them since their own country is not at stake; because they only think of themselves rather than of Germany; etc.

6% 7% 6% 3%

The Western nations disagree, some nations are opposed to Germany's reunification:

They are not very well agreed with each other; as it looks to me, the Western powers can't come to an agreement among themselves on this question; they listen to France who wants to suppress us again; because France has a strong leftist government and parliament which does not agree to it; some nations don't want to do this, and some nations don't want to do that; England and France don't want to do anything because they fear us; to France the division presents an ideal solution for keeping Germany weak; etc.

1 3 5 1

The West is too frightened - it dreads the Russians:

They are very afraid of the Russians; they are afraid of being overrun by the Russians if they help us too much; because they are afraid of the Russians; because they don't trust the Russians because they are afraid of the Russians system; because in the meantime, after 1945, they became aware of the enormous power of the USSR; they nourish their fear of Russian predominance; they don't want to strengthen the Russians by it; because they fear a Russian invasion - they are not sure of what the Russians are going to do; etc.

2 2 3 4

The West fears war:

Because they don't want to risk a war just for that; because it might result in a new war; they fear an eventual war; the West doesn't want to use violence - I don't want it either; as not to involve Russia in a war, since this problem might result in a war; etc.

1 * 1 1

The West is bound by pacts and agreements:

Perhaps there are some secret agreements with the Russians on this matter; perhaps they committed themselves to the Russians at Yalta and Potsdam; because they have been allies of the East in the past; they subscribed to that at the end of the war and now they are certainly not interested in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for us; I believe the Western powers are tied to old agreements; partly because they are tied to the Potsdam agreement; they are themselves too committed to the Russians; etc.

2 1 1 2

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST British US
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The West fears an extension of Communist influence:

They are afraid that a situation similar to that in the East Zone might be brought about then in the West Zone; the Western powers are afraid that at the same time the Communist influence on the West would increase; they might fear Eastern infiltration; they do not want to commit their governmental system to Russian influence; etc.

1 2 1 -

The West is ineffective because of weakness:

By their mentality - they are too humane toward the Russians; because they don't come to an agreement with the Russians, because they know the Russians won't give in; they don't want to expose their weakness to the East; out of political insecurity; all I know is that they'll never agree with the Russians; etc.

1 1 2 -

The West thinks the time has not yet come:

The proper time has not come yet - they bide their time; I am only a layman, but sometimes I'm thinking they delay everything on purpose; for their interests, the time has not come yet to bring about reunification; they don't want reunification yet, because that would disturb their plans on rearmaments; etc.

1 1 1 1

The West is too engaged in other problems to care for it:

Because the Western powers are mainly interested in their relationship with Russia; because they are engaged in the East (Asia) and therefore they cannot concern themselves with other problems; they have quite other plans than concerning themselves with the expellees; economically they are more interested in the other hemisphere, for instance Asia is more important; at present they are in a fix themselves (Korea), and don't want to extend the conflict; etc.

1 * 1 2

Others:

Actually they aren't really concerned with it because it is a matter of our own; the opposite side doesn't aspire to it either; our own people don't do anything - why should the others do anything?; they don't know what will happen in the future; they are opposed to Communism, the Russians don't admit the Commission (UN) to their Zone; world power only is at stake, one begrudges the other and nobody wants to give in; to confirm the showdown with the East to Germany; they haven't done much toward it because they didn't like us very well shortly after the war; they don't want to break off all relations with the East, as Russia is the strong hand of the Polish, they don't want to arouse Russia's anger by giving away what they have (Eastern territories) etc.

No opinion/No answer:

3	4	3	-
$\frac{4}{43\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{44\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{44\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{38\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

CRITICAL JUDGMENTS MORE FREQUENT AMONG INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS ...

Whereas in the case of the United States, the various population groups differed little - opinions dividing pro and con quite generally, the opinion that the Western powers could do more for German unity is at its maximum among the more influential population elements - the men, the better schooled and the more affluent.

"And do you think the Western powers are doing everything they can to reunite Germany, or could they do more?"

	Do every- thing they can	Could do more	Not doing anything at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	32%	45%	9%	14%...100%	575
Women	28	26	4	42	613
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	30	32	6	32	985
Beyond elementary	28	51	10	11	197
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	29	34	5	32	701
300 - 399 DM	35	37	7	21	254
400 DM and more	30	43	9	18	192
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	29	37	6	28	144
25 - 34 "	28	38	9	25	241
35 - 44 "	28	39	3	30	271
45 - 54 "	28	38	6	28	243
55 years and over	35	29	7	29	287
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	31	42	7	20	272
CDU/CSU	40	33	6	21	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	30	55	8	7	88
Other parties	31	33	12	24	81
No party	27	40	7	26	244
Don't know	19	19	3	59	239
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	30	42	15	13	46
Businessmen	23	43	9	25	150
White-collar workers	32	44	7	17	155
Skilled laborers	30	33	7	30	218
Semi-skilled laborers	30	34	4	32	157
Farmers	28	28	4	40	145
Housewives	18	32	4	46	22
Unemployed	34	48	10	8	61
Not employed: pensioners, students; retired; etc.	34	30	3	33	197
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	32	35	6	27	521
Protestants	28	35	6	31	610
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	29	35	7	29	932
Expellees, Refugees	35	37	5	23	254
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	30	48	9	13	325
No	35	43	9	13	243

R E S T R I C T E D

PREPONDERANCE SAYS BONN DOING UTMOST FOR UNITY ...

The West German people appear far more assured that their own federal government is doing all it can to reunite Germany than they are regarding the efforts of the United States or the Western powers. The preponderance (53%) state that Bonn is doing everything possible, and a quarter (26%) say more could be done. Presumably, then, Bonn's negotiations with the Western powers on the contractual agreement have not unduly prejudiced the government's position as an advocate of unity.

"Do you have the impression that the Federal Government is doing everything it can to achieve the reunification of all Germany, or could it do more?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Doing everything it can	53%	50%	54%	62%
Could do more	26	28	28	15
Not doing anything at all	2	3	1	1
No opinion	19	19	17	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WHY IS BONN DOING LESS THAN ITS UTMOST ON UNITY? ...

The minority who feel that the Federal government is not exerting a maximum effort for German unity give as their single most frequent comment an answer reflecting on the West, i.e. that the German government is too much under the thumb of the Western Powers to be effected in pursuing German unity. A frequent note in other arguments is a generalized criticism of the government.

"And why, in your opinion, is the government not doing everything it can?" (Asked of those who said "Could do more" and "Not doing anything at all" in previous question.)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Our government is too much under the control of the Western powers:

As the Russians repeatedly made proposals, why didn't it try to come to terms with them? I guess it is forced to do whatever the occupation powers prescribe; because they are not allowed to do it, the Americans are opposed to it; they thwart all well-meaning proposals of the East by order of the Western powers; because it has to carry out what the Allies say, the government can't do as it pleases; they can't do as they please, the Americans make the policy, it is too dependent on American in this very matter; it is dependent on the "High Commissioner"; because the government has no full-fledged independence yet, it is controlled by the Allies and has to ask permission for this and that; Adenauer is too much taken in by the West; the Western powers are at the bottom of it; because they obey the Americans - various matters could be taken care of by Adenauer himself without questioning the High Commission; at the instigation of the High Commissioner, whose wishes they have to carry through, they didn't answer the first Grotewohl letter; it is perhaps too servile to America; they sold themselves to the Americans - the foreign policy is steered by the Americans only; etc.

11%	12%	11%	6%
-----	-----	-----	----

(Cont'd on next page)

(cont'd from preceding page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Fear of losing personal advantages:

They are afraid of losing their power, they ought to be more willing to negotiate; because they don't want to - they are afraid to be deprived of their positions - frequently they have the opinion that they are obliged to make a policy of prestige; because they are afraid they might be fired and thereby lose their high salaries; they care only for their own welfare; they would cut their own finger by it; because they would lose thereby - that's all I can say; etc.

3% 3% 3% 1%

Fear and distrust of Russia (the East):

They are afraid of the Russians, think they (the Russians) are too strong; perhaps it lacks the courage to take up negotiations with the East; the Communists might gain the upper hand in West Germany; Adenauer dreads cooperation with the East; it does not trust the Eastern government; because it distrusts the East rightfully; etc.

2 2 3 2

The governing parties are too disunited:

There are too many different opinions, one party wants this and the other that; their policy is too confused, everybody talks differently; because the parties don't cooperate well enough, that weakens the government; The German Federal government lacks unity; they are always quarreling and never agree on anything; etc.

3 2 4 2

Government does not want reunification:

Because they don't desire reunification - our government does not desire cooperation with the East; perhaps reunification is not desirable yet; there are powers existent that principally reject any connection with the East - that's why a new government should be formed; the Bonn government does not seem to be very interested in reunification; etc.

2 2 2 1

Government is composed of old men and is too conciliatory:

Our government is composed of old men only - they don't have the nerve to do anything; they are just sleepyheads; the ministers are too old, Adenauer is not strong-minded enough, he ought to retire; they should hire young people, the old ones are unqualified - I'm 75 years old and can hardly manage to do my housework, - how well can people 75 years of age (Adenauer) manage to run a government?; etc.

2 2 2 -

Others:

They don't stop to consider the Russian proposals thoroughly, - whether or not the Russians might be sincere; other problems are more important, thus reunification is not the topic at present; the CDU government is to blame for that, they hate the Prussians - they take political advantage of Germany being separated - for instance, with the East-West trade; etc.

2 3 2 2
5 5 4 1
30% 32% 31% 15%

No opinion/No answer:

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

INFLUENTIAL POPULATION ELEMENTS MOST FREQUENTLY SURE BONN DOING UTMOST ...

The opinion leading elements more widely than others believe that Bonn is doing its utmost for Germany's unity, quite unlike their position on Western or US efforts. Among SPD followers, the preponderance also gives Bonn a vote of confidence - and thus departs markedly from its leadership. However, a third of this group are critical of the government efforts.

"Do you have the impression that the Federal government is doing everything it can to reunite Germany, or could it do more?"

	Doing every- thing it can	Could do more	Not doing anything at all	No. opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	58%	31%	2%	9%...100%	575
Women	48	22	2	28	613
Education:					
Elementary school	52	25	2	21	985
Beyond elementary	59	31	3	7	197
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	53	26	1	20	701
300 - 399 DM	53	31	2	14	254
400 DM and more	62	25	4	9	192
Age:					
Up to 24 years	40	38	1	21	144
25 - 34 years	51	29	3	17	241
35 - 44 years	49	30	1	20	271
45 - 54 years	57	24	3	16	243
55 years and over	63	17	1	19	287
Party Preference:					
SPD	51	36	1	12	272
CDU/CSU	73	14	*	13	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	55	38	2	5	88
Other parties	48	32	10	10	81
No party	45	34	2	19	244
Don't know	42	14	2	42	239
Occupation:					
Professionals	55	37	4	4	46
Businessmen	55	25	3	17	150
White-collar workers	54	34	3	9	155
Skilled laborers	47	33	2	18	218
Semi-skilled laborers	53	21	1	25	157
Farmers	54	19	-	27	145
Housewives	46	27	-	27	22
Unemployed	54	30	3	13	61
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	59	21	1	19	197
Religion:					
Catholics	59	24	*	17	521
Protestants	49	27	3	21	610
Origin:					
Natives	51	27	2	20	932
Expellees, Refugees	60	23	2	15	254
Veteran Status:					
Yes	56	33	2	9	325
No	62	28	1	9	243

* Less than one half of one per cent.

HOW DO GERMANS REACT TO EAST/WEST TRADE RESTRICTIONS

Report No. 140
Series No. 2
May 30, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

An issue of some importance in recent months has been West Germany's role in East-West trade. Western powers' efforts to limit such trade have of course raised in some German minds questions about either the desirability or the justice of such trade restrictions. To sound out general public sentiments on these issues Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, included a number of questions in a survey conducted between April 29th and May 13th, 1952, in West Germany and West Berlin. A regular 800 cases probability sampling was employed in West Germany and a sample of 176 cases was utilized for Berlin.

As usual, interviewing was done by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

Now as before few West Germans would support complete abolition of trade between West and East Germany. The preponderant opinion - advanced by 47 per cent - is that trade to the East should be limited to only those items which do not directly serve war purposes. As many as three in ten, however, take the position that there should be no restriction whatsoever in trade between East and West Germany.

Concern with the trade issue appears, however, to be limited among the West German public, with approximately half expressing no opinion on whether or not Germany is being treated fairly by the Western powers in regard to East-West trade.

Among the West Germans who have an opinion in the matter, the view preponderates by a two to one margin that the U.S. is seriously trying to do justice to the German viewpoint regarding Eastern trade, rather than trying to take advantage of West Germany's present position. In West Berlin favorable judgments dominate by more than four to one.

Opinions in West Germany are less favorable with regard to British motivations, with as many as maintain the contrary holding that the British are trying to take advantage of West Germany in respect to East-West trade.

Attitudes are most unfavorable toward the French with twice as many West Germans judging that France is seeking to exploit Germany on the trade issue as conceding that she is trying to do justice to the West German position in the matter. The tone of the comments in this last connection suggests just another instance of traditional antagonisms carried over to a particular issue, rather than specific complaints against the French regarding control of German East-West trade.

- 2 -

R E S T R I C T E D

I. SHOULD INTERZONAL TRADE BE RESTRICTED?

PREPONDERANCE CONTINUES TO FAVOR LIMITED RESTRICTION ...

That interim events have effected little change in West German attitudes concerning interzonal trade is apparent in the comparison of present findings with results found a year ago on the same question.* Banning of all trade between East and West Germany would find no more favor now (7%) among West Germans than it did a year ago (8%) - though the proposition was framed in stronger terms in 1952 than in 1951, with the addition of the clause "as almost all goods serve to strengthen the East for a possible war." Preponderant support (47%) is still given to the scheme of limited trade - restricting only those items which constitute potential war materials, but continuing shipment to the East Zone of all other goods. But a large minority (30%) would approve of unlimited trade with East Germany, asserting that it is essential to the German economy as a whole. Sixteen per cent withhold judgment.

West Berliners appear to be considerably more prepared to impose limitation on interzonal trade - six in ten favoring some restriction and 16 per cent asserting that all trade with the East Zone should be banned. It should be noted that West Berliners are far more inclined than Germans residing in the Bundesrepublik to express opinions on this issue as well as on the following questions.

"Which of the following views comes closest to your own personal opinion?" (CARD)

	West Germany		Brit. Zone		U.S. Zone		French Zone		Berlin	
	May '51	May '52	May '51	May '52	May '51	May '52	May '51	May '52	May '51	May '52
All trade between East- and West Germany should be banned as almost all goods serve to strengthen the East for a possible war	8%	7%	9%	7%	5%	6%	12%	10%	16%	
There should be trade relations between East and West Germany in order to maintain economic relations with the Eastern zone, but goods serving war purposes directly should be excluded from trade with the Eastern Zone	47	47	47	40	49	45	45	40	60	
Trade between East and West Germany should <u>in no way</u> be restricted as it is vital for all German economy	29	30	31	29	25	34	30	28	23	
No opinion	16	16	13	16	21	15	13	22	1	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* RAS Report # 86 -- The East-West Trade Issue as Viewed by the West German People, June 21, 1951.

Restriction of Eastern trade receives its widest support from the influential elements of the population - men, the better educated, and the more affluent. Half or more in these groups advocate limited restriction.

"Which of the following views comes closest to your own personal opinion?"

- A. All trade between East- and West Germany should be banned as almost all goods serve to strengthen the East for a possible war
- B. There should be trade relations between East and West Germany in order to maintain economic relations with the Eastern zone, but goods serving war purposes directly should be excluded from trade with the Eastern Zone
- C. Trade between East and West Germany should in no way be restricted as it is vital for all German economy

	A	B	C	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	8%	54%	30%	8%...100%	373
Women	6	40	30	24	423
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	7	43	31	19	650
Beyond elementary	7	60	28	5	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	4	32	36	28	172
150 - 299 DM	7	47	28	18	275
300 - 399 DM	9	52	32	7	181
400 DM and more	9	56	33	2	129
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	8	51	27	14	195
30 - 49 years	5	48	32	15	339
50 years and over	9	41	31	19	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	7	48	35	10	189
CDU/CSU	13	48	27	12	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	5	59	34	2	44
Other parties	4	55	34	7	56
No party	8	51	23	20	213
Don't know	5	29	35	31	150
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	6	53	32	9	34
Businessmen	6	53	32	9	90
White-collar workers	5	56	30	9	117
Skilled laborers	6	51	31	12	155
Semi-skilled laborers	8	44	23	25	98
Farmers	5	42	26	27	91
Housewives	11	26	41	22	27
Unemployed	11	39	39	11	28
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	8	37	32	23	142
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	6	50	29	15	349
Protestants	8	44	30	18	407
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	6	46	31	17	636
Expellees	9	48	28	15	162

II. ARE WESTERN POWERS JUST IN EAST-WEST TRADE REGULATIONS?

Two criticisms frequently levelled against the West by certain factions of the West German press with regard to East-West trade are, first, that the Western Powers - particularly America - are exerting unnecessarily stringent controls over East-West trade in general; and second, that the occupation powers are misusing their position of authority in Western Germany and discriminating against her in trade practices. This latter criticism is rarely aimed at the United States, but chiefly at France and Great Britain.

In an attempt to determine the extent to which the West German people subscribe to such criticisms, the RAS queried the population in a series of questions concerning the three major allied powers and their sincerity in forwarding West Germany's trade interests.

PREPONDERANCE TRUSTS AMERICA'S SINCERITY IN TRADE RULINGS ...

That restriction of East-West trade is far from being a burning issue for the West German man-in-the-street is indicated by the fact that four in ten are either unwilling or unable to express any opinion on the question of America's motivation in controlling West Germany's trade with the East. Among those who have an opinion, a preponderance of two to one express confidence in America's honest support of German interests vis-a-vis Eastern trade. But on the other hand, a fairly sizeable minority (19%) claims that the United States, in limiting West Germany's trade with the East, is unjustly taking advantage of her present position.

It should be noted that far more West Berliners express confidence in America's motives than do respondents in West Germany proper.

"Do you think that the U.S. is seriously trying to do justice to the German viewpoint regarding trade with the East or is it trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

	West Germany	Brit. Zone	U.S. Zone	Fr. Zone	Ber- lin
Trying to do justice	39%	43%	34%	33%	68%
Trying to take advantage	19	16	25	16	15
No opinion	42	41	41	51	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RESTRICTED

Distrust of American intentions is based primarily on the assumption that the U.S. is interested only in its own trade (3%) and monopoly of the Eastern market (4%) or the West German market (2%). The fact that the U.S. restricts East-West trade at all is, to some (4%), all the evidence needed to inspire lack of confidence in her amity toward West Germany.

"Do you think that the U.S. is seriously trying to do justice to the German viewpoint regarding trade with the East or is it trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

IF "Trying to take advantage"

"In what way can one see that?"

West Germany	Brit. Zone	U.S. Zone	French Zone	Berlin Zone
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America wants to monopolize trade with the East:

They want to profit by this trade, but they discourage us; they could have done still more to organize all this again; they ban German trade (with the East), they, however, go ahead themselves; they sell their junk to Russia secretly; I think the Americans want to monopolize this trade; to their own advantage, they prohibit German trade with the East; they want to have a monopoly; etc.

4%	3%	6%	2%	2%
----	----	----	----	----

America bans trade with the East:

Because we are not allowed to sell a good many articles to the East; I once heard that a number of articles are banned. We are not allowed to sell all kinds of goods to the East; because they confiscate our goods destined for the East and because they blacklist the German firms involved in such deals; because they do not like us to trade with the Eastern zone; when we established trade relations with China, they ordered us to stop this trade; the Americans do not want us to do any business with the Russians; I'm thinking of the black lists and the restrictions imposed on our economy; it's difficult to put into words, as far as I know certain regulations were laid down through which German trade was restricted; etc.

4	3	4	6	5
---	---	---	---	---

America looks out for its own advantages only - it is not interested in our problems:

Above all America has an eye to its own advantage and looks after its own interests; they always consider a thing if it's serving their purposes; it's keen only on making money, regardless of the means; because they don't help us at all; it makes a lot of promises, but doesn't keep them; etc.

3	3	3	4	2
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R E S T R I C T E D

W. Br. U.S. Fr. Ber-
G. Z. Z. Z. lin

America does not want to be ousted in the German market:

If trade with the East increases, then America can't sell its goods any longer in the West, as then we will be provided with everything; if reunification came about America would lose West Germany as a customer; in that case they couldn't sell us such quantities any more, except for this reason, they would have a more favorable attitude towards trade with the East; etc.

2% 2% 3% -% 3%

America does not want Germany to leave the Western sphere of influence:

It is not in favor of German trade with the East, it wants to keep us in a state of subjection, then we will be in their grasp at any time; America wants to keep us in its sphere of influence if possible, in order to keep us from siding with the East; she would like to see close economic co-operation between Germany and the West, she fears that we might sell war materials to the Russians; as we are dependent on America, -if we had to decide, Germany would have been reunited long ago and trade and commerce would thrive; etc.

2 2 3 1 1

Others:

Through delaying tactics during negotiations with the East caused by their obstinacy, because they want us to sign the contractual agreement; it makes itself felt in everyday life, we can only with difficulty get the necessary materials; the live-stock imported from the East brings down prices here and reduces our market, our trade is thus injured; I think very little of the Yanks, I think they only exploit and do damage to people; otherwise they would have handled the refugee problem differently; I'm thinking of how they manage the occupation, the luxury on the one hand they give, on the other they take away; etc.

3 1 5 1 1

No opinion

$\frac{2}{20\%}$ $\frac{2}{16\%}$ $\frac{2}{26\%}$ $\frac{2}{16\%}$ $\frac{1}{15\%}$

BUT MOST WITH OPINIONS MISTRUST FRENCH MOTIVES ...

In the case of France, more than half (54%) take no stand on the question of her sincerity, but among those who do, twice as many mistrust France's motives (30%) as believe she is seriously interested in West Germany's welfare (16%) when it concerns East-West trade.

West Berliners again show themselves to be less mistrustful of the Allied motivation in limiting trade, although with respect to France the difference is not so great as in the case of the U.S.

"And how about France: do you think that France is seriously trying to do justice to the German viewpoint regarding trade with the East or does it try to take advantage of our present situation?"

	West Germany	Brit. Zone	U.S. Zone	Fr. Zone	Ber- lin
Trying to do justice	16%	19%	10%	17%	26%
Trying to take advantage	30	31	31	23	33
No opinion	54	50	59	60	41
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The theme underlying most of the arguments advanced for alleging French injustice is that France, hating Germany and fearing her competition and potential strength, is doing her utmost to suppress any regaining of Germany's former power in the foreign markets. The tone of the comments, however, suggests a general resentment carried over to the trade issue, rather than specific complaints regarding foreign - or East-West - trade control.

If "trying to take advantage":
"In what way can one see that?"

West Germany	Brit. Zone	U.S. Zone	French Zone	Ber- lin
-----------------	---------------	--------------	----------------	-------------

France fears Germany as a competitor in the economic field:

France doesn't want Germany to get to its feet quickly, and in regard to trade it will do everything to prevent it; they don't want trade, they want us to remain weak and they obstruct our trade, in order to prevent us from becoming too powerful; that's proved by everything, in every field they think we might make headway, they try to check us; it's the usual thing, they resent the fact that we have recovered so much ground already; the French, as the British, are dirty characters who want us to take the back seat in every field; etc.

7%	7%	8%	8%	6%
----	----	----	----	----

France hates Germany and fears German aggression:

That's hard to say - France still hates the Germans; even as a child I was told that France and Germany have no sympathy for each other - so it will always be against us; they are our sworn enemies, as the saying goes; in every respect they show a hostile attitude towards us, regardless of whether it is in the economic or in the political sphere; the French would like it best of all if we would perish; France is afraid that we might use our present economic position as a basis for a future war against France; etc.

4	5	3	4	3
---	---	---	---	---

France's attitude in regard to the Saar question:

That they don't allow the Saar to join Germany and that they steal our coal; the French want to take the Saar away from us; they want to do everything single-handed, otherwise they wouldn't be so keen on the Saar; because they tackle the Saar issue at the exact moment when the contractual agreement is about to be concluded; because they have an eye on the Saar; the Frenchman wants to take the Saar away from us; incorporation of our mines into the French system; by the trouble over the Saar;

4	4	4	1	3
---	---	---	---	---

France tries to exploit us through the Schuman Plan and the Contractual Agreement:

By the Schuman Plan: through it they want to get the upper hand in the economic field and to make us dependent on them in economic matters; because they, too, want us

to conclude the contractual agreement; by the manner in which France tried to rush conclusion of the Schuman Plan: it hopes that through it Germany will be prevented from trading with the East; etc.

3% 3% 4% 1% 4%

France's lack of understanding towards the German viewpoint, its lack of good will:

I'm of the opinion that France does not try to do justice to the German viewpoint, regarding the issue; France is concerned only with its own affairs, and doesn't bother about Germany; in all matters concerning us France always makes some trouble; France always puts one obstacle after the other in the path of our government; France never participates in anything Germany is doing, they are completely indifferent, they think, let it be their look-out how they manage; France never showed such good will here as the Americans did, I really can't tell; etc.

3 2 4 2 3

France's hopes for trade with the East and for (big) orders :

Because they want to trade in this area; I'm sure that large quantities of coal from the Saar, taken away from us, is sent to Russia; France wants to do business with Russia and the other Eastern countries, therefore it doesn't want German competition; France itself has too keen an interest in trade with the East, therefore it wants to get rid of German competition; wants to export to Russia itself; because they themselves trade with the East; etc.

3 3 3 1 7

Others:

France needs for its own use many German goods, it thinks it won't get them any more, if we do business with the East; France won't do anything voluntarily; I don't trust them, that's all; the French won't help us; the French are afraid of the Russians; etc.

4 5 3 4 4

No opinion / No answer:

3 4 3 2 5
31%* 33%* 32%* 23% 35%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

VIEWS DIVIDE ON GREAT BRITAIN'S MOTIVATION ...

The half who voice opinion on Britain's motives vis-a-vis West German trade with the East, divide almost evenly in ascribing just (26%) and unjust (24%) motives to the regulations imposed on West German trade by the British. But again half fail to express an opinion.

"And do you think that England is seriously trying to do justice to the German viewpoint regarding trade with the East or does it try to take advantage of our present situation?"

	West Germany	Brit. Zone	U.S. Zone	Fr. Zone	Berlin
Trying to do justice	26%	30%	20%	24%	43%
Trying to take advantage	24	24	25	16	28
No opinion	50	46	55	60	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Those who feel Great Britain is trying to take advantage of West Germany's present position argue mainly that the British fear German competition and want their own trade with the East undisturbed by German rivalry.

"And do you think that England is seriously trying to do justice to the German viewpoint regarding trade with the East or is it trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

If "trying to take advantage":

"In what way can one see that?"

West Germany Zone	Brit. Zone	U.S. Zone	Fr. Zone	Berlin
-------------------	------------	-----------	----------	--------

England dreads Germany's economic competition and wants to carry on its Eastern trade undisturbed by Germany:

That's the old envy of competition: England has always very reluctantly agreed to the concessions the U.S. and France made to us in regard to commerce, - it dreads our competition too much; England itself trades unlimitedly with the East, but we are not allowed to, - that is envy of competition; well that's England for you and it maintains steady trade relations with Russia, of course, they are afraid of competition; the English are businessmen, they want to lead world trade, they don't like our trade relations with the East, want to do that themselves; strong envy of competition, want to prohibit our trading, because England itself wants to send those goods to the East, goods which we could deliver; because England wants to stay the big world power and considers us a rival; delivers machinery to Russia, but prohibits us from doing the same; because they want to rule world trade; England needs a market, that's its only concern and therefore does not worry about others; because the English are racketeers and want all the business for themselves;

13%	12%	15%	11%	21%
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Germany's economy is under close control and is being exploited:

Because our heavy industry is still restricted; establishment of a steel quota; England tries to take advantage of us in every way, - Western Germany is economically weak and England wishes Germany to stay that way, i.e., there is to be no commercial connection between East and West Germany; because they have also exploited us by reparations to the last drop; because they have taken over our industrial markets; etc.

5	5	4	1	4
---	---	---	---	---

England goes along with its Western Allies:

England is obliged to attach itself to France and the U.S., they do what all the others do; does not want to make an enemy of America and also shares the American view, - they are just as clever in business as the Americans; they do not want to hurt the feelings of the Americans; that applies to all of them; I mean the Western powers all agree on one point, not to let Germany grow powerful again; etc.

1	1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

Because they import goods destined for war purposes; you could notice that during the occupation; while we wonder whether it would comply with our morals and our philosophy of life to export goods to the East, England makes an enormous profit in these countries by exporting; England has never let us have anything; etc.

3	4	3	2	3
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer

2	2	2	1	-
24%	24%	25%	16%	29%

Opinion leading elements of the population - the men, the better educated, and the more affluent - more frequently than their counterparts attribute just motives to American trade policies vis-a-vis German trade with the East. On the other hand, an average of one quarter among these upper status groups assert the U.S. is trying to take advantage of Germany's position and about three in 10 on the average express no opinion, a position which would suggest either unusual apathy toward the question of East-West trade, or possibly a negative attitude toward U.S. policy.

"Do you think that the U.S. is trying to do justice to the German viewpoint regarding trade with the East or is it trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

	Trying to do justice	Trying to take advantage	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	44%	26%	30%...100%	373
Women	33	13	54	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	36	18	46	650
Beyond elementary	49	23	28	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	28	16	56	172
150 - 299 DM	38	16	46	275
300 - 399 DM	46	22	32	181
400 DM and more	44	28	28	129
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	36	24	40	195
30 - 49 years	42	18	40	279
50 years and over	37	18	45	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	43	29	28	189
CDU/CSU	50	13	37	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	45	30	25	44
Other parties	38	30	32	56
No party	35	18	49	213
Don't know	24	10	66	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	41	27	32	34
Businessmen	50	19	31	90
White-collar workers	50	22	28	117
Skilled laborers	42	24	34	155
Semi-skilled laborers	33	15	52	98
Farmers	25	16	59	91
Housewives	19	30	51	27
Unemployed	32	21	47	28
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	34	13	53	142
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42	16	42	349
Protestants	36	20	44	407
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	37	20	43	636
Expellees	42	17	41	162

R E S T R I C T E D

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With respect to France, the upper status elements about twice as frequently as their counterparts think the French are trying to take advantage of Germany. No group has more than a small minority confident in France's just intentions, and again a large proportion of both upper and lower status elements takes no stand on the question.

"And how about France: do you think that France is seriously trying to do justice to the German viewpoint on trade with the East or is it trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

	Trying to do justice	Trying to take advantage	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	17%	40%	43%100%	373
Women	14	20	66	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	16	26	58	650
Beyond elementary	14	44	42	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	15	23	62	172
150 - 299 DM	16	25	59	275
300 - 399 DM	16	40	44	181
400 DM and more	15	40	45	129
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	19	28	53	195
30 - 49 years	15	30	55	359
50 years and over	14	32	54	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	22	41	37	189
CDU/CSU	21	33	46	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	20	39	41	44
Other parties	18	39	43	56
No party	10	25	67	213
Don't know	8	16	76	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	9	53	38	34
Businessmen	17	32	51	90
White-collar workers	20	42	38	117
Skilled laborers	18	34	48	155
Semi-skilled laborers	12	18	70	98
Farmers	14	14	72	91
Housewives	19	22	59	27
Unemployed	7	36	57	28
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	14	27	59	142
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	15	29	56	349
Protestants	15	30	55	407
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	15	30	55	636
Expellees	17	28	55	162

R E S T R I C T E D

English motives are more frequently judged unjust by the upper status groups than by their counterparts. With the exception of income groups - among which the better paid are more inclined to consider English policy just - no group departs significantly from an average of about a quarter judging England seriously interested in Germany's trade welfare.

"And do you think that England is seriously trying to do justice to the German viewpoint regarding trade with the East or is it trying to take advantage of our present situation?"

	Trying to do justice	Trying to take advantage	No opinion	No of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	27%	36%	37%...100%	373
Women	24	13	63	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	25	21	54	650
Beyond elementary	26	37	37	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	16	20	64	172
150 - 299 DM	26	18	56	275
300 - 399 DM	33	25	42	181
400 DM and more	28	40	32	129
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	29	21	50	195
30 - 49 years	26	24	50	339
50 years and over	21	26	53	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	32	33	35	189
CDU/CSU	31	24	45	148
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	32	39	29	44
Other parties	27	32	41	56
No party	23	19	58	213
Don't know	12	12	76	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	24	41	35	34
Businessmen	26	25	49	90
White-collar workers	32	33	35	117
Skilled laborers	31	25	44	155
Semi-skilled laborers	25	12	63	98
Farmers	14	19	67	91
Housewives	26	15	59	27
Unemployed	18	32	50	28
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc,	23	21	56	142
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	27	21	52	349
Protestants	24	25	51	407
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	25	23	52	636
Expellees	25	26	49	162

INITIAL WEST GERMAN REACTIONS
TO THE SOVIET WAR OF NERVES

Report No. 141
Series No. 2

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

Recent weeks have seen - in connection with the concluding phase of contractual negotiations - a Communist campaign calculated to increase thru fear and intimidation public opposition towards the contractual agreement and its defense participation corollary. To assess West German reactions to the new turn of the screw the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, conducted a survey in West Germany between May 16th and 21st, i.e. after the April 29th incident of Russian planes firing upon a French passenger plane enroute to Berlin, and after the Essen riot of May 11, where for the first time in the post-war period loss of life occurred in West Germany as a consequence of a demonstration.

A regular rapid sample of 800 cases gathered on a representative probability basis was utilized for the West German coverage. As usual, interviews were gathered under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

In the interest of speed in getting out the present report less important group breakdown tabulations have been omitted.

SUMMARY

Though majority judgment is that West Germany is in for a siege of Communist measures against the contractual agreement and its EDC corollary, only a third indicate having been disturbed by recent happenings.

The effect of Communist-inspired incidents and the expectation of further demonstrations is apparently to stiffen the backs of the West German population. The largest proportion recommend severe counter measures should disturbances continue, and the conviction is widespread that firmness and not softness is the effective way of dealing with the Russians.

Trend figures give no indication of the Communist war of nerves having cut into the extent of West German support for the contractual agreement. And on the important question of speed versus delay in bringing the contract and EDC into effect, the Communist campaign appears headed for a boomerang. Analysis of the returns reveals that the effect of Communist pressure is (1) to make an appreciable proportion of those priorly inclined to reject the contractual agreement and (2) a majority of those priorly approving but inclined toward a slowdown, swing in favor of early establishment of the Germany treaty and its defense participation corollary.

Further evidence that the war of nerves has through the time of the present survey failed to adversely influence the West German population emanates from a series of trend comparisons on basic attitudes. As measured by the indices employed, those comparisons reveal no increase thus far accompanying the pressure campaign in any of the following: war apprehensions, neutralism, defeatism, opposition to German defense participation, apprehensions that defense participation will increase danger of aggression, and finally, feelings that the Communist powers are stronger than the West.

Obtained as a by-product in the present survey were early reactions to the Western reply to the Soviet note on Germany. Though only a fraction of the population had become aware of the reply at this early stage, its success public relations-wise is rather firmly indicated in the fact that almost all respondents volunteering opinions on the Western note expressed approval of its contents.

- 2 -

R E S T R I C T E D

I. AWARENESS AND EXPECTATIONS

NO WIDESPREAD CONCERN INDICATED AT PRESENT TIME ...

Returns from an initial open inquiry suggest that as of the time of the present survey at least, no widespread feeling of concern exists in West Germany over the current Communist actions. Only a third indicate having been disturbed by recent happenings, and the circumstances cited were not in every case related to the Soviet pressure campaign. Perturbations are most widespread, it will be noted, among upper status levels. But even among the more educated and informed elements, such feelings are in general no more often present than not.

"Did any events occur recently that disturbed you? What were these?"

	WEST GERMANY (791)	British Zone (415)	US Zone (283)	French Zone (93)
Essen incident	12%	16%	9%	2%
Plane incident enroute to Berlin	8	19	6	4
Berlin - hampering of traffic	6	6	7	1
East Zone army	3	4	1	1
Berlin - Communist demonstrations	2	3	2	1
Other events - (e.g. economic developments, A-bomb trials, Fichteler report)	16	16	20	11
No, none	<u>66</u> 113%*	<u>63</u> 118%*	<u>64</u> 109%*	<u>80</u> 100%
	Disturbed	Not Disturbed	No. of cases	
Sex:				
Men	41%	59%	366	
Women	28	72	425	
Education:				
Elementary school	31	69	632	
Beyond elementary	45	55	159	
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	31	69	433	
300 - 399 DM	39	61	181	
400 DM and more	39	61	132	
Age:				
Up to 29 years	36	64	190	
30 - 49 years	37	63	334	
50 years and over	27	73	262	
Party Preference:				
SPD	37	63	186	
CDU/CSU	33	67	162	
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	56	44	46	
Other parties	46	54	69	
No party	33	67	191	
Don't know	18	82	137	
Occupation:				
Professionals	56	44	27	
Businessmen	45	55	87	
White-collar workers	40	60	112	
Skilled laborers	37	63	171	
Semi-skilled laborers	33	67	114	
Farmers	21	79	94	
Housewives	18	82	27	
Unemployed	28	72	25	
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	24	76	109	
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	34	66	294	
No	34	66	497	
Religion:				
Catholics	33	67	343	
Protestants	34	66	411	
Origin:				
Natives	33	67	622	
Expellees, refugees	37	63	167	

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

AWARENESS AND APPRAISAL OF ESSEN INCIDENT ...

Questioning next established that a majority in West Germany are aware of the recent Essen riots, and among those aware the opinion strongly preponderates both that the incident was Communist-inspired, and that it is likely to be followed up by similar demonstrations in the future.

"Have you heard of or read anything about the demonstrations in Essen?" (Asked of all who had not previously mentioned it, and including as "Yes" below all who did)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	62%	68%	60%	45%
No	38	32	40	55
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Can you tell me who caused these demonstrations in Essen?"

Yes, Communists, etc.	44%	46%	46%	29%
Others	6	8	4	4
No, I don't know	12	14	10	12
	<u>62%</u>	<u>68%</u>	<u>60%</u>	<u>45%</u>

"Do you consider the demonstrations to be an isolated incident or do you expect that such demonstrations will occur again in West Germany in the future?"

If "Occur again":

"On what scale?"

Occur again on a large scale	18%	19%	16%	16%
Occur again on a small scale	18	17	21	11
Occur again, I don't know on what scale	13	16	11	10
Isolated incident	6	8	5	1
No opinion	7	8	7	7
	<u>62%</u>	<u>68%</u>	<u>60%</u>	<u>45%</u>

That few of the Germans aware of the Essen demonstrations are ignorant of its purposes is evident in the commentaries below..

"What do you think is the purpose of these demonstrations?"

(Asked of all who indicated awareness of the Essen incident)

West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
-----------	--------	-------	--------

Instigation of disturbances and revolt against the government and the Western powers:

Bring unrest to West Germany; undermine Germany and incite disturbances, they need no weapons to do that; Communists want to warn us against joining the Western powers any further; they want to sow discord among the people so it will revolt against the government and the Western powers; stir up public feeling, aiming at their goal of overthrowing Adenauer's government and separating us from the West; want to cause disturbances in regard to our economy, and later on make a revolt; etc.

26% 28% 27% 18%

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Propaganda for Communism, especially among the youth:

To win the population of Western Germany for Communism; they make propaganda for Communism and want to convince the people that life would be better for everybody if Communism was to come to power; they want to extend the area involved in the cold war with so-called peace-slogans, want to spread Communism; the Communists want to turn the Ruhr area "red" as they did after the first world war; they show by demonstrations that they are not satisfied with housing, wages, etc. - they might even use force to come to power, i.e. the Communists, in all probability; the FDJ is supposed to create some sort of Hitler-Youth here in the West and organize all youngsters to get them on the Communist side; they have first won over the youth and now they think to draw other circles closer to them; to sow discord among the youth - every politician knows that the older people cannot be fooled any more that easily; etc.

13% 16% 10% 4%

Prevention of Contractual agreement:

make propaganda against the Contractual agreement; resistance against the Contractual agreement was to be created by that; people were to become restless, by that means the Russians wanted to prevent the signing of the Contractual agreement; they want to prevent the conclusion of the Contractual agreement and undermine the government from inside and outside; mutiny against the Contractual agreement; etc.

10 10 9 10

Prevention of defense contribution:

Rouse public opposition against our defense contribution; prevent raising of our army; that no army will be set up which is directed against the Russians; the Eastern Zone wants to intimidate us by this means, they probably do not want us to build up a new army in Western Germany; directed against rearmament; to maintain peace, we do not want compulsory military service or an army; want to protest against the defense contribution and call upon the people to fall in line with them; etc.

5 5 5 1

Attempt of the laborers and their trade unions to have their demands met:

The workers demonstrate against the employers' intention to do away with the trade unions and thus be able to do with the workers whatever they please; aiming at greater profit-sharing with capitalist groups; want to introduce the 40-hours week and the right for co-determination; wage increase against price increase (coal); maybe for a wage increase; to carry through the work constitution law for the improvement of working conditions; to have their demand met in regard to the right of co-determination in the firms; they want an increase in wage; wage increases; etc.

2 3 2 2

Others:

One should turn to Stalin to demand abolishment of these things; one day the East will militarily interfere as happened in Poland and Korea; for the reunification of Germany; Adenauer and his Cabinet should resign; etc.

3 3 2 2

No opinion/ No answer:

10 12 8 13
69%* 77%* 63%* 50%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

AWARENESS AND APPRAISAL OF FRENCH PLANE INCIDENT ...

Almost three quarters in West Germany appear to be aware of the recent incident involving a Russian attack upon a French passenger plane enroute to Berlin. The view heavily preponderates among those expressing opinions in the matter, that the incident was planned by the Soviets rather than accidental.

"Have you heard that a French passenger plane en route to Berlin was recently fired on by Russian fighter planes?" (Asked of all who had not mentioned incident, and including as "Yes" below all who did)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, heard about it	72%	75%	68%	70%
No, not heard about it	<u>28</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>30</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you think it was an incident planned by the Russians or just an accident?" (Asked of all aware of incident)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Planned incident	42%	43%	40%	39%
Accident	12	11	13	13
No opinion	<u>18</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>
	72%	75%	68%	70%

R E S T R I C T E D

MAJORITY ANTICIPATE COMMUNIST PRESSURE ...

The majority expectation among all respondents - both those aware and unaware of the Essen and French plane incidents - is that Communist measures can be expected against the contractual agreement and West Germany's defense participation. Only one in ten discounts the probability of such measures. Anticipations of trouble are most widespread, it will be noted, among the more alert and informed population elements.

"Do you think the Russians and the East German Communists will take (further) measures against the contractual agreement and West Germany's participation in a West European defense army?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	58%	58%	61%	52%
No	12	14	11	6
No opinion	30	28	28	42
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	72%	15%	13%	366
Women	47	9	44	425
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	55	12	33	632
Beyond elementary	69	13	18	159
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	56	14	33	433
300 - 399 DM	61	13	26	181
400 DM and more	67	16	17	132
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	64	9	27	190
30 - 49 years	59	12	29	334
50 years and over	53	14	33	262
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	71	13	16	186
CDU/CSU	59	12	29	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	82	9	9	46
Other parties	64	14	22	69
No party	53	15	32	191
Don't know	36	6	58	137
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	89	7	4	27
Businessmen	73	9	18	87
White-collar workers	61	20	19	112
Skilled laborers	59	15	26	171
Semi-skilled laborers	57	10	33	114
Farmers	53	8	39	94
Housewives	41	11	48	27
Unemployed	68	-	32	25
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	41	14	45	109
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	56	15	29	294
No	60	10	30	497
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	58	12	30	343
Protestants	57	12	31	411
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	55	13	32	622
Expellees, refugees	71	8	21	167

R E S T R I C T E D

KIND OF MEASURES ANTICIPATED ...

The kind of Communist measures anticipated to obstruct the consummation of the contractual agreement, vary from disturbances and demonstrations to outright war. The bulk of the expectations, however, do not go so far as this latter extreme.

"Do you think the Russians and the East German Communists will take (further) measures against the contractual agreement and West Germany's participation in a West European defense army?"

If "Yes":

"What sort of measures?"

West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
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Instigation of disturbances, demonstrations and strikes in West Germany:

Start trouble as was in Essen; further demonstrations; and strike agitation; strikes in Western Germany; cause alarm among the population by demonstrations and agitation propaganda; demonstrations and maybe also sabotage in West Germany; disturbances by demonstrations; everywhere they will try to instigate demonstrations and disturbances; etc.

20%	23%	17%	19%
-----	-----	-----	-----

Hindering and/or prevention of economic relations and border traffic, new blockade of Berlin:

They might again block interzonal trade and interzonal traffic; traffic restrictions: railway, roads, water ways; they might cut off Berlin again; blockade of Berlin; blocking of the zonal border; take up the blockade of Berlin again; restrict or completely block passenger traffic from the West; etc.

11	11	11	12
----	----	----	----

Intensified rearmament in the East, raising of divisions and more units of "People's Police":

They will set up an army of their own; they will increase the strength of the People's Police considerably; they will also increase their army; by raising a big army in Eastern Germany; the East Germans will also rearm and join with the Eastern armies; they will rearm and concentrate troops; etc.

11	10	13	8
----	----	----	---

Intensified Communist propaganda in Western Germany:

They will stir up hatred among people, make bad propaganda, spread rumors; they will try to stir up hatred among the people by speeches; influence the working classes, especially in the Ruhr area; might win some influence in the trade unions; in their propaganda they will fight against it by saying: "Do you want a civil war? Should foreigners interfere in domestic problems of Germany? They ought to leave us alone, throw them out of West Germany!"; propaganda against rearmament of Germany and so forth; spiteful agitation in press and radio; they would probably start counter propaganda; they would make propaganda against us; sticking up posters; etc.

6	6	7	4
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(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
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Protests, threats of all kinds:

That they will do something, this I believe - they will find a way to give us a hard time; protests in West Germany, threats from East Germany; only minor disturbances; they will go on with their threats; I don't think they will admit this just like that; work against it; by protests pertaining to that case; they will take up protests; etc.

5%	4%	6%	4%
----	----	----	----

Russian atte,pts to prevent the conclusion of the agreement by force, even start a war:

I think that they are heading for another war, they are unpredictable; invasion - the Russians might try to prevent the agreement by force; Ulbricht: "military counter measures"; they will attack us and - in my opinion - they are right; we might have a war even sooner; the Russians will invade Germany, that's what I am afraid of; we shall have another war; I assume that the Communists and the Russians will take up arms and then war will be the result; that they attack us, that this will cause another war; etc.

4	4	5	3
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Others:

Above all, put the East Zone population under pressure; will spy on everything that is being planned here; try to assassinate Adenauer; if on the grounds of the peace treaty the present border will be recognized, the Russians will never give us back our Eastern territories; I am sure that the people must suffer for it; etc.

2	1	2	4
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No opinion/ No answer:

$\frac{9}{68\%}$ *	$\frac{9}{68\%}$ *	$\frac{10}{71\%}$ *	$\frac{8}{62\%}$ *
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* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

II. GENERAL REACTIONS TO SOVIET PRESSURE CAMPAIGN

FEW SEE VALUE IN SOFTNESS TOWARD THE RUSSIANS ...

The first indication that any Communist pressure campaign is in for an uphill battle in attempting to soften up the West German population is the widespread conviction indicated in the findings below that firmness and not softness is the effective way of dealing with the Russians.

"How, in your opinion, can one achieve more in regard to the Russians: by showing a firm, uncompromising attitude or by showing a yielding attitude?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Firm attitude	69%	72%	64%	62%
Yielding attitude	11	9	14	13
No opinion	20	19	22	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Firm attitude	Yielding attitude	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	78%	9%	13%...100%	366
Women	60	13	27	425
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	65	12	23	632
Beyond elementary	80	9	11	159
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	67	11	22	433
300 - 399 DM	70	12	18	181
400 DM and more	77	11	12	132
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	69	15	16	190
30 - 49 years	74	10	16	334
50 years and over	63	9	28	262
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	70	17	13	186
CDU/CSU	79	9	12	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	87	2	11	46
Other parties	78	12	10	69
No party	66	10	24	191
Don't know	46	10	44	137
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	89	4	7	27
Businessmen	79	7	14	87
White-collar workers	73	13	14	112
Skilled laborers	71	12	17	171
Semi-skilled laborers	64	13	23	114
Farmers	64	6	30	94
Housewives	70	11	19	27
Unemployed	72	12	16	25
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	53	12	35	109
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	68	13	19	294
No	69	10	21	497
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	73	11	16	343
Protestants	64	12	24	411
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	67	12	21	622
Expellees, refugees	75	8	17	167

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

PREPONDERANCE ADVOCATE SEVERE HANDLING OF COMMUNIST INCIDENTS ...

Rather than giving any evidence of intimidation by recent Communist-inspired incidents, the largest proportion of West Germans recommend severe counter measures should such disturbances continue. Only one in ten express the opinion that no counter measures should be taken.

"Supposing incidents instigated by the Communists would occur more and more frequently in West Germany, should one take counter measures or not? (Severe measures or not so severe measures?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Severe measures	51%	54%	47%	45%
Not so severe measures	21	20	24	20
No measures	8	8	8	9
No Opinion	20	18	21	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Severe measures	Not so severe measures	No measures opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	52%	25%	11%	12%...100%
Women	49	18	6	27
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	49	20	8	23
Beyond elementary	55	28	8	9
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	49	23	5	23
300 - 399 DM	51	17	15	17
400 DM and more	57	26	7	10
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	52	24	8	16
30 - 49 years	53	20	9	18
50 years and over	46	21	8	25
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	51	27	12	10
CDU/CSU	59	21	5	15
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	59	33	4	4
Other parties	61	16	10	13
No party	46	21	9	24
Don't know	39	14	4	43
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	45	37	11	7
Businessmen	53	27	5	15
White-collar workers	55	22	10	13
Skilled laborers	49	25	10	16
Semi-skilled laborers	52	20	7	21
Farmers	51	11	4	34
Housewives	45	22	7	26
Unemployed	52	12	20	16
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	43	20	7	30
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	52	20	9	19
No	53	19	7	21
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	52	20	9	19
Protestants	50	22	6	22
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	48	22	9	21
Expellees, refugees	58	21	5	16

The most frequently recommended course of action, by those who advocate taking counter measures, is banning or quelling demonstrations through police action and arresting and punishing ringleaders. Banning of the KPD and expulsion of Communists from West Germany are also advocated by appreciable proportions. The bulk of the comments, it will be noted, are distinctly firm in tone.

"Supposing incidents instigated by the Communists would occur more and more frequently in West Germany, should one take counter measures or not?"

If "Should take counter measures" (Either "severe" or "Not so severe"):

"What sort of measures should be taken?"

West	Br.	US	Fr.
Ger.	Z.	Z.	Z.

Employ police forces against the demonstrators - ban demonstrations:

Police measures, ban the demonstrations; prohibit parades; all those speeches should be prohibited; any kind of demonstrations should be prohibited in West Germany; strict bans; the government should make use of its power; demonstrations should be quelled by the federal police; employ large police forces to keep the Communists down; quell riots with all means at the disposal of the police in order to get the situation in hand; the police should take a more active part; increase number of police forces; employ fire hoses against the rioters; ban Communist meetings; prohibit demonstrations instigated by Communists and fellow-travellers; etc.

20% 23% 18% 16%

Arrest and punish the ringleaders:

The ringleaders should be jailed, that's all; you should arrest the ringleaders; the ringleaders should be tried and punished severely; the instigators of these demonstrations should be either jailed or heavily fined; the instigators and ringleaders should be arrested on the spot, then the others will go home without further ado; the Communists should be arrested, they are embittered and won't stop at anything; you should find a legal way to stop them from carrying out their plans; they should be brought to trial; they should be put on trial; demonstrations should be prohibited and punishments imposed; bans and if necessary they should be jailed, for in the Eastern Zone a rioter is sent to the concentration camp right away; etc.-

19 17 22 20

Ban the KPD and its affiliates:

If possible, ban the Communist party here; ban the Communist party altogether; it should be best to ban the KPD; ban the KPD in West Germany at long last; ban the Communist party, if all other measures fail; simply ban the Communist party; ban the KPD in order to avoid bloodshed; etc.

9 10 9 7

Expel Communists:

Send all Communists we've got here to Russia; those people who are actually in favor of Communism should be exchanged (for others), they should be given the fare up to the border, then they should be given a sound thrashing and be turned loose; they should all be sent to the Eastern Zone, there they will find all they want to bring about here; expel all

(Cont'd on next page)

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Communists from West Germany; all rioters should be sent across the border where they should stay; expel them to the Eastern Zone; expel all ringleaders and agitators from West Germany; etc.

6%	7%	4%	4%
----	----	----	----

That depends - prevent incidents by all means:

The measures that are necessary to remove dangers, quell riots, etc. I'm not thinking of any particular measures; to restore order they can't do anything else; they should in any case try to prevent a recurrence of incidents; that depends on what sort of thing is going to happen, measures should in any case be strict; just prohibit them with all means; the measures necessary depend on what sort of trouble those guys will cause; I don't know, such measures in any case that prevent a recurrence of incidents; this sort of thing should be stopped from the beginning; it should be stamped out right away; etc.

5	5	6	1
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Take conciliatory measures:

Go about it in a peaceful way, they should be paid off in the same coin, human lives should, however, not be endangered; prevent shootings at all costs, try simple means; measures leading to war shouldn't be employed under any circumstances; no measures leading to a war; individual parties should talk things over; etc.

3	2	4	1
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It's up to the government to take action - they know better:

I leave that to the competent authority, they got paid for it, the minister of the interior; those people who make up our government should know, that's what they are for; I'm a simple person, I don't know, I am sure our government knows what to do; the government knows better; those at the top should decide the issue; I don't know, that's up to the politicians; this issue should be decided by the competent authority; etc.

3	2	4	2
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Make counter propaganda and inform people on political issues:

Make counter propaganda, clear up rumors - inform people generally; counter propaganda, set up a highly powered broadcasting station, which drowns the East Zone broadcasting stations; prevent demonstrations through counter propaganda; to inform the people about Communist aims; to instil patriotism in the youth and to give them an education such as keeps them from falling for Communism; the young generation fed with slogans must get objective information; inform the West German Communists what stinkers the Russians really are; etc.

1	2	1	1
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Resort to stringent measures: shoot and hang rioters:

Grab them and shoot them; those who are caught should be hanged right away; suppress riots rigorously with armed forces; it's no use to jail them, just shoot them; martial law should be established; to exterminate the Communists; to court martial the KPD faction and shoot them; etc.

1	1	1	3
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(Cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Improve standard of living and social insurance services
in order to check Communism:

Social conditions in this country should be generally improved in order to remove radical elements, the best means would be to raise the standard of living; raise wages, there won't be any Communists any more; better social services; etc.

West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
1	1	1	2

Others:

I'm against the Communists; you can't shoot them all and you cannot jail them all either; they really should give in; they should take exactly the same measures the Russians would take if such a thing would happen over there; but how? you must not let them get powerful, as there would be another war even sooner; those should know who are concerned with such problems, the government and the Axis should restrict trade as they did before; more sensible measures; they should make them work hard, so they lose any desire for such schemes; etc.

West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
3	3	2	3

No opinion/ No answer:

West Ger.	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
12 83%*	10 83%*	12 84%*	14 74%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

III. EFFECT OF PRESSURE CAMPAIGN ON CONTRACTUAL SENTIMENTS

EFFECT ON ACCEPTANCE/REJECTION SENTIMENTS ...

The failure to date of the Soviet campaign of instigating incidents and demonstrations in order to intimidate the West German people, appears to be matched by an equal failure to alter public attitudes on the contractual agreement and its defense participation corollary.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this Contractual Agreement?" (After all were told the following:

"The fact is that the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany considerable independence. At the same time West Germany accepts the obligation to participate with divisions in a West European army.")

West Germany	April 28 to May 4 1952	May 16 to May 21 1952
Accept it	39%	41%
Reject it	31	32
No opinion	30	27
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

EFFECT ON SPEED VERSUS DELAYING SENTIMENTS IN EFFECTING CONTRACTUALS ...

Indeed on the important question of speed versus delay in bringing the contractual agreement and EDC in effect, the Communist campaign appears headed for a boomerang. Rejection plus delaying sentiments outweigh in West Germany interest in speed in effecting the contractual agreement. But when a similar question is asked within the framework of Communist pressure, the preponderant stand swings to implementing the contractuals as soon as possible.

"What would be better: if the Contractual Agreement and a participation with divisions in West European defense would be put into effect soon or should one wait?" (Asked of all who did not indicate a preference for rejecting agreement)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Put into effect soon	31%	37%	27%	19%
Wait	13	12	14	18
No opinion	24	22	24	28
Reject agreement	32	29	35	35
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"In case the Communist pressure on West Germany should increase in the future, should we then make further efforts to bring about the Contractual Agreement and our participation in the West European army soon or should we slow down our efforts?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
As soon as possible	49%	53%	45%	43%
Slow down	14	12	16	14
Give up	7	8	7	4
No opinion	30	27	32	39
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Cross analysis suggests that the effect of Communist pressure is to make (1) an appreciable proportion of those priorly inclined to reject the contractual agreement (2) a majority of those priorly approving but inclined toward a slowdown, swing in favor of early establishment of the Germany treaty and its defense participation corollary.

"In case the Communist pressure on West Germany should increase in the future, should we then make further efforts to bring about the Contractual Agreement and our participation in the West European army soon or should we slow down our efforts?"

Prior attitude toward contractual agreement:	Hurry agree-ment	Slow down agree-ment	Give up agree-ment	No opinion	No. of cases
Reject agreement	30%	26%	20%	24%...100%	252
Accept, but slowdown	55	21	6	18	115
Accept and hurry	90	3	-	7	246
No opinion	18	6	-	76	188

Support of speeding implementation of the contractual agreement in the event of increased Communist pressure to the contrary, is most marked among the most influential population elements - the men, the better schooled and the more affluent. But in no population group does it fail to be the preponderant reaction.

	Soon as possible	Slow down	Give up	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	57%	16%	10%	17%...100%	366
Women	43	11	5	41	425
Education:					
Elementary school	46	13	7	34	632
Beyond elementary	64	14	6	16	159
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	45	13	7	35	433
300 - 399 DM	51	13	10	26	181
400 DM and more	67	13	7	13	132
Age:					
Up to 29 years	53	14	9	24	190
30 to 49 years	52	13	7	28	334
50 years and over	44	12	6	38	262
Party Preference:					
SPD	52	20	10	18	186
CDU/CSU	65	11	2	22	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	13	4	9	46
Other parties	58	12	7	23	69
No party	40	15	11	34	191
Don't know	26	7	5	62	137
Occupation:					
Professionals	59	15	11	15	27
Businessmen	61	14	2	23	87
White-collar workers	61	15	8	16	112
Skilled laborers	53	13	10	24	171
Semi-skilled laborers	43	15	8	34	114
Farmers	38	15	6	41	94
Housewives	37	11	4	48	27
Unemployed	44	16	12	28	25
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	38	9	5	48	109
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	48	14	9	29	294
No	50	13	6	31	497
Religion:					
Catholics	53	13	6	28	343
Protestants	46	14	8	32	411
Origin:					
Natives	48	14	7	31	622
Expellees, refugees	54	11	8	27	167

IV. EFFECT OF PRESSURE CAMPAIGN ON BASIC ATTITUDES AND JUDGMENTS

NO CURRENT EVIDENCES OF ADVERSE TRENDS ...

Final evidence that the Communist war of nerves against the Bundes-republic has through the time of the present survey distinctly failed to adversely influence the West German population, emanates from a series of trend comparisons on basic attitudes and judgments. It may be noted successively in the trend tabulations below that as of the present time the Communist pressure campaign appears to have:

1. failed to increase extent of war apprehensions
2. failed to increase extent of neutralism
3. failed to increase extent of defeatism
4. failed to increase extent of opposition to German defense participation
5. failed to increase extent of apprehensions that defense participation will increase danger of aggression
6. failed to increase feelings that the Communist powers are stronger than the West.

Trend on War Apprehensions*

"In your opinion, is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or not so great - very small or small?)"

West Germany	June 1951	February 1952	May 1952
Very great	14%	7%	5%
Not so great	22	22	24
Small	34	43	42
Very small	11	13	14
No opinion	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%

Trend on Neutralist Sentiments

"What should West Germany do in the present East/West struggle: should it join with one side or should it try to keep out of it altogether? (What side should it join with?)"

West Germany	May 1951	June 1951	Oct 1951	April 1952	May 1952
Should join with the West	30%	37%	34%	34%	35%
Should join with the East	**	**	**	**	1
Should kept out of it	56	49	46	46	43
No opinion	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%

* Since only West German trend indications are of primary importance in the present connections, zonal returns and group breakdowns for the latest survey have been relegated to an appendix.

** Less than one half of one per cent.

Trend on Defeatist Sentiments

"If you personally had to decide: what should be done in the event of an attack from the East, should we let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting - or should West Germany together with the West fight with all means against the Communist aggressors?"

West Germany	June 1951	July 1951	May 1952
Without a fight	8%	8%	11%
Fight with all means	73	74	73
No opinion	<u>19</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>
	100%	100%	100%

Trend on Acceptance/Rejection of Defense Participation

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it - very much against it or somewhat against it)"

West Germany	February 1952	May 1952
Very much for it	16%) 43%	18%) 44%
Somewhat for it	27)	26)
Very much against it	14) 48	31) 46
Somewhat against it	34)	16)
No opinion	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	100%	100%

Trend on Danger in German Defense Participation

"Suppose West German would start - within the framework of the defense of West Europe - to build an army - would that in your opinion increase the danger of aggression from the East or diminish it? (Increase very much or somewhat - diminish very much or somewhat)"

West Germany	February 1952	May 1952
Increase very much	25%	24%
Increase somewhat	28	22
Diminish, somewhat	11	15
Diminish very much	6	10
No influence	12	12
No opinion	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%

Trend on Communist Versus Western Strength

"And who appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the present moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

West Germany	April 1951	September 1951	May 1952
Communist powers	19%	15%	14%
Western powers	45	54	49
Both the same	14	(this choice was not given)	14
No opinion	<u>22</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%	100%

V. GENERAL APPRAISAL OF AMERICAN POLICY
AND EARLY REACTIONS TO WESTERN REPLY TO RUSSIAN NOTE

SATISFACTION OUTWEIGHS DISSATISFACTION WITH AMERICA'S RUSSIAN POLICY ...

Among West Germans in general - and in most population sub-groups - satisfaction outweighs dissatisfaction with American policy toward Russia. However, in no population group examined, it will be noted, does approval achieve majority status.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy towards Russia?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Satisfied	36%		37%	35%	31%
Dissatisfied	17		16	20	16
Partly - partly	8		9	7	8
No opinion	39		38	38	45
	100%		100%	100%	100%
	Satis- fied	Dissatis- fied	Partly- partly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	42%	23%	10%	25%	366
Women	30	12	7	51	425
Education:					
Elementary school	36	14	8	42	632
Beyond elementary	35	29	10	26	159
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	36	15	7	42	433
300 - 399 DM	35	21	11	33	181
400 DM and more	38	20	11	31	132
Age:					
Up to 29 years	34	20	10	36	190
30 - 49 years	37	18	9	36	334
50 years and over	35	15	6	44	262
Party Preference:					
SPD	39	22	11	28	186
CDU/CSU	42	12	5	41	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	48	26	6	20	46
Other parties	42	23	10	25	69
No party	32	20	10	38	191
Don't know	23	8	5	64	137
Occupation:					
Professionals	33	22	11	34	27
Businessmen	42	20	12	26	87
White-collar workers	42	19	11	28	112
Skilled laborers	36	23	7	34	171
Semi-skilled laborers	27	18	10	45	114
Farmers	35	8	6	51	94
Housewives	37	11	-	52	27
Unemployed	36	16	20	28	25
Not employed: pensioners students; retired; etc.	32	13	5	50	109
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	34	23	10	33	294
No	36	14	8	42	497
Religion:					
Catholics	39	16	7	38	343
Protestants	32	18	9	41	411
Origin:					
Natives	35	18	8	39	622
Refugees, expellees	38	15	9	38	167

REASONS FOR DISAPPROVAL ...

Recommendations for a firmer attitude in dealing with the Russians preponderates over opinions to the contrary in the remarks of those expressing dissatisfaction with present American policy. Which is another indication of course that the West Germans are far from cowed at by Soviet attempts of intimidation.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy towards Russia?"

If "Dissatisfied" or "Partly - partly":

"What are you dissatisfied with?"

West	Br.	US	Fr.
Ger.	Z.	Z.	Z.

The U.S. should show a firmer attitude in dealing with the Russians:

The Americans are too lenient, they do not stick to a definite course in politics, they don't know their own minds, they don't act in a way to show (the world) that they are the stronger power, just think of Korea; this they should do, however, under no circumstances; at the four-power conferences the Russians always have the last word, why doesn't the West at long last put its foot down and start to fight back?; they put up with so much from the Russians, who no longer hold the powerful position they once held; I just think of the big meetings the Americans used to arrange, the Russians arrive at the scene and just say "Njet." That's a flat insult, the Americans should not put up with such a thing; that the Americans do not show the Russians a fight, that negotiating with the Russians they always give in; one should not make too many concessions to the East, because you do, they keep making greater demands; the Americans put up with everything from the Russians, they give in again and again; they treat the Russians too decently, they give in too often; the Americans put up with too much, just think of the road blocks - they don't take any measures against such occurrences; the Americans enter into negotiations with the Russians who count among the worst fiends of the world, one should show a firmer, more decided attitude towards the Russians, one shouldn't put up with everything, as, for instance, in Berlin, etc.; plots by Russians and Americans, the Americans should be much more firm and aggressive in dealing with the Russians; they talk big all the time therefore they should put their foot down in such a way as to stun those bloody Russians; etc.

11% 11% 11% 9%

The U.S. should show a more conciliatory attitude:

Because the Americans do not consider any Russian proposals, regardless whether the proposal can be realized or not, the Americans should show willingness to negotiate, if just once; because they could give way in regard to one or the other issue, they, however, go on in the same old rut; they should make more concessions in order to pave the way for an understanding; in many cases the Americans could be more ready to make a compromise instead of sticking to their particular point of view; they should settle issues amiably, some time ago they were friendly with the Russians, after all; the Americans pretend to be willing, then they turn down negotiations, they are not sincere dealing with the Russians; even if it would mean loss of prestige, the U.S. should suggest to Stalin to arrange a meeting of the Big Three in a neutral country; etc.

4 4 5 4

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Br. US Fr.
Ger. Z. Z. Z.

The Great Powers should agree among themselves:

That they don't agree among themselves and don't settle issues amicably; that they can't come to terms; because they don't agree among themselves, that's all I know; because neither of them is willing to give in to the other, thus public opinion is stirred up to lead to another war; etc.

2% 3% 1% 3%

The U.S. shows an ambiguous attitude:

The Americans change their attitude from day to day, towards Russia, too; first they are allies, then, when the question of the booty comes up, they are enemies; America used to be friendly with Russia, then all at once they are enemies, the enmity being so bitter as to lead to war; the Americans should take our side more decidedly, American politics are two-faced, in one case they may be allied with us against the Russians, in an other case they should have defeated Russia together with Germany; they don't have much to their credit up till now, to the contrary, they themselves let the Russians enter Berlin and Vienna at that time; that they let the Russians advance so far, they let them occupy such wide areas; they should have shown more sense before, they were more or less pulling the strings at one time; etc.

2 2 3 2

The U.S. has to pay for past mistakes:

I just can't understand that the Americans made so many concessions back in 1945, I don't want to give any opinion on to-day's politics; American foreign policy: short-sightedness at the conclusion of Yalta and Potsdam Agreements; they should have fought the Russians back in 1945, today it is too late and would be of no use any more; first they helped them, now they side against them; because they start on a problem and leave off again all the time, we have to believe what they tell us, we don't actually know about it; etc.

2 2 2 3

Others:

They should bother us less and shouldn't drag us into their affairs. We just want to be left in peace; both try to dominate the world market, thus politics are again influenced by economic considerations, which even may lead to war; in my opinion they are quite insulting, one is stirring up feelings against the other; the Americans overplay their importance, they should concern themselves more with their own affairs; that they don't help us even a little; that they don't do anything in regard to the German prisoners of war in Russia; America never declared that it will give the Eastern territories back to us, it doesn't care about it either; etc.

3 2 3 3
2 2 2 2
26%* 26%* 27%* 24%

No opinion/ No answer:

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WESTERN REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE FAVORABLY RECEIVED IN EARLY RETURNS ..

Since delivery of the Western reply to the Soviet note occurred near the end of the present survey, only a portion of the population had as yet become aware of it. That the note is a success public-relations wise, however, is already rather firmly indicated by the fact that almost all respondents volunteering opinions on the note express approval.

"As you may know Russia made a proposal on the reunification of Germany; can you tell me whether the Western powers already have answered this proposal or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, have answered	26%	27%	25%	17%
No, not answered	14	15	12	14
Don't know	60	58	63	69
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Considering all you know about it; do you in general approve of the answer the Western powers gave or not?"

Approve of it	15%	17%	14%	11%
Do not approve of it	2	2	2	2
No opinion	9	8	9	4
	<u>26%</u>	<u>27%</u>	<u>25%</u>	<u>17%</u>

REASONS FOR APPROVAL ...

The support of free elections gives indications of being the most frequent specific reason for West German approval of the Western power reply to the Russian unity proposal.

West	Br.	US	Fr.
Ger.	Z.	Z.	Z.

It supports free elections:

Because the Western powers insist on democratic elections and oppose fixed ones; because I consider the answer to be right - people should have a fair chance to express their opinions; free elections would show the public feelings; I presume free elections are right, everybody is encouraged to express his real opinion, any pressure is avoided; only all-German and secret elections can show the genuine public opinion; I'm for free elections so that people can say what they really want; if the required conditions don't exist, no real elections can take place, the Russians would falsify the results in the Eastern Zone; etc.

3%	4%	2%	1%
----	----	----	----

It would turn out to our advantage - it would be the best for us:

The answer promises advantages for us; it meets our views; because I consider it to be the best thing; it is in the interest of Germany; because it is the most satisfactory solution; because it is for the best of the Federal Republic; it is good for us this way; I think it was pretty much the right thing to do; etc.

3	3	3	-
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(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West	Br..	US	Fr.
Ger.	Z.	Z.	Z.

Because we depend on the Western powers and they want the best for us:

We depend on the Western powers because we lack the power to give an appropriate answer by ourselves. We are satisfied with the Western power's answer. They will resist the Russians; because the Western powers generally want the best for Germany in contrast to the Russians; I believe that the Western powers only want our best, and they certainly know why they take this negative attitude; there is no other choice than close cooperation with the West; because they showed a firm attitude against the Russians; etc.

2%	3%	1%	1%
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Because the Russian proposal is not acceptable for us:

The Russian proposals are not acceptable, for instance, recognition of the Oder/Neisse line; you can't simply agree with the Russian proposals, I agree with the Western powers; I consider it a just cause, those are fair terms, we must be cautious as to the Russians; I approve of the answer because the Americans favor the return of the Eastern territories, they belong to Germany and should be given back to her. The East Zone government does not really want Germany's reunification; the Russian proposals are not acceptable because they do not offer any compromises. Free elections for Berlin were rejected, too; etc.

2	2	1	2
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Because it is the best way to achieve reunification of Germany:

Because I presume it is the only way to achieve reunification of Germany by democratic means; it would be the best for all-Germany; in order to achieve ultimate unification of Germany; because I want a united Germany again; those are the democratic pre-requisites for a German reunification; that Germany will be reunited again; etc.

1	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

Others:

Because the Western powers certainly will do the right things. Union must be reached finally. If the Russians don't agree, we must regret this. Reunification of Germany, wanted by the U.S., should be wanted by Russia as well in order to attain peace; it tries to find a peaceful solution; it shows clearly the political attitude against the East; compared to the first note the second one means a step ahead, it keeps the door open for further negotiations; it might force the Russians to show their colors, and to prove their willingness to negotiate with the West about a peace treaty for Germany. Furthermore it is up to Adenauer to decide whether this answer is right and acceptable for Germany; because they accepted the offer for negotiations; etc.

3	3	2	5
1	1	3	1
15%	17%	14%	11%

No opinion/ No answer:

R E S T R I C T E D

APPENDIX

"In your opinion, is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or great - very small or small?)"

	Very great	Great	Small	Very small	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Regions:</u>						
British Zone	5%	25%	42%	14%	14%...100%	415
US Zone	5	23	43	14	15	283
French Zone	4	26	41	12	17	93
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	5	19	50	19	7	366
Women	6	28	35	9	22	425
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	6	24	41	13	16	632
Beyond elementary	4	23	48	16	9	159
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	6	26	39	12	17	433
300 - 399 DM	3	22	45	18	12	181
400 DM and more	5	24	50	16	5	132
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	4	30	40	12	14	190
30 - 49 years	6	23	45	14	12	334
50 years and over	5	22	40	15	18	262
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	7	21	46	19	7	186
CDU/CSU	6	27	46	10	11	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	2	22	59	17	-	46
Other parties	10	33	31	19	7	69
No party	4	23	42	14	17	191
Don't know	3	25	30	7	35	137
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	4	11	67	7	11	27
Businessmen	2	22	46	17	13	87
White-collar workers	2	27	46	20	5	112
Skilled laborers	5	22	43	16	14	171
Semi-skilled laborers	8	28	36	15	13	114
Farmers	3	27	39	9	22	94
Housewives	11	22	45	11	11	27
Unemployed	8	24	56	12	-	25
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	6	25	33	10	26	109
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	6	23	41	17	13	294
No	5	25	42	12	16	497
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	4	25	47	13	11	343
Protestants	6	24	38	13	19	411
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	4	22	44	14	16	622
Expellees, refugees	10	30	37	13	10	167

R E S T R I C T E D

"What should Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should it join with one side or should it try to keep out of it altogether? (What side should it join with?)"

	Should join with the West	Should join with the East	Should keep out of it	No opinion	No. of cases
Region:					
British Zone	42%	1%	37%	20%	415
US Zone	29	*	49	22	283
French Zone	21	-	53	26	93
Sex:					
Men	44	1	43	12	366
Women	27	1	42	30	423
Education:					
Elementary school	32	1	43	24	632
Beyond elementary	46	-	41	13	159
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	32	*	42	26	433
300 - 399 DM	35	2	49	14	181
400 DM and more	46	1	39	14	132
Age:					
Up to 29 years	37	-	47	16	190
30 - 49 years	38	1	44	17	334
50 years and over	31	2	37	30	262
Party Preference:					
SPD	31	1	58	10	186
CDU/CSU	50	1	25	24	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	61	-	37	2	46
Other parties	38	4	45	13	69
No party	29	1	45	25	191
Don't know	21	-	39	40	137
Occupation:					
Professionals	59	-	37	4	27
Businessmen	42	1	42	15	87
White-collar workers	39	1	44	16	112
Skilled laborers	40	1	45	14	171
Semi-skilled laborers	30	2	45	23	114
Farmers	24	1	46	29	94
Housewives	26	-	37	37	27
Unemployed	44	-	44	12	25
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	29	-	33	38	109
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	34	1	46	19	294
No	35	1	41	23	497
Religion:					
Catholics	37	-	42	21	343
Protestants	34	1	43	22	411
Origin:					
Natives	33	1	44	22	622
Expellees, refugees	44	-	38	18	167

* Less than one half of one per cent

"If you personally had to decide: what should be done in the event of an attack from the East, should we let West Germany come under the East zone government without fighting - or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggressors?"

	Without a fight	Fight with all means	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Regions:</u>				
British Zone	9%	76%	15%...100%	415
US Zone	13	71	16	283
French Zone	14	66	20	93
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	13	74	13	366
Women	9	72	19	425
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	10	72	18	632
Beyond elementary	15	75	10	159
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	10	71	19	433
300 - 399 DM	15	71	14	181
400 DM and more	12	80	8	132
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	13	75	12	190
30 - 49 years	12	44	44	334
50 years and over	8	70	22	262
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	17	72	11	186
CDU/CSU	7	87	6	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	11	85	4	46
Other parties	9	81	10	69
No party	10	66	24	191
Don't know	10	58	32	137
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	22	71	7	27
Businessmen	7	79	14	87
White-collar workers	15	78	7	112
Skilled laborers	17	67	16	171
Semi-skilled laborers	7	74	19	114
Farmers	3	79	18	94
Housewives	11	67	22	27
Unemployed	20	64	16	25
Not employed: pensioners students, retired, etc.	5	71	24	109
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	13	71	16	294
No	10	74	16	497
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	10	82	8	343
Protestants	10	67	23	411
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	11	72	17	622
Expellees, refugees	11	75	14	167

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"
(Very much for it or somewhat for it) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)

	Very much for it	Some- what for it	Some- what against it	Very much against it	No opinion	No. of cases
Regions:						
British Zone	23%	28%	12%	28%	9%...100%	415
US Zone	14	27	16	34	9	283
French Zone	10	15	20	38	17	93
Sex:						
Men	22	30	13	31	4	366
Women	14	24	16	31	15	425
Education:						
Elementary school	16	25	15	33	11	632
Beyond elementary	25	31	10	26	8	159
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	18	26	14	31	11	433
300 - 399 DM	15	26	18	33	8	181
400 DM and more	24	31	11	29	5	132
Age:						
Up to 29 years	15	26	15	39	5	190
30 - 49 years	17	27	17	31	8	334
50 years and over	22	25	11	25	17	262
Party Preference:						
SPD	15	23	17	39	6	186
CDU/CSU	27	30	12	21	10	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	37	44	4	15	-	46
Other parties	23	37	10	26	4	69
No party	13	20	17	38	12	191
Don't know	10	24	16	31	19	137
Occupation:						
Professionals	18	45	4	26	7	27
Businessmen	20	33	13	26	8	87
White-collar workers	28	26	7	34	5	112
Skilled laborers	16	26	19	33	6	171
Semi-skilled laborers	11	24	16	39	10	114
Farmers	10	27	17	34	12	94
Housewives	11	33	22	19	15	27
Unemployed	24	12	16	40	8	25
Not employed: pensioners students, retired, etc.	24	21	11	22	22	109
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	16	25	12	37	10	294
No	19	27	16	28	10	497
Religion:						
Catholics	16	28	17	30	9	343
Protestants	19	26	13	31	11	411
Origin:						
Natives	16	26	15	33	10	622
Expellees, refugees	26	28	12	26	8	167

R E S T R I C T E D

"Suppose West Germany would start - within the framework of the defense of West Europe - to build an army - would that in your opinion increase the danger of aggression from the East or diminish it?"

(Increase very much or somewhat - diminish very much or somewhat)?

	Increase very much	Increase somewhat	Dimin- ish some- what	Dimin- ish very much	No in- flu- ence	No opin- ion	No. of cases
<u>Regions:</u>							
British Zone	23%	21%	16%	12%	11%	17%...100%	415
US Zone	26	22	15	9	13	15	283
French Zone	22	24	15	5	10	24	93
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	24	26	16	13	15	6	366
Women	23	19	14	8	9	27	425
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	25	22	15	10	9	19	632
Beyond elementary	18	23	17	12	21	9	159
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	24	21	14	11	9	21	322
300 - 399 DM	22	27	14	8	16	13	181
400 DM and more	22	21	20	13	16	8	132
<u>Age:</u>							
Up to 29 years	26	25	16	7	10	16	190
30 - 49 years	26	23	15	11	13	12	334
50 years and over	19	18	14	13	12	24	262
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	30	23	18	9	11	9	186
CDU/CSU	18	21	21	11	12	17	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	13	24	2	35	19	7	46
Other parties	29	20	13	16	15	7	69
No party	27	27	12	8	12	14	191
Don't know	18	15	12	4	8	43	137
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	18	19	26	7	30	-	27
Businessmen	17	22	15	14	16	16	87
White-collar workers	27	27	8	14	16	8	112
Skilled laborers	24	27	17	9	9	14	171
Semi-skilled laborers	24	23	20	9	7	17	114
Farmers	25	23	10	6	11	25	94
Housewives	22	18	19	-	15	26	27
Unemployed	32	4	12	12	20	20	25
Not employed: pensioners students, retired, etc.	19	14	17	15	7	28	109
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, member	25	23	18	10	9	15	294
No	23	21	14	11	13	18	497
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	22	22	15	13	13	15	343
Protestants	25	22	16	8	10	19	411
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	23	22	15	10	12	18	622
Expellees, refugees	26	21	15	13	12	13	167

- V -

R E S T R I C T E D

"And what appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both equally strong	No opinion	No. of cases
Region:					
British Zone	13%	50%	14%	23%...100%	415
US Zone	15	50	14	21	283
French Zone	15	46	10	29	93
Sex:					
Men	17	53	17	13	366
Women	11	46	11	32	425
Education:					
Elementary school	14	48	13	25	632
Beyond elementary	13	53	17	17	159
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	14	45	14	27	433
300 - 399 DM	13	57	13	17	181
400 DM and more	15	53	15	17	132
Age:					
Up to 29 years	12	50	16	22	190
30 - 49 years	14	54	12	20	334
50 years and over	15	45	13	27	262
Party Preference:					
SPD	16	58	13	13	186
CDU/CSU	10	57	13	20	162
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	22	63	11	4	46
Other parties	25	40	16	19	69
No party	14	42	17	27	191
Don't know	8	39	10	43	137
Occupation:					
Professionals	7	67	19	7	27
Businessmen	13	51	15	21	87
White-collar workers	11	58	12	19	112
Skilled laborers	14	58	12	16	171
Semi-skilled laborers	17	46	13	24	114
Farmers	17	36	16	31	94
Housewives	7	41	15	37	27
Unemployed	12	56	24	8	25
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	13	38	11	38	109
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	15	53	11	21	294
No	13	48	15	24	497
Religion:					
Catholics	13	52	14	21	343
Protestants	13	48	14	25	411
Origin:					
Natives	14	48	14	24	622
Expellees, refugees	12	52	14	22	167

FIRST REACTIONS OF WEST BERLINERS TO THE
CURRENT SOVIET PRESSURE CAMPAIGN

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

This report on the first reactions of West Berliners to the Communist pressure campaign against the German peace contract rounds out the study of the initial repercussions of the campaign, already reported for West Germany. (Report # 141 "Initial West German Reactions to the Soviet War of Nerves") The survey was conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, during the last two weeks of May 1952, using a probability sample of 160 cases representative of the population in the three Western sectors of Berlin. Interviewing as usual was done under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

Owing both to the timing of the study and the small sample employed, the results reported here should be considered only as a preliminary sounding out of Berliners' reactions to the current Soviet war of nerves. A study now in progress explores West Berliners' morale in the present situation with detailed reference to Berlin issues. The findings will be reported soon.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

Judging by the results of this preliminary survey, West Berliners are prepared to meet the current period of tension with the aplomb they customarily exhibit in such circumstances. Though they generally anticipate the Russians will intensify their war of nerves in an effort to thwart German integration with the West, most West Berliners think it would be a mistake if the Federal parliament would thereby be dissuaded from ratifying the contractual and European army pacts. A policy of forthright firmness, not compromise or compliance, is the only successful way to deal with the Russians and their Communist followers, according to the bulk of the Berliners surveyed. Thus, even to a greater degree than among their fellow Germans west of the Elbe river, the effect of the Russian pressure campaign so far has been apparently only to stiffen the backs of the West Berlin people. The findings in detail are:

- ... Nothing has happened recently to disturb the preponderance (59%) of West Berliners. Few of those noting unsettling events mention recent Communist inspired incidents, though almost all respondents know of them.
- ... Three quarters anticipate a continuance of the scare-campaign - designed to detach West Germany from the West, they say - but only a third foresee that another blockade of Berlin will be included in the Soviet tactics.
- ... If Berlin is blockaded again, however, the preponderance recommends the use of sterner counter-measures than in 1948-49. Among the steps suggested are the use of force - even a fighting war, if necessary, and a counter-blockade of East Germany (some propose a blockade of Russia).

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- ... Further evidence of the apparent failure, up to now, of the Soviet tension tactics is that nine out of ten of the Berliners surveyed say that the best way to get ahead of the Russians is to be firm, and not to show any sign of yielding to their demands.
- ... This emphasis on forceful measures furnishes a clue to the continued fairly widespread dissatisfaction with the U.S. policy toward Russia among West Berliners. Though the Soviet pressure campaign does not appear to have influenced Berliners' views in this regard, half of them continue to find the U.S. policy inadequate, and largely for the reason that it allegedly lacks firmness.
- ... Though West Berliners are not of course included in the contractual agreements and therefore can lend only moral support, this they do in great measure according to the indications of the present study. The large preponderance recommends swift ratification of the pacts, notwithstanding any attempts of the Russians to interfere.
- ... That the Russians and East Germans will continue to try to stop the pacts from going into effect is expected by eight in ten West Berliners. Such threats should be countered by severe measures in the opinion of a two-thirds preponderance.
- ... The corollary Soviet campaign to convince the Germans that the United States opposes German unification has also made little headway among West Berliners. Eight in ten say they are certain that the Americans favor a united Germany. In this connection, the Western proposal on unity was not as yet well known to many Berliners, but those who were aware of it, generally approved.
- ... Finally, as with the West German public, there is no evidence among the Berliners interviewed that the Russian pressure tactics have affected basic attitudes toward such issues as West German defense participation, neutrality, the relative strength of the Communists and the Western powers, and resistance to Communist aggression, should it occur.

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R E S T R I C T E D

I. GENERAL REACTIONS TO COMMUNIST TENSION TACTICS

WAR OF NERVES HAS NOT YET DISTURBED MANY BERLINERS ...

West Berliners, as of the end of May, appear to be taking the current Soviet war of nerves in stride. They are widely aware of the various gambits the Communists have employed in their initial campaign to thwart integration of Germany with the West, but relatively few find these events disturbing.

Six in ten West Berliners assert that nothing has occurred of late to disturb them. And of those who do find certain recent events unsettling, less than one in ten, on the average, spontaneously mention such Communist-managed incidents as the Essen riots, the attack on the Air France plane, the Communist demonstrations in Berlin, or the hampering of traffic to the East Zone and Berlin.

"Did any events occur recently that disturbed you? What were these?"**

Plane incident en route to Berlin	11%
Berlin - hampering of traffic	10
Berlin - Communist demonstrations	7
Essen incident	3
East Zone army	1
Other events (economic, political)	22
No disturbing events	59
	113%*

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MOST BERLINERS AWARE OF COMMUNIST MANEUVERS ...

The fact that so few in Berlin appear to be alarmed by recent Communist fomented events does not mean that the great bulk of residents in the Western Sectors are complacently ignorant of Communist efforts to create tensions. As the following results show, most Berliners are not only aware of the various incidents, but expect that they are only the first in a series.

Queried specifically about the Essen demonstration,

... 79 per cent say they have heard of it. Thus, together with the 3 per cent who mention it as a disturbing event, 82 per cent of the West Berlin population know of the demonstration.

... 69 per cent know the Essen affair was Communist led.

As to the attack on the French plane,

... 97 per cent know of it - 86 per cent when directly questioned say they have heard of the incident, plus 11 per cent who cite it as a cause for concern.

... 67 per cent, when queried further, express the opinion that the attack was deliberate; only 16 per cent think it was an accident, and 15 per cent don't know.

** See RAS Report # 141 "Initial Reactions to the Soviet War of Nerves" for analysis of West German opinions on this and other questions included in the present report. For convenience, comparative tables of West German replies are appended to this report.

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OTHER "ESSENS" CAN BE EXPECTED ...

Other Communist demonstrations are anticipated by the large preponderance of West Berliners. The Communists hope thereby, according to the respondents, to detach West Germany from the West, propagandize by direct action, and thwart the final conclusion of the contractual agreement.

"Do you consider the demonstration to be an isolated incident or do you expect that such demonstrations will occur again in West Germany in the future? (If "Occur again": On what scale?)"

Occur again on a small scale	30%
Occur again on a large scale	24
Occur again, I don't know on what scale	19
Isolated incident	6
No opinion	3
	82%

The purposes of these Communist demonstrations, as the West Berliners see them are as follows:

The Communists are trying to
undermine West Germany and
separate it from the West 44%

The demonstrations are propaganda for Communism,
especially among the youth 23

They are designed to prevent
the acceptance of the
contractual agreement 18

Their purpose is to keep
Germany out of the West
European army 2

Miscellaneous 3

No opinion 2

99%

* Percentage add to more than the 82 per cent who knew of the Essen incident because some people gave more than one reply. The individual comments made by respondents are not included in this table and in others since they follow much the same pattern as those reported in the West German survey already referred to.

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PREPONDANCE THINKS ANOTHER BERLIN BLOCKADE UNLIKELY ...

Although many in West Berlin expect the Russians and their Communist followers to continue to foment trouble, the preponderance (63%) does not expect that another Berlin blockade will occur. A third (35%) anticipate this eventually.

"Do you expect another blockade of West Berlin?"

No	63%
Yes	35
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

BUT SEVERE COUNTER-MEASURES RECOMMENDED, IF BERLIN AGAIN BLOCKADED ...

But if there should be another blockade, sterner counter-measures than obtained in the 1948 blockade are advocated by more than half of the West Berlin public. The more severe counter-measures suggested by proponents of such a course are for the larger part quite harsh indeed. By far the most frequent recommendation (25% of the total Berlin public) is to break another blockade by force, even war if it comes to that. In second place (12%) is the suggestion of an economic blockade of the East Zone, or Russia. Six per cent advocate a general blockade of Russia, and another 4 per cent an ultimatum or protest via United Nations auspices.

"Suppose the Russians would re-impose a blockade of Berlin: should we behave in the same way as last time or should we take more severe measures?"

More severe measures	58%
Same as last time	36
No opinion	6
	<u>100%</u>

"What measures are you thinking of?" (Asked of those who answered "More severe measures" to previous question.)

Breaking the blockade by force, if necessary by a war:

Send West European armies to Berlin and liberate it, and eventually all Germany, from the Russian terror even though we run the risk that the Russians might start a war; answer these measures with force and if necessary with a war; military measures, prevent the blocking of the roads by force; that depends on the circumstances, if necessary by force; turn out the Russians by force of arms; drive them out of the East by force; if the Russians don't enter into negotiations and don't give up the blockade, force should be answered with force; the Russians should be attacked; use force to keep open the normal supply routes to Berlin; etc.

25%

Economic blockade:

Trade with the East should be completely cut off; West Germany should stop her deliveries to the East Zone; all essential consumer goods should be excluded from export to the Russians; drop all trade relations with Russia; etc.

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Counter-blockade:

A counter-action which means counter-pressure; a counter-blockade started from Schleswig or the Mediterranean; general counter-blockade against Russia; close the frontier to the East Zone too; boycott the Russians in all fields; etc.

6%

Ultimatums - protest notes:

An ultimatum might be set; send sharpest protest notes to the Russians; set an ultimatum - have the UN prohibit Russia doing things like this; one should address oneself to Stalin in order to put an end to these things; etc.

4

No yielding:

In any case; don't yield; the U.S. must act more energetically and not put up with facts without any objections; the Amis should use their power; use stricter means than last time; etc.

4

Peaceful negotiations - no war:

Should try to find a solution for Berlin - not by a blockade but by peaceful negotiations; it must not turn into a shooting war; they should do whatever they can except shooting; etc.

1

Others:

That is difficult to say because nobody wants to be called the aggressor; measures to be carried through depend on the particular circumstances; the responsible men must know this themselves; we should help as far as we can; etc.

5

No opinion:5
62%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

SOFT TREATMENT OF RUSSIANS IS NOT RECOMMENDED ...

If the current Soviet scare-campaign aims at developing a mood of compliance among the German people, it has so far failed miserably in West Berlin. Almost to a man (92%), West Berliners say that one can get further with the Russians by not compromising with them than by showing a willingness to do so.

"In what way, in your opinion, can one achieve more regarding the Russians: by showing a firm, uncompromising attitude or by showing a yielding attitude?"

Firm attitude	92%
Yielding attitude	4
No opinion	<u>4</u>
	100%

MANY BELIEVE THE U.S. LACKS FIRMNESS IN DEALING WITH RUSSIA ...

The view that the only way to deal with the Russians is by a show of strength furnishes a clue to the rather widely prevalent dissatisfaction expressed by West Berliners with U.S. policy toward the Russians. About four in ten (43%) consider the American handling of Russian affairs satisfactory, but as many, if not more, find it unsatisfactory (37%) or only partially acceptable (13%). The main criticism of those with reservations on the adequacy of the Russian policy of the United States is that it lacks firmness.

It is important to note, however, that the current Communist disturbances have not apparently influenced West Berliners' attitudes vis-a-vis U.S. policy toward Russia. Now, as in the autumn of 1951, opinions divide in a similar fashion.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy towards Russia?"

	Nov. 1951	May 1952
Satisfied	41%	43%
Dissatisfied	39	37
Partly-partly	9	13
No opinion	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%

**Grounds for Dissatisfaction With
U.S. Policy Toward Russia**

The U.S. is not firm enough, is too conciliatory, fails to act	44%
The Americans were too friendly and generous toward the Russians to begin with, were short-sighted	5
The U.S. is too unyielding, it should try to reach some compromise	2
Miscellaneous	<u>2</u> 53%

* Some people gave more than one answer.

II. EFFECT OF COMMUNIST PRESSURE CAMPAIGN ON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PEACE CONTRACT

BERLINERS RECOMMEND QUICK ACTION ON PEACE CONTRACT ...

It is not only that the recent stratagems used by the Russians and their East German satellites have thus far failed to frighten West Berliners. The ultimate goal of these maneuvers -- to wreck the West German treaties -- appears also, up to the moment, to have made little headway among the West Berlin segments of the German population. Seven in ten (72%) of the residents of West Berlin recommend Bundestag ratification of the contractual agreement and almost as many (66%) believe both the contract and German defense participation should take effect as soon as possible.*

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?"

Accept it	72%
Reject it	19
No opinion	9
	<u>100%</u>

"What would be better: if the contractual agreement and a participation with divisions in West European defense would be put into effect soon or should one wait?" (Asked of those who answered "Accept it" or "No opinion" to previous question.)

Put into effect soon	66%
Wait	9
No opinion	6
	<u>81%</u>

COMMUNISTS EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE TREATIES SHOULD BE IGNORED ...

Increased Communist agitation should not sway the German people from the swift ratification of the contractual and European army agreements, according to the bulk of West Berliners. Eight in ten (78%) say that West Germany should go ahead with the treaties despite what the Communists try to do to stop them. Only 7 per cent recommend a delay, while 4 per cent say the contracts should be dropped in order to placate the Communists, if they increase their pressure on the West.

"In case the Communist pressure on West Germany should increase in the future, should we then make further efforts to bring about the contractual agreement and our participation in the West European army soon or should we slow down our efforts?"

As soon as possible	78%
Slow down	7
Give up	4
No opinion	11
	<u>100%</u>

* Two initial inquiries in this series measured knowledge of the contractual negotiations: 52 per cent in West Berlin were aware of the negotiations, and 50 per cent knew something of their purpose. Following these queries, all respondents were briefly informed of the aims of the agreement, and were then asked the questions reported above. (Questions with West German comparisons are listed at the end of this report.)

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COMMUNISTS CAN BE EXPECTED TO INCREASE THEIR AGITATION ...

The people in Berlin are also largely agreed that while the Communists can be expected to make efforts of all kinds to prevent acceptance of the peace contract, these efforts should be met with strong counter-measures.

"Do you think the Russians and the East German Communists will take measures against the contractual agreement and West Germany's participation in a West European defense army?"

Yes	81%
No	13
No opinion	6
	<u>100%</u>

Further Communist actions, as foreseen by West Berliners, will be of the kinds listed below:

Incitement to riots, disturbances, strikes	32%
Traffic blockades, blockade of Berlin	28
Intensified rearmament in East Germany	19
Intensified propaganda campaign	7
Attempt to prevent Western integration by force, even war	6
Protests, threats of all kinds	3
Miscellaneous	2
No opinion	7
	<u>104%*</u>

*Some people gave more than one answer.

BUT STRICT COUNTER-MEASURES SHOULD BE USED BY THE WEST ...

Only one in ten recommends doing nothing in case the Communists pursue their war of nerves against the Western integration of Germany. Two thirds advocate severe counter-measures.

"Supposing incidents instigated by the Communists would occur more and more frequently in West Germany, should one take counter-measures or not? (Severe measures or not so severe measures?)"

Severe measures	67%
Not so severe measures	20
No measures	9
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

"What sort of measures should be taken?" (Asked of those who answered "Severe measures" or "Not so severe measures" to previous question.)

Arrest and punishment of ringleaders	34%
Ban demonstrations, and use police power to enforce ban	29
Ban KPD and its affiliates	13
Expel Communists (to Russia, East Germany)	12
Use various measures, but try to avoid force	7
Shoot and hang rioters, establish martial-law	4
Government should decide	1
Counter-propaganda	1
Improve social conditions as check on Communism	1
Miscellaneous	6
No opinion	5
	<u>113%*</u>

*Some people gave more than one answer.

III. FIRST REACTIONS TOWARD WESTERN PROPOSALS ON GERMAN UNITY

HALF IN WEST BERLIN NOT AWARE OF WEST'S PROPOSAL, BUT MOST OF THOSE AWARE APPROVE ...

At the time of the survey, a considerable proportion of West Berliners (56%) were not aware that the Western powers had recently presented a proposal to Soviet Russia on German unity. The explanation for this extensive ignorance is probably that the note was dispatched just at the time the survey was being made in Berlin. The four in ten (42%) who were informed, tended largely to approve of the proposal.

"As you may know, Russia made a proposal on the reunification of Germany: can you tell me whether the Western powers already have answered this proposal or not?"

Yes, have answered	42%
No, not answered	9
No opinion	49
	<u>100%</u>

"Considering all you know about it: do you in general approve of the answer the Western powers gave or not?"
(Asked of all those who answered "Yes, have answered" to previous question.)

Approve of it	30%
Do not approve of it	4
No opinion	8
	<u>42%</u>

Reasons for approval are categorized thus:

Supports free elections	11%
It conforms to our best interests	9
It is the best way of achieving unity	4
The Russian proposal was not acceptable	1
Miscellaneous	5
No opinion	2
	<u>32%*</u>

* Some people gave more than one answer.

BUT LARGE MAJORITY CERTAIN THE U.S. FAVORS GERMAN UNITY ...

On the basic issue, however, of whether or not the United States desires a united Germany, few West Berliners are doubtful. Eight in ten (82%) state that they are sure the Americans want to see Germany re-united.

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning the reunification of Germany?"

I'm sure the United States is for a reunification of Germany	82%
I have some doubts that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	12
I'm very doubtful that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	4
I'm sure the United States is not for a reunification of Germany	-
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

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IV. EFFECT OF PRESSURE CAMPAIGN ON BASIC ATTITUDES AND JUDGMENTS

NO ADVERSE TRENDS CURRENTLY APPEAR ...

Among West Berliners, as with their countrymen in West Germany,* the current Communist war of nerves has apparently had no discernable influence on attitudes vis-a-vis West Germany's role in the East-West struggle. West Berliners vote in much the same fashion now as before the recent political maneuvers of the Communists, on West German military participation, on neutrality and on the relative successes of the Communist and Western powers.

Trend on Acceptance/Rejection of West German
Defense participation

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it - very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	February 1952	May 1952
Very much for it	46%	38%
Somewhat for it	28	34
Very much against it	11	9
Somewhat against it	13	14
No opinion	2	5
	100%	100%

Trend on Danger in West German Defense Participation

"Suppose West Germany would start - within the framework of the defense of West Europe - to build an army - would that in your opinion increase the danger of aggression from the East or diminish it? (Increase very much or somewhat - diminish very much or somewhat?)"

	February 1952	May 1952
Increase very much	12%	17%
Increase somewhat	17	17
Diminish somewhat	28	18
Diminish very much	20	25
No influence	15	17
No opinion	8	6
	100%	100%

Trend on Neutralist Sentiments

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should it join with one side or should it try to keep out of it altogether? (What side should it join with?)"

	June 1951	December 1951	May 1952
Should join with West	62%	68%	66%
Should join with East	-	**	-
Should keep out of it	32	25	30
No opinion	6	7	4
	100%	100%	100%

*See Report # 141 "Initial West German Reactions to the Soviet War of Nerves" for trends for West Germany. Comparative results for May 1952 survey are appended to this report.

** Less than one half of one per cent.

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Trend on Comparative Strength of Communist
and Western Strength

"And who appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	December 1951	May 1952
Communist powers	15%	10%
Western powers	67	72
Both the same	12	13
No opinion	6	5
	100%	100%

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past six months: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	April 1950	May 1952
Communist powers	23%	17%
Western powers	68	62
Both the same	6	13
No opinion	3	8
	100%	100%

The latest Communist threats have also not materially affected West Berlin views on the imminence of war or on what the West should do in the event a war should be started by Russia. Now, as formerly, the preponderance believes that there is little likelihood of an immediate Communist attack on West Germany.

Trend on War Apprehensions

"In your opinion, is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or not so great - very small or small?)"

	June 1951	February 1952	May 1952
Very great	20%	6%	9%
Not so great	28	24	30
Small	34	46	39
Very small	12	15	17
No opinion	6	9	5
	100%	100%	100%

Trend on Defeatist Sentiments

And nine out of ten West Berliners continue to advocate unreserved resistance to Communist aggression, should it occur.

"If you personally had to decide, what should be done in the event of an attack from the East, should we let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting - or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggressors?"

	June 1951	December 1951	May 1952
Without a fight	3%	4%	5%
Fight with all means	91	92	90
No opinion	6	4	5
	100%	100%	100%

West Berliners are also more sanguine than West Germans generally of the possibility of stopping a Russian attack at the Elbe. This may be seen in replies to an initial attempt to gauge the "battlefield" theme which the Communists frequently put forward in their efforts to weaken the mood to resistance in the West. (What Berliners think would happen to their own city in the event of a Russian attack is being explored in a current study.)

"Suppose Russia would start a war in Europe in the foreseeable future, what would happen then?"

The West European and the American forces would not let the Russians get across the river Elbe	32%
The Russians would overrun West Germany and could probably not be stopped before the Rhine	36
The Russians would overrun wide areas of Europe	12
The Russians would overrun the whole of Europe	14
No opinion	6 100%

APPENDIX

Tables are presented in the following pages showing comparative results for West Berlin and West Germany. It will be noted that the current pressure campaign of the Communists appears to have had even less influence on the West Berliners than on their West German compatriots.

"Did any events occur recently that disturbed you? What were these?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Essen incident	3%	12%
Plane incident en route to Berlin	11	8
Berlin - Communist demonstrations	7	2
Berlin - hampering of traffic	10	6
East Zone army	1	3
Other events (economic, political)	22	16
No, none	<u>59</u>	<u>66</u>
	113%	115%

*Some people gave more than one answer.

"Have you heard of or read anything about the demonstrations in Essen?" (Asked of those who had not previously mentioned it.)

	Berlin	West Germany
Yes	79%	50%
No	<u>18</u>	<u>38</u>
	97%	88%

"Can you tell me who caused these demonstrations in Essen?" (Asked of all who knew of the Essen affair.)

	Berlin	West Germany
Yes, Communists, etc.	68%	44%
Others	2	6
No, I don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
	82%	62%

"Have you heard that a French passenger plane en route to Berlin was recently fired on by Russian fighter planes?" (Asked of those who had not previously mentioned it.)

	Berlin	West Germany
Yes, heard about it	86%	64%
No, not heard about it	<u>3</u>	<u>28</u>
	89%	92%

"Do you think it was an incident planned by the Russians or just an unhappy accident?" (Asked of all who knew of it.)

	Berlin	West Germany
Planned incident	66%	42%
Unhappy accident	16	12
No opinion	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>
	97%	72%

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"Do you consider the demonstrations to be an isolated incident or do you expect that such demonstrations will occur again in West Germany in the future? (If "Occur again": On what scale?)"

	Berlin	West Germany
Occur again on a large scale	24%	18%
Occur again on a small scale	30	18
Occur again, I don't know on what scale	19	13
Isolated incident	6	6
No opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
	82%	62%

"Do you expect another blockade of West Berlin?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Yes	35%	45%
No	63	33
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%

"Suppose the Russians would re-impose a blockade of Berlin: should we behave in the same way as last time or should we take more severe measures?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Same as last time	36%	50%
More severe measures	58	25
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>25</u>
	100%	100%

"In what way, in your opinion, can one achieve more regarding the Russians: by showing a firm, uncompromising attitude or by showing a yielding attitude?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Firm attitude	92%	69%
Yielding attitude	4	11
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>20</u>
	100%	100%

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy towards Russia?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Satisfied	43%	36%
Dissatisfied	37	17
Partly-partly	13	8
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>39</u>
	100%	100%

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject this contractual agreement?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Accept it	72%	41%
Reject it	19	32
No opinion	<u>9</u>	<u>27</u>
	100%	100%

"What would be better: if the contractual agreement and a participation with divisions in West European defense would be put into effect soon or should one wait?" (Asked of those who answered "Accept it" or "No opinion" to previous question.)

	Berlin	West Germany
Put into effect soon	66%	31%
Wait	9	13
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>24</u>
	81%	68%

"In case the Communist pressure on West Germany should increase in the future, should we then make further efforts to bring about the contractual agreement and our participation in the West European army soon or should we slow down our efforts?"

	Berlin	West Germany
As soon as possible	78%	49%
Slow down	7	14
Give up	4	7
No opinion	<u>11</u>	<u>30</u>
	100%	100%

"Do you think the Russians and the East German Communists will take measures against the contractual agreement and West Germany's participation in a West European defense army?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Yes	81%	58%
No	13	12
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>30</u>
	100%	100%

"Supposing incidents instigated by the Communists would occur more and more frequently in West Germany, should one take counter-measures or not? (Severe measures or not so severe measures?)"

	Berlin	West Germany
Severe measures	67%	51%
Not so severe measures	20	21
No measures	9	8
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>20</u>
	100%	100%

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"As you may know Russia made a proposal on the reunification of Germany: can you tell me whether the Western powers already have answered this proposal or not?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Yes, have answered	42%	26%
No, not answered	9	14
No opinion	<u>49</u>	<u>60</u>
	100%	100%

"Considering all you know about it, do you in general approve of the answer the Western powers gave or not?" (Asked of all those who knew.)

	Berlin	West Germany
Approve of it	30%	15%
Do not approve of it	4	2
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
	42%	26%

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning the reunification of Germany?"

	Berlin	West Germany
I'm sure the United States is for a reunification of Germany	82%	50%
I have some doubts that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	12	22
I'm very doubtful that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	4	6
I'm sure the United States is not for a reunification of Germany	-	5
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it? Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	Berlin	West Germany
Very much for it	38%	18%
Somewhat for it	34	26
Very much against it	14	31
Somewhat against it	9	13
No opinion	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
	100%	100%

"Suppose West Germany would start - within the framework of the defense of West Europe - to build an army - would that in your opinion increase the danger of aggression from the East or diminish it? (Increase very much or somewhat - diminish very much or somewhat?)"

	Berlin	West Germany
Increase very much	17%	24%
Increase somewhat	17	22
Diminish somewhat	18	15
Diminish very much	25	10
No influence	17	12
No opinion	6	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should it join with one side or should it try to keep out of it altogether? (That side should it join with?)"

	Berlin	West Germany
Should join with the West	66%	35%
Should join with the East	-	1
Should keep out of it	30	43
No opinion	4	21
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And who appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Communist powers	10%	14%
Western powers	72	49
Both equally strong	13	14
No opinion	5	23
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past six months: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Communist powers	17%	21%
Western powers	62	32
Both sides had equal success	13	16
No opinion	8	31
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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"In your opinion, is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small?(Very great or great - very small or small?)"

	Berlin	West Germany
Very great	9%	5%
Great	30	24
Small	39	42
Very small	17	14
No opinion	5	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"If you personally had to decide: what should be done in the event of an attack from the East, should we let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting - or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggressors?"

	Berlin	West Germany
Without a fight	5%	11%
Fight with all means	90	73
No opinion	5	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Suppose Russia would start a war in Europe in the foreseeable future, what would happen then?"

	Berlin	West Germany
The West European and the American forces would not let the Russians get across the river Elbe	32%	13%
The Russians would overrun West Germany and could probably not be stopped before the Rhine	36	28
The Russians would overrun wide areas of Europe	12	21
The Russians would overrun the whole of Europe	14	20
No opinion	6	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

**SOME BASIC GUIDES TO PREDICTING THE FUTURE
BEHAVIOR OF WEST GERMANY**

Report # 143

~~Classified~~

June 30, 1952

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OF MESSAGE RICHARD P. CROFT
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REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

There is no more serious and fundamental question facing Western policy officials in Germany than what West Germany's political course is likely to be once she attains freedom of decision regarding political and economic affairs. The hope is that Germany will follow a foreign policy congenial with the objectives of the Western nations. The danger is, of course, that she might not.

West German actions will necessarily be conditioned in part by situations and events many of which cannot at the moment be foreseen. But a primary determinant of West Germany's future course of action is likely to derive from the basic sentiments of the populace - the character of their national urges and strength of their loyalty and identification with the West. The present study attempts to assess in a preliminary way some of the forces that could play a critical role in the direction of West Germany's political future, and hence necessary to take carefully into account by policy makers in formulating premises as to what are likely to be West Germany's future political orientations.

The results of the present study clearly indicate - and this will come as no surprise to many - the existence of the kind of German aspirations and motivations which cannot fail to pose severe problems for American and Western policy vis-a-vis the Germany of the future.

IT IS EVIDENT FROM THE FINDINGS THAT THE GERMANS DESPITE THEIR HUMILIATING DEFEAT IN TWO WARS, REMAIN A PROUD AND AMBITIOUS PEOPLE.

- ... The majority aspires to play a dominant role in West European affairs. Patriotic-nationalistic considerations, as well as the desire to compensate for the "oppression" of the occupation are important motivating factors.
- ... The ambitions of a third are greater - they wish Germany to be the most powerful member even of a West European confederation in which presumably rival power considerations would no longer be so pertinent. Their reasons are largely aggressively nationalistic in tone.
- ... However, expectations on the whole are in general more modest than aspirations. Only a fifth expect that Germany will actually become the strongest West European power and only half express the anticipation she will even become a strong power. But if the desire to achieve a power status were frustrated, the Western powers would largely be held responsible, judging from comments of respondents.
- ... And recommended ways of achieving a position of strength are also modest and generally quite unaggressive in character. Most West Germans suggest the road to power should be achieved through hard work and unity of purpose. A few, however, recommend specific and more aggressive measures: throw out the Western occupiers, establish a national army, regain East Germany and/or the lost territories, etc.

VERY FEW BELIEVE THAT WEST GERMANY HAS ENOUGH LEBENSRAUM.

- ... Almost all West Germans (90%) believe that the addition of millions of refugees and expellees has resulted in an impossibly burdensome population problem. And half think that a decent living standard is impossible as long as this overpopulation exists.

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

- ... The only solution to the problem that has any great popular appeal is the reunification of Germany and the recovery of the lost territories in the East. Over half spontaneously suggest this as a means of solving the overpopulation problem.
- ... Economic intergration within the framework of a West European union is regarded as an answer by only a handful. As many think it would be of no use at all, as think it might offer some help.

WEST GERMANY HAS THE RIGHT TO USE FORCE TO REUNITE EAST AND WEST GERMANY AND TO REGAIN THE "LOST" TERRITORIES, ACCORDING TO LARGE PREPONDERANCES.

- ... Though currently the West Germans preponderately reject the use of force to achieve reunification or the recovery of the regions East of the Oder-Neisse, they claim the right to employ forceful measures to gain both these ends, should other means fail.
- ... However, though the West Germans may in the long run be prepared to pay the cost of war to obtain unity, they apparently are not willing to buy unity at the cost of Communist influence. This alternative is rejected by a five to one ratio.

UNTIL THE "LOST" TERRITORIES ARE RECOVERED, IRREDENTISM CAN BE EXPECTED TO HOLD SWAY.

- ... Probably the strongest and most compelling factor, next to if not parallel with the desire for reunification, is the urge to recover the territories East of the Oder-Neisse line. The vast majority of West Germans and Berliners assert a legal claim to East and West Prussia, Silesia and Pomerania. And about half state that the Sudetenland also rightfully belongs to Germany.
- ... Eight out of ten urge that everything possible be done to regain the former possessions.
- ... And should the Western powers declare their opposition to these recovery efforts, the indications are that notwithstanding Western disapproval, a firm majority (62%) would still urge efforts to regain these regions be continued.
- ... The prevailing opinion at this time is that the Western powers support German territorial claims. Considering the depth and extensivity of irredentist sentiments, it is obvious that any notice to the contrary on the part of the West cannot fail to have other than the most serious repercussions in Germany.
- ... Recovery through negotiations with the Russians or East countries, with or without the participation of the Western powers, is currently advocated rather than the use of force.
- ... However, as already suggested, the rejection of force does not in general appear to be based on the belief that it is wrong to use force. On the contrary, the majority reserves the right for the future of Germany to employ aggressive measures if other means to regain the lost territories fail. Since there is no disposition to compromise with Communism, it is difficult to foresee how the return of these territories is to be negotiated. For this reason, irredentism must be considered a potentially explosive factor as West Germany moves into the future.

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PRESENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE WEST GERMANS LIES WITH THE WEST.

- ... As long as the Cold War continues, West Germany's choice of a partner is clearly with the West. A large preponderance votes for future cooperation with the West even though joining with the East might appear to have greater economic and political advantages.
- ... Further indication of general identification with the West is the finding that although seven in ten Germans recommend future trading with the Eastern countries, only a fifth would recommend such trade against the wishes of the West. Over half would be opposed if it should jeopardize Western relations.
- ... Using acceptance of the Schuman Plan as a yardstick of allegiance to the West, and as a rough gauge of possible future responses to treaty obligations, the forecast is somewhat unsettled. Only three in ten West Germans currently agree with the plan (half have no opinion or know nothing of it) and more than a third say West Germany should abandon the organization, if it should prove disadvantageous to Germany. On the other hand as many as a fifth recommend continued adherence to the commitment even though it appears to be working against Germany's interest.

IN BRIEF ...

West Germany's orientation currently appears to be Western rather than Eastern, particularly vis-a-vis the Communist threat. However, the long-range basic ambitions of the German people would seem to point the focus of future interests in an easterly direction. Especially as concerns the recovery of the lost territories, and by implication reunification, they reveal a strong urge to push ahead to gain the ends considered desirable for their country. Currently, they prefer to use non-forceful means to gain the desired goals. For the most part, however, rejection of the use of force does not rest on ethical grounds. Therefore, if all other means to achieve aims currently deemed desirable should fail, it cannot be safely assumed that forceful measures would not be supported by the West German public.

Results in the present study are based upon a survey of all of West Germany and the three Western sectors of Berlin, conducted between March 17th and April 1st, 1952 (i.e. after the occurrence of the Russian unity overture of March 10th). The sample embraced 1,200 cases in West Germany and 200 in West Berlin and was in both instances of the probability type. As usual, interviews were gathered under German auspices (thus eliminating any dangers of American sponsorship bias) by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H. Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

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R E S T R I C T E D

I. WHAT ARE WEST GERMAN POWER
ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS?

A DOMINANT ROLE FOR GERMANY OF TOMORROW IS DESIRED BY THE MAJORITY ...

Though the Germany of today bears little resemblance to the country for whom Emperor William II once demanded a "place in the sun," the ambition reflected in the phrase does not appear to have vanished completely from the land. The ambitions of the average German today are, to be sure, less boundless than the late Kaiser's. But they do envisage a leading role for Germany on tomorrow's European stage. Seven years of occupation following a disastrous defeat have not, it appears, stifled either Germans' desire to see their country a power in West Europe or the belief that the Germans because of their natural qualities and know-how are entitled to such a role.

By a 57 per cent preponderance - in West Berlin, 65 per cent - the West German people assert they would like to see Germany become the strongest country in Europe. However, as many as a fifth (28% in Berlin) do not want this to happen, and another fifth have not made up their minds.

"Considering what place Western Germany may take in a future Western Europe, would you like seeing Western Germany become the strongest country in Western Europe or would you not like it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Would like it	57%	61%	53%	54%	65%
Would not like it	21	18	26	23	28
No opinion	22	21	21	23	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Patriotic considerations, some with a distinctly nationalistic flavor, lead (20%) as reasons among those with ambitions for a powerful Germany, but about as many (17%) argue in political terms, followed in close order (13%) by economic considerations. Typical of the patriotic-nationalistic reasoning are such comments as: "Everyone likes his homeland in first place," "I would be a bad citizen if I didn't want Germany to be the strongest nation," and "It should be a matter of course that the most qualified people live in the strongest state."

The main theme of those who argue in political terms for West German predominance is that if Germany is strongest she can no longer be oppressed by other nations as is allegedly now the case. A few assert that a strong Germany would prevent a Communist attack. Improved living and industrial conditions are largely cited by those who base their desire for a powerful Germany on economic considerations. Comments on following page are listed in order of frequency of mention.

*Though the question was phrased in terms of West Germany to avoid the complexities of the reunification issue, it is clear from comments that respondents generally considered the issue in terms of a united Germany

"Why would you like it?" (Asked of those who replied affirmatively to the preceding question.)

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	Zone
(20%)	(22%)	(19%)	(17%)	(29%)

Patriotic and Nationalistic Reasons:

Native pride in homeland:

Because I'm proud of my nationality as the French are and all other people too; everyone likes his homeland in first place; we had the strongest position in former times and it is due to us; there must be one country that has the lead and Germany is entitled to it because of her historical past; that is the tendency of every nation; you are proud of your native country - the other nations don't hide their feelings either, and strive for power; I would be a bad citizen if I did not want Germany to be the strongest nation - there is still some national pride left; as a member of this nation I feel that we should be the most powerful people; you want the best for those you belong to; because I would be happy to be a citizen of the strongest state; we could be proud in Germany if she would come out of this bad situation; etc.

16% 18% 15% 14% 23%

Superiority of German characteristics:

The German is the most industrious person in Europe; as a reward for being the most active people; because the Germans are the most capable and diligent people of Europe; the Frenchman is too lazy; Western Germany has the best specialists; the Germans are superior in every respect to other people (superior as a soldier); we have been the fairest people in Europe - just think of the policy we used in our colonies before World War I; the Germans can get something out of everything; it should be a matter of course that the most qualified people live in a powerful state; because I'm convinced that Western Germany can become the best and strongest nation according to her ethnic structure; etc.

4 4 4 3 6

Political Reasons:

(17%) (18%) (16%) (17%) (21%)

Germany would regain sovereignty and consequent independence from foreign control:

So the other nations can't do what they like with us; in order not to be suppressed by other nations; we'll have more political advantages and won't be suppressed any longer by other countries; the German people want to experience a better period after years of slavery; in order not to be suppressed by other powers; because we shall be on our own again, and no longer be given directions by other nations; because a weak nation always has an unfavorable position with neighboring countries; because it can

(cont'd on next page)

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R E S T R I C T E D

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

mean only advantages to us - the stronger the nation the more secure the people; if we get more power, our position towards the others will be better; the other countries won't be able to do us any harm, and we can do whatever we like; etc.

10% 9% 11% 12% 11%

Russian aims and Communism would be thwarted:

Because there would no longer be any danger of attack from the Russian side; so that the Communists cannot come in; in order to prevent a Russian invasion; because we want to live in freedom and not under a Communist system; Communism would be played out then and we would enjoy a more peaceful time; etc.

4 5 3 4 7

Other political reasons:

I personally prefer a well balanced Europe - it would be more wholesome for all concerned; because Germany might be reunited; because I think it will be easier then to return to my native territory; the Eastern territories will be given back to us; etc.

3 4 2 1 3

Economic Reasons:

(13%) (14%) (10%) (11%) (20%)

General economic advantages:

There are many diligent people in Germany to whom more chances for development would be given through that; Germany must grow strong in order to get back her colonies - only this way can we get back a normal economy; I expect an improvement of the living conditions for the whole people; our situation would be the most favorable, life would become less expensive, industry would prosper; if we increase in power the whole people may be better off soon - the family gets more income; the living conditions would be completely changed; it would be good for Western Germany - we must demonstrate to the others what we are able to do; in order to get ahead again, we have given up all until now; etc.

11 12 8 10 13

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

WEST Brit. NS French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

There would be a decrease in unemployment:

More jobs and less unemployment; a strong Germany might help solve the unemployment problem - I have been without a job for four years; we might become more active again, the workman would regain his right, he would be better off - more jobs, better wages; because all people would find a job; we would achieve better living conditions in West Germany - there would be enough to live on because all unemployed would find a job; jobs would be available and living conditions improve; etc.

2% 2% 2% 1% 7%

Other advantages:

Most advantageous for Germany; it would be better for all of us; the more powerful a nation, the more successful will it be; I don't know how to put it - we would be leading then; it's better to be an esteemed nation; things will improve - we would like to live to see the old times again; it would be the best for us; etc.

10 10 9 10 10

Other responses:

We would know at least what we are living for - we don't have a future this way; why wouldn't we like it - we want things in a proper state again; in order to be safe against annoying surprises in the future; in order to get a feeling of security; Germany shall be reunited and cooperate; so our imprisoned generals who are said to be gangsters will be set free - nowadays partisans are fought against as in Korea or Indochina; etc.

2 2 2 3 -

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{64\%}$ $\frac{2}{68\%}$ $\frac{3}{59\%}$ $\frac{3}{61\%}$ $\frac{3}{85\%}$

*Some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

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HARD WORK AND UNITY OF PURPOSE RECOMMENDED ...

There is little indication among the numerous and varied suggestions for achieving the position as the strongest state in West Europe that the Germans currently wish to reach this goal through aggression. A general underlying theme in many is hard work and unity of purpose. Called for in this regard are : a strengthened economy (10%), an end to internal dissensions (8%), end to unemployment (5%) and increased efforts at reconstruction (4%). Others propose more aggressive measures: the withdrawal of the occupation powers or independence of them (7%); the establishment of a German army - presumably a national army (6%), and the reunification of Germany and return of the lost territories (3%). A few (6%) see German strength achieved by cooperation and alliance with the Western powers and the U.S.

"Considering what place Western Germany may take in a future Western Europe, would you like seeing Western Germany become the strongest country in Western Europe or would you not like it?"

If "Would like it":

"What should West Germany do in order to become a strong nation again? (And what else should we do?)"

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	Zone

Strengthen the economy:

Increased industrial potential - in order to bring back prosperity; restore industrial capacity; enlarge the industrial plants perhaps; West Germany should try out all ways at her disposal to become economically independent; strengthen trade and industry, there is nothing else we can do; Western Germany should go on trying to increase her economic capacity; trade with all countries; promote export trade, especially; raise exports and imports through outstanding achievements in the economic sphere; find new outlets for exports and liberalize trade; trade with all nations; import raw materials from abroad; do business on a large scale with foreign powers, that's what I think; strengthen economy, activate it, not conclude so many agreements by which we are bound and which do not allow us to change our course; build ship-yards in order to revive shipping; make heavy industry go full blast; etc.

10% 10% 11% 10% 16%

Develop and maintain internal unity:

We should agree among ourselves and in unison should work on a program; there should be accord, the political parties should agree on main issues; there should be less disagreement, otherwise things will not take a definite turn for the better; bring about unity in the political sphere, create a few political parties out of the many that exist; strengthen unity, the political parties should be on friendlier terms; co-operate more closely; we should form a common front; should stick together, shouldn't be indifferent to each other - we are all one big family and should agree among ourselves once more; we should follow a course in politics which doesn't result in differences; we should stick together and should not tolerate hate and jealousy among ourselves; avoid frictions in the spheres of domestic and foreign policy, pursue our course steadily and objectively; etc.

8 7 10 8

(cont'd on next page)

Demand independence and/or withdrawal of occupation forces:

Get rid of the occupation forces; the Americans should beat it; as long as there are occupation forces who have their fingers in our pie all the time, we can't do a thing - they have to go; the occupation forces should lift restrictions; we should strive for independence in all spheres, in the economic as well as in the political; to set our own course regarding the economic policies of our country, not to accept orders by other powers; not to put up with everything; Western Germany should try to induce the occupation forces to annul the strict regulations set up by them; etc.

7% 8% 6% 7% 7%

Cooperate with other countries:

Win foreign powers as allies; ally with the West; cooperation with the Americans, they should help us - to turn to any of the others would be useless; we should establish friendly relations with other nations; we should come to terms with the other nations; cooperate with other nations; etc.

6 8 5 4 10

Establish an army:

Set up military forces; if we had an army, we could again be a strong nation; if we had an army there would be more job opportunities - the factories would be busy and, above all, the younger generation would know discipline once more - many people at present unemployed would find work again; establish an army; if other nations have an army and are rearming, we should follow suit, without preparing for another war; etc.

6 7 5 4 8

Combat unemployment and improve social insurance:

Find work for the unemployed; Western Germany should stamp out unemployment; above all see to it that the man in the street gets a better deal; everybody should get a fair deal; being 50% disabled I have a very hard time to manage because people like me don't find work easily and wages are so low, that I can't even buy a pair of shoes for my two children; we should have an efficient government that really is concerned with the people's point of view; the peasants, too, have to pay taxes, not only the workers; etc.

5 4 3 4 9

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Make joint efforts to further reconstruction:

Work hard; everybody should work, every single person should do his part; if all that was destroyed would be rebuilt - housing units; only through Germany's work; etc.

4% 5% 3% 4% 5%

Reunification with Eastern Germany and return of lost territories:

Reunite Western and Eastern Germany; Western Germany should try hard to get the lost territories back; I mean the Eastern territories, I won't say more; the Eastern territories should be returned to us; Western and Eastern Germany should be reunited, we should get our homelands back; we should in any case try to bring about reunification with Eastern Germany; we should come to terms with Russia regarding the Eastern Zone (of Germany); etc.

3 4 3 1 4

Press for a peace treaty:

To turn to the Western powers in order to get a peace treaty; we have to make all possible moves first to bring about conclusion of a peace treaty; to try to bring about the conclusion of a peace treaty at the earliest possible date; etc.

1 1 1 1 2

Others:

By guarding young people more closely; giving a fresh impetus to arts and sciences; to see to it that Communists have no say in matters any more; etc.

5 4 4 4 6

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{16}{71\%}$ $\frac{16}{75\%}$ $\frac{18}{66\%}$ $\frac{17}{66\%}$ $\frac{16}{91\%}$

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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OPPONENTS OF A POWERFUL GERMANY FEAR CONSEQUENCES ...

Opponents of a prominent status for Germany appear to have greener memories than those who favor the idea; they are concerned lest history should repeat itself. At any rate, they base their opposition to Germany's being the strongest country on such arguments as the following: it would again lead to tensions and conflict (6%); other countries would not put up with it (5%); the Germans would lose their heads again and measure their strength (4%), and Germans would again be soldiers (1%). A few (3%) argue that equality rather than predominance is the desirable goal (3%).

"Why would you not like it?" (Asked of those oppose to Germany's becoming most powerful country.)

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin

It would lead to tension and conflict:

It only would result in unrest and hatred; it would lead to squabbling again; a new war would break out, in the end we would have the same situation as before; they should all be equally strong, otherwise hostility and eventual war will be the result; we saw where this leads us to if a country is too strong; I would be afraid it would come to a war again if one single nation becomes too strong, no matter whether it is Germany or any other nation; that would lead to new conflicts with other nations; etc.

6%	6%	6%	8%	5%
----	----	----	----	----

The other countries would not put up with it:

As soon as Germany came to the top again, the others would attack us; I would dread war, all countries in the whole world grudge us a sound strength, they all fear us and out of this fear would at any time declare war on us; France and Britain would immediately press us hard; it would result in pressure by other countries, which would lead to war; the all other nations are against us again; we would have too many enemies if we were too strong; because the others wouldn't hesitate to keep us down, they were afraid the Germans were starting something new; etc.

5	3	7	4	2
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The Germans would misuse their strength:

The Germans lose their heads when they are too strong; because matters would take the same course in West Germany as in 1939; a strong Germany might easily entail war, Germany must never become strong again; because nothing but arrogance on the part of Germany would result from it; then the great madness would start again, like under Hitler; Germany should neither have too great a say nor should it become the strongest state, that would be dangerous; we don't want to hear anything about strength, we only want sound living conditions for Germany; etc.

4	4	5	7	13
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

It is better that all be equal:

No nation should have a predominant position within a West European federation, so that the resources of the individual countries are for the benefit of all nations; there should be unity and equality; all West European nations should be equally strong; because Europe ought to cooperate, there shouldn't be strong nations and weak nations; all nations should have equal rights; etc.

3% 2% 4% 2% 8%

There would be soldiers again:

Because we would have to be soldiers again; then I would become a soldier again - I can do without it; because then we would have soldiers again; etc.

1 1 1 2 1

Others:

Because we would have to carry the greatest responsibility with regard to the East (Russia); West Germany is not fit for that because it did not get a peace treaty yet; because that would endanger reunification; I think if we have an army again, war will not be far off, that's what certain Western politicians are just waiting for; the main thing is reunification; the status of being the strongest nation involves responsibilities that Germany should refrain from taking over; etc.

2 2 3 1 2

No opinion/No answer:

* 21%** 18%** 26% 24%** 33%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

A THIRD WANT GERMANY TO DOMINATE A EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION ...

As is apparent from a careful reading of the arguments advanced for supporting a strong Germany, there is little evidence to suggest that most proponents of the power status have in mind the eventual domination of Western Europe by Germany. Rather, their preoccupation seems to be largely with achieving through strength the status which they feel has been denied them because of their defeat and subsequent domination by the occupation powers.

A considerable minority, however, appear to have more extensive ambitions; they do not desire their country to be strongest in order to achieve recognition and equality, but strongest even among presumable friends and allies.

Thus, when the 57 per cent who had declared themselves in favor of Germany's becoming the strongest state in Europe, were further asked "If a West European confederation with West Germany as a member, should come into effect, would you like to see West Germany become the strongest nation within this confederation or would you not like to see it?" - the replies divided as follows:

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Would like it	35%	39%	31%	29%	42%
Would not like it	9	9	9	8	14
Qualified answers	3	3	2	5	2
No opinion	<u>10</u> 57%	<u>10</u> 61%	<u>11</u> 53%	<u>12</u> 54%	<u>7</u> 65%

The varied reasons advanced by the 35 per cent who would like to see Germany the strongest member of a West European union are in a sense an amplification of the arguments they had already given for wanting Germany to play a predominant role in West Europe. Taken in context of German membership in a confederation of European states, however, they suggest that Germany may not be too compliant a partner. Typical of the various arguments are such statements:

"Then we'd be top man, so to speak, whose word goes in regard to politics and world trade."

"Being a German, I'd be proud of that (i.e. Germany as the strongest member of a European union)."

"Then conditions in regard to trade, export and import would improve for us in the world market."

"Then German diligence and ingenuity would spread over Europe for th benefit of mankind."

Detailed comments are presented on the following pages in order of frequency of mention.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Why would you like to see it?" (Asked of all who priorly indicated they would like to see Western Germany become strongest country in Western Europe.)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Germany would have the decisive voice:

So Germany would be tops again and we could stop bowing before other nations; not all other nations could do with us whatever they like; it is always better to be stronger than the others, then you don't need to comply with their wishes any more; because then we can make our own decisions without asking the West what we are allowed to do and what not; then we would be the top man, so to speak, whose word goes in regard to European politics and world trade; if Germany would be back at the top, nobody could overcome the country so easily; they are all afraid of Germans, we saw that - otherwise we would not have been able to stick thru the war that long; we challenge anyone to do the same - we want to have something to say again, too; etc.

8% 8% 8% 10% 9%

As a German I want it:

Because of patriotism; because West Germany is our native country, that's closest to our hearts; because I am a German; being a German I would be proud of that; everybody has national pride; every German would like to see that happen; etc.

8 10 5 7 8

It would benefit German economy:

Because there will be more work then and we can live better; in West Germany we would reach a higher level in regard to the economic field; otherwise we will receive instructions restricting our industry; then conditions in regard to trade, export and import would improve for us on the world market; because we could live a lot better, especially the laborers who are good and honest people; etc.

6 6 5 4 9

German qualities deserve such a status:

Because Germany would best be able to use her power for the well-being of all Europe; then German diligence and ingenuity would spread all over Europe for the benefit of mankind; because we possess the intelligence to achieve that; in the end we would have to take the leadership anyway because we can do it best; because it goes without saying that the best people should have a powerful country; Germany has had such a bad time during the last few years that she simply deserves this place; etc.

4 4 4 3 12

Germany is best defense against the Russians:

I am always afraid that the Russians could get here and therefore I want to see our country really strong, for our allies will help us but little; as a protection against the Russians; etc.

1 1 2 1 1

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Germany deserves the status because it has the larger population and most strategic location:

We are the strongest nation already because of our large population and are therefore entitled to a leading part; because Germany has the greatest number of inhabitants; because Germany is the heart of Europe and must therefore always be strong; etc.

1% 1% 1% 1% 1%

Others:

Because we would then get our Eastern territories back; we would like to see a united Europe and Germany ought to play an important part in it; we would enjoy life more if we lived long enough to see that happen; because that would get us ahead quite a bit; etc.

5 7 5 3 2

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{3}{36\%}$ $\frac{3}{40\%}$ $\frac{2}{32\%}$ $\frac{1}{30\%}$ $\frac{3}{45\%}$

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

BUT ONLY A FIFTH EXPECT GERMANY TO HAVE A VERY POWERFUL ROLE ...

Shifting from desires to probabilities, the picture is somewhat different in West German eyes. Just half of the West German people believe that Germany in the course of time will in fact become a strong nation in Europe. West Berliners are much more sanguine in this regard, 74 per cent anticipating such a development.

"Considering West Germany's future position in Western Europe, do you think it likely that Western Germany will in the course of time become a strong nation in Western Europe or do you think it unlikely?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Likely	49%	50%	47%	46%	74%
Unlikely	24	21	29	19	17
Qualified answer	5	5	4	10	2
No opinion	22	24	20	25	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

And considerably less than half of those who expect Germany to become a strong nation, believe it is likely that she will become the strongest country in West Europe. The weight of opinion tends toward the negative view, as the table below indicates.

"Do you think it likely that Western Germany will become, in the course of time, the strongest country in Western Europe or do you think it unlikely?" (Asked of those who answered "Likely" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Likely	18%	20%	17%	14%	30%
Unlikely	23	22	22	20	36
Qualified answer	1	1	1	2	2
No opinion	7	7	7	10	6
	<u>49%</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>47%</u>	<u>46%</u>	<u>74%</u>

RESTRICTED

When it is recalled that 57 per cent of the West German people would like to see their country become the most powerful in West Europe, it is clear from the findings reported above that not all of them expect to have their wish fulfilled. In fact, when the wishes of this group are compared with their expectations, it is apparent that almost half of them are pessimistic of Germany's achieving what they want for her. In contrast, relatively few of those opposed to a powerful Germany fear she will become so in the future as the following paired-comparisons reveal:

The expectations of the 57 per cent who would like to see Germany the strongest country in West Europe divide as follows:

- ... 26% -- Germany is not likely to become strongest
- ... 14% -- Is likely to become strongest
- ... 17% -- Do not know

The expectations of the 21 per cent who would not like to see Germany the strongest are:

- ... 13% -- Germany is not likely to become strongest
- ... 3% -- Is likely to become strongest
- ... 5% -- Do not know

What the reactions of the former group would be if their ambitions for their country were frustrated - that is, if they did not feel Germany were playing the role in Europe she is entitled to, cannot be determined by the present data. The following comments suggest that responsibility would be placed on Germany's neighbors, not on any purely German qualities or conditions.

WESTERN POWERS WOULD PREVENT GERMANY FROM ACHIEVING POWER ...

The main contention of those who believe Germany will not again become a strong nation is that the Western powers, individually or collectively would prevent this development. The argument in second place also bears on the international situation - the separation of East from West Germany makes a strong Germany impossible.

"Why do you think it unlikely that Western Germany will become a strong nation in Western Europe?"

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	Zone

Suppression by Western powers:

France will take care that Germany is not given the chance to get into full swing again; because France, and probably England, too, are against a strong Germany; the Western powers want to keep us down for fear of economic competition; because the victorious powers keep a tight hand over us and do not want us to grow strong; because Germany is suppressed in every way; the others are opposed to it; the other nations will not allow that - they consider Germany's strength a threat; I have no favorable opinion of the Americans and all the others - because they only want to exploit us and will not let us get on our feet again; we are too dependent; etc.

13%	11%	16%	8%	8%
-----	-----	-----	----	----

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Loss of former German territory:

Because East-Germany must be included, a strong nation requires the unification of Germany - what could West Germany possibly achieve alone?; only the whole of Germany can become a strong power, not just one half of her; Western Germany alone means nothing - she needs her Eastern territories, above all for economic reasons; Western Germany alone will not be able to achieve that, if at all, then only together with the Eastern Zone; a divided country will never grow strong; because we only have half of the population left and the country is only half its former size; Western Germany alone would be too weak; we do not have enough space to really develop; too small, too overpopulated, that will always be the trouble; power will be split - we miss certain territories as, for instance, the Saar region; etc.

7% 7% 7% 7% 5%

Economic weakness:

Our domestic supply of food is not sufficient and since we cannot pay for it, we are not allowed to import food in sufficient quantity; we are the poorest people of all of them; because we are too indebted; because we are not able to establish a suitable standard of living; etc.

2 2 3 2 2

Lack of solidarity among Germans:

Our people lack true solidarity - it can be noticed at the elections; too much egotism among the people - quarrelling and greediness prevail; to achieve that, the Germans among themselves don't have enough solidarity, also I don't consider it necessary; Germany is not able to achieve that since she lacks the basis which other powers have - the solidarity among the people; is not possible because of the various parties we have - one party states this, the other party that, but each of them does whatever the members feel like; etc.

2 1 3 - *

Others:

If all our young men emigrate, how should we become a strong nation?; could not be achieved under the present circumstances unless there was another war; I know nothing about that - there is so much talking about another war, maybe the East will prevent us from becoming a strong nation; etc.

1 1 1 3 1

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{26\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{25\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{31\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{21\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{17\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON GERMANY'S FUTURE POSITION ...

In all population elements, the majority vote favors a powerful Germany vis-a-vis other West European countries. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that among the opposition, the more influential segments - the men, the better educated, and higher income brackets - bulk relatively large.

"Considering what place Western Germany may take in a future Western Europe, would you like seeing Western Germany become the strongest country in Western Europe or would you not like it?"

	Would like it	Would not like it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	60%	29%	11%...100%	575
Women	55	14	31	613
Education:				
Elementary school	57	20	23	985
Beyond elementary	57	31	12	197
Income (per month):				
- 299 DM	57	19	24	701
300 - 399 DM	61	24	15	254
400 and more	57	30	13	192
Age:				
- 24 years	58	21	21	144
25 - 34 "	61	23	16	241
35 - 44 "	53	24	23	271
45 - 54 "	56	22	22	243
55 years and over	59	17	24	287
Party Preference:				
SPD	64	23	13	272
CDU/CSU	62	22	16	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	58	30	12	88
Other parties	73	21	6	81
No party	53	25	22	244
Don't know	43	13	44	239
Occupation:				
Professionals	52	37	11	46
Businessmen	63	20	17	150
White-collar workers	55	32	13	155
Skilled laborers	59	23	18	218
Semi-skilled laborers	58	16	26	157
Farmers	52	14	34	145
Housewives	54	14	32	22
Unemployed	56	23	21	61
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	57	19	24	197
Religion:				
Catholics	59	22	19	521
Protestants	56	20	24	610
Origin:				
Natives	57	23	20	932
Expellees, Refugees	59	17	24	254
Veteran Status:				
Yes	57	33	10	325
No	63	25	12	243

R E S T R I C T E D

The tendency is . . . apparent for the upper status groups to be more opposed than their counterparts to Germany's becoming the strongest member of a West European confederation. Here, too, however, the general tendency is predominantly one of approval.

"If a West European confederation with West Germany a member should result, would you like to see West Germany become the strongest nation within this confederation or would you not like to see it?" (Asked of all who priorly indicated they would like to see Western Germany become strongest country in Western Europe.)

	Would like it	Would not like it	Qualified answer	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	37%	13%	4%	6%	40%..100%	575
Women	33	5	2	15	45	613
Education:						
Elementary school	35	8	2	12	43	985
Beyond elementary	33	13	6	6	42	197
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	34	8	2	13	43	701
300 - 399 DM	40	9	4	8	39	254
400 and more	33	13	5	6	43	192
Age:						
- 24 years	39	6	4	9	42	144
25 - 34 "	37	8	3	13	39	241
35 - 44 "	34	8	2	10	46	271
45 - 54 "	32	10	5	9	44	243
55 years and over	35	11	2	11	41	287
Party Preference:						
SPD	43	8	4	9	36	272
CDU/CSU	38	12	3	9	38	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	11	3	3	42	88
Other parties	48	13	1	11	27	81
No party	30	10	4	9	47	244
Don't know	20	3	3	17	57	239
Occupation:						
Professionals	26	18	4	4	48	46
Businessmen	34	14	4	11	37	150
White-collar workers	38	11	4	3	44	155
Skilled laborers	40	9	2	8	41	218
Semi-skilled laborers	36	5	3	15	41	157
Farmers	33	5	2	12	48	145
Housewives	32	4	5	14	45	22
Unemployed	32	10	2	12	44	61
Not employed: pensioners; students;retired;etc.	31	9	3	14	43	197
Religion:						
Catholics	34	11	2	12	41	521
Protestants	35	8	4	9	44	610
Origin:						
Natives	34	10	3	10	43	932
Expellees, Refugees	38	7	2	12	41	254
Veteran Status:						
Yes	37	13	3	4	43	325
No	38	13	5	8	36	243

R E S T R I C T E D

As to the probability of Germany's becoming a strong Western European nation, the opinion leading elements - the men, the better educated and the upper income groups - are more inclined than their opposites to take the affirmative position.

"Considering Western Germany's future position in Western Europe, do you think it likely that Western Germany will in the course of time become a strong nation in Western Europe or do you think it unlikely?"

	Likely	Un-likely	Qualified answer	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	54%	29%	7%	10%...100%	575
Women	44	19	4	33	613
Education:					
Elementary school	47	23	5	25	985
Beyond elementary	59	27	6	8	197
Income (per month):					
- 299 DM	46	23	5	26	701
300 - 399 DM	52	25	7	16	254
400 and more	56	27	6	11	192
Age:					
- 24 years	47	31	3	19	144
25 - 34 "	53	26	4	17	241
35 - 44 "	46	23	4	27	271
45 - 54 "	49	22	6	23	243
55 years and over	47	23	7	23	287
Party Preference:					
SPD	53	30	5	12	272
CDU/CSU	60	16	5	19	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	59	29	6	6	88
Other parties	46	37	6	11	81
No party	41	29	5	25	244
Don't know	35	15	5	45	239
Occupation:					
Professionals	52	35	4	9	46
Businessmen	53	23	7	17	150
White-collar workers	55	28	5	12	155
Skilled laborers	51	24	6	19	218
Semi-skilled laborers	42	26	3	29	157
Farmers	40	20	6	34	145
Housewives	59	9	-	32	22
Unemployed	49	28	3	20	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	48	20	5	27	197
Religion:					
Catholics	55	20	4	21	521
Protestants	45	25	6	24	610
Origin:					
Natives	47	25	6	22	932
Expellees, Refugees	54	21	2	23	254
Veteran Status:					
Yes	55	28	7	10	325
No	55	30	6	9	243

R E S T R I C T E D

On the likelihood of Germany's becoming the strongest nation in Europe, no marked group differences are apparent. All population elements divide quite evenly on the issue, nor do counterpart groups, for the most part, differ to any appreciable extent on the matter.

"Do you think it likely that Western Germany will become, in the course of time, the strongest country in Western Europe, or do you think it unlikely?" (Asked of all who thought it likely that Western Germany would become a strong country in Western Europe.)

	Likely	Un-likely	Qualified answer	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	23%	24%	2%	5%	46%..100%	575
Women	14	19	1	10	56	613
Education:						
Elementary school	17	21	1	7	54	985
Beyond elementary	25	25	2	7	41	197
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	16	20	2	8	54	701
300 - 399 DM	22	25	*	6	47	254
400 and more	22	25	2	7	44	192
Age:						
- 24 years	12	26	2	8	52	144
25 - 34 "	17	30	*	6	47	241
35 - 44 "	17	22	1	7	53	271
45 - 54 "	19	18	2	10	51	243
55 years and over	23	16	1	7	53	287
Party Preference:						
SPD	22	23	1	7	47	272
CDU/CSU	22	29	2	8	39	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	27	25	1	6	41	88
Other parties	17	24	1	4	54	81
No party	16	18	2	5	59	244
Don't know	10	14	*	11	65	239
Occupation:						
Professionals	24	22	2	4	48	46
Businessmen	22	18	2	11	47	150
White-collar workers	12	31	1	11	45	155
Skilled laborers	16	25	1	9	49	218
Semi-skilled laborers	10	18	1	13	58	157
Farmers	16	17	1	6	60	145
Housewives	45	14	-	-	41	22
Unemployed	23	26	-	-	51	61
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	27	19	2	-	52	197
Religion:						
Catholics	19	26	1	8	46	521
Protestants	17	19	2	7	55	610
Origin:						
Natives	17	22	1	7	53	932
Expellees, Refugees	23	21	2	8	46	254
Veteran Status:						
Yes	23	26	2	3	46	325
No	25	21	2	7	45	243

II. IS LEBENSRAUM STILL A PROBLEM IN WEST GERMAN THINKING?

WEST GERMANY IS CONSIDERED GREATLY OVERCROWDED ...

Historically, the demand for Lebensraum has had potent propaganda appeal to many Germans. The addition, since the war's end, of millions of expellees and refugees from the East into a truncated Germany has certainly not served to reduce the effectiveness of an appeal for more living space. It would be hard to find a West German at present who thinks that his country is not woefully overcrowded. And few foresee a future solution of the problem within the confines of West Germany, as the following findings disclose.

Queried directly on whether or not West Germany is overpopulated, almost all (90%) reply affirmatively, with half (48%) expressing the view that the country is very greatly overpopulated. Moreover, more than half of those who consider the country too crowded, also say it is impossible for West Germany to achieve a decent living standard as long as it remains so densely populated.

"Do you think that Western Germany is overpopulated or not at the present time?" (Very much, much or only somewhat?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Very much	48%	50%	50%	35%	42%
Much	37	36	36	44	38
Somewhat	5	5	4	6	5
Not overpopulated	5	5	4	6	3
No opinion	5	4	6	9	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you think that Western Germany can achieve satisfactory living conditions with her present size of the population or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes	25%	24%	27%	20%	29%
No	49	51	49	41	43
Qualified answer	5	4	6	10	8
No opinion	11	12	8	14	5
	90%	91%	90%	85%	85%

When the relationship of overpopulation to living standards is approached indirectly, however, not nearly as many West Germans stress a connection. In order to test how many would spontaneously mention overpopulation as a West German problem they were asked, prior to the questions reported above, whether West German living conditions were generally satisfactory or not. Half claimed they were not, though four in ten (38%) stated they were satisfactory. West Berliners, it will be noted, less frequently describe West German conditions as unsatisfactory. Overpopulation, however, proves to be only one of the many reasons named by persons dissatisfied with present conditions of life in West Germany. It was mentioned by only 12 per cent. The questions and division of replies follow:

"Do you think that the present living conditions in Western Germany are generally satisfactory or not satisfactory?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Satisfactory	38%	31%	47%	42%	42%
Not satisfactory	50	54	45	45	29
Partly-satisfactory	8	12	5	7	6
No opinion	4	3	3	6	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"What are the reasons which make it difficult for Western Germany to achieve satisfactory living conditions?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Not satisfactory" or only "Partly-partly" to previous question.)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

High cost of living:

Money is scarce, wages are too low and prices too high; because wages are not balanced by prices; costs of living are too high, wages can't keep up with them; the index of living costs is very high, thus wages lag behind; compared to the higher income brackets the lower income brackets are taxed too heavily; because social insurance rates are too heavy a burden for us (taxes, social insurance payments); heavy taxes, everything is too expensive; etc.

15% 15% 16% 17% 9%

Overpopulation:

This country is too densely populated, I don't know of any other reason; because too many people are crowded into a small area; there are too many people in this country, not all of them have a chance to find a job; the influx from the East does not decrease; people are crowded together too closely - that's especially marked here; too many people in Germany; because too many people without any means came from the East for whom the government now has to provide; there are too many refugees here whose needs have to be satisfied first; due to the large number of refugees living space for old residents has become scarce; etc.

12 14 11 5 4

Occupation restrictions and foreign reparations:

Because occupation costs are excessive, therefore we have to pay excessively high taxes; because we have to pay for the upkeep of Allied soldiers stationed here and that costs a lot of money; liabilities we have toward foreign countries are too heavy; there still are old debts to be paid to foreign countries added to which are reparations; because occupation costs are excessively high, therefore we have to pay excessive taxes; because we still are too closely controlled politically and economically by the Allies; the burdens imposed on Germany are too heavy; because we are still hampered by the occupation forces; etc.

12 13 9 13 8

Consequences of the war:

The wounds inflicted through the war are too deep, the damage too heavy; this is due to the lost war and to general present day circumstances; we lost the war, that's it; because we still haven't got over the war, still suffer its consequences; after two lost wars, you certainly can't expect times of plenty; these are typical post-war conditions; that's just as it is after a war; too many people lost everything they had through the war; etc.

9 12 5 12 6

Unemployment - lack of job opportunities:

There are not enough jobs to go around and in many cases husband and wife each earn a living, these are reasons for the high number of unemployed; scarcity of jobs; there is no way to check unemployment; etc.

6 7 7 4 6

(cont'd on next page)

Export, import and trade problems:

Due to unfavorable export conditions; because Germany has to import a lot; the reason for this is to be found in the fact that we did not adopt planned economy; the middleman makes an unfair profit; due to complicated export regulations and because we cannot distribute our coal output quite as we see fit; there is little agriculture and unfavorable export conditions; because foreign funds are scarce and we cannot import sufficient quantities of goods; etc.

5% 6% 5% 5% 2%

Inefficiency and weakness of, and discord within, the Federal government:

The Federal government is inefficient - they give in too often in dealing with foreign powers; maybe it's the government that should be blamed, they are not active enough; the reason is to be found in present-day politics - the government in office is no good; Mr. Adenauer never was destitute or hungry; there are too many political parties; the excessive number of public officials is partly to blame for taxes being used up fast; etc.

5 4 5 9 2

Inadequate social insurance and no equal distribution of burdens:

Because old age pensioners are not adequately provided for; old age pensions should be increased; social welfare rates are too low; it's due to the equalization of burdens, but I know too little about it; if burdens would be equally distributed between old residents and refugees, conditions would be improved; etc.

3 4 2 1 3

Loss of Eastern territories (and other formerly German territories) - division of Germany:

Due to the annexation of the Eastern territories and the division of Germany; we can't do without the Eastern territories; after the last war Germany lost many territories which could have contributed toward supporting the population - Western Germany is too densely populated; etc.

3 3 3 3 3

Rearmament, remilitarization:

Because rearmament is under way again; rearmament will start soon, therefore everything is too expensive; etc.

1 * 1 1 -

General political and economic situation:

The general economic and political situation throughout the world; the tension between the East and West is the cause; developments throughout the world prevent stabilization in this country - the menace from the East is grave; etc.

1 1 * - 1

Others:

Influence of the church on politics is too strong; people want freedom; people are too selfish and besides they are under the influence of Satan; because we don't have faith any more; because capitalists again make their profits; etc.

3 2 3 4 2

No opinion/No answer:

8 10 6 4 2
83%* 91%* 73%* 76%* 46%*

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FEW SEE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS SOLVING OVERPOPULATION PROBLEM ...

As to possible solutions of West Germany's overpopulation problems, one which has only minor appeal, or is little understood, is economic integration with Western Europe. Only a small fraction (5%) believe that if West Germany cooperated economically within the framework of a West European confederation, the overpopulation problem would be solved. And although, three in ten think it would be of some help, almost as many (26%) assert such cooperation would ease the situation scarcely at all. Three in ten (29%) are unable to judge whether this would help or not.

"Supposing the size of the population in Western Germany would remain about the same, do you think that closer economic cooperation within the framework of a West European confederation might help find a solution for the overpopulation problem or would it have hardly any influence on it? (Do you think it would be a definite solution of the problem or not?)"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Definite solution	5%	4%	8%	4%	11%
Will help	30	30	29	30	42
Hardly any influence	26	28	24	19	22
No opinion	29	29	29	32	10
	90%	91%	90%	85%	85%

... Among those who consider economic integration within a federated Europe as a solution or aid to West Germany's population problems, only relatively few (10%) appear aware of what is generally considered the main advantage of such a situation to a heavily populated country; that the increased production made feasible by an extensive, free market makes it possible to support a larger population at a higher standard of living. More frequently, West Germans point out the more obvious ways in which this integration would contribute to diminishing overpopulation - it would make possible a more balanced distribution of the population since people could move from Germany to West European countries not so heavily populated (12%), the labor market would be more extensive (10%) and cooperation per se would be helpful (2%).

"In what way?" (Asked of all those who answered "Definite solution" or "Will help" to previous question.)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Balance in distribution of population, emigration:

The surplus population could be resettled in other countries less densely populated; to distribute the population according to a sensible system over a given area; bring about a balance in the distribution of population - France, for instance, has a low percentage of inhabitants per square mile; it would be possible if other countries would absorb a large number of refugees from the East or if waste-land would be made fit for settlers; the refugees could be settled all over Western Europe; this expansion would mean a really favorable development - Stresemann initiated this trend years ago - efforts should be continued in this direction; we could all live together peaceably - not being kept apart by frontiers people could more easily take up residence at some other place; etc.

12% 11% 13% 15% 16%

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Improvement of the labor market - finding new job opportunities and ways of earning a living:

By resettling skilled workers and their families abroad; German labor could be employed in other West European countries, as other countries are not as densely populated as Germany; labor could be distributed more rationally, thus we'd have more breathing space; many people would find jobs in other countries; surplus labor could find outlets - France needs more workers; exchanging workers in such a way as to give individuals better chances of advancement; that industries abroad absorb German workers and their families; opening of new labor markets through an international labor office; etc.

10% 11% 11% 7% 17%

Improvement of economic conditions and raising of living standard:

Through expanding West Germany's industrial potential, living conditions, including the housing situation, would improve; if through this, business would pick up, the standard of living would be raised and many more people would feel like trying their luck in another country - this would mean an easing of the situation in this country; through trading with the West European countries, trade would be expanded, then there would be new job opportunities; exchange of goods between agrarian and industrial countries within Europe, this would mean greater volume of trade and raising of the standard of living; lifting of custom barriers would improve economic conditions - a lot of people, at least, would then live more comfortably; create a common currency, joint economic planning; taxes would be reduced and prices would go down; building programs could be started and people would at least have some sort of home; etc.

10 6 11 11 10

Improved cooperation:

I think through cooperation distress can be relieved in many cases; because then we would receive more aid from the others who would be more interested; it would mean we'd get help until the time recovery would be completed and foreign aid would no longer be necessary; etc.

2 2 2 1 7

Others:

If people were less stubborn things would go more smoothly; chances to marry a foreigner would thus be increased; if the UN would help refugees, too, things would look up; to stick it out until one day the East will be German again; there would be an army again, this would mean that thousands of persons would be off the streets and would earn their living; etc.

2 2 2 1 1

No opinion/No answer

$\frac{4}{40\%}$ $\frac{4}{36\%}$ $\frac{3}{42\%}$ $\frac{3}{36\%}$ $\frac{6}{59\%}$

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS WHY ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WOULD NOT SOLVE OVERPOPULATION PROBLEM ...

The people who assert that West German membership in a European confederation would do little or nothing to settle the overpopulation problem argue generally in negative terms, reiterating the claim that there are just too many people in West Europe (7%) or in Germany (5%), or asserting that other countries are not interested, only take advantage of Germany, and so on.

"Why would cooperation with the West have hardly any influence on the overpopulation problem in Western Germany?"
(Asked of all those who answered "Hardly any influence" to previous question.)

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
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Western countries also overpopulated:

All of Europe is overpopulated; they won't take the refugees because they haven't room enough either; the Western countries cannot admit the refugees because they are overpopulated as well; all other European countries are also in distress; the other nations are still poorer than we are and not so capable; the Western countries cannot help us, they have enough of their own troubles; no country wants to maintain more people than it has to; etc.

7%	7%	5%	8%	6%
----	----	----	----	----

There are too many people to absorb:

There are simply too many people; we still wouldn't have enough room for the people; it won't mean the crowds of refugees would be absorbed; we wouldn't have more space thereby; etc.

5	6	6	2	2
---	---	---	---	---

Western countries not interested in Germany:

Cooperation with the West will not reduce overpopulation - nobody will grant admission to our people; the other Western countries will hardly take up this matter - they wouldn't take care of these people; our economic situation isn't good enough yet so that other countries might be interested in us and admit German people; the Western nations don't concern themselves very much about our problems; we cannot expect assistance from either side; they have no interest in relieving our refugees' misery; etc.

3	3	4	2	-
---	---	---	---	---

Need the lost territories:

As long as West Germany stands alone, all efforts will be in vain - not before Germany is reunited will things improve; they should help us in getting back our lost Eastern territories - economic measures won't provide room for the many Germans - we need the Eastern territories for that; etc.

2	2	1	2	5
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The other nations only take advantage of us:

The others won't do what we like because we lost the war and suffer the consequences; the hatred of the French is too great; the French wouldn't be a reliable partner; the other nations only want to profit from us - we already are an American colony; etc.

1% 1% 1% 2% -

Cooperation and agreement cannot be achieved:

It seems unlikely to me that a real cooperation with the West is possible - we won't come to an agreement with them; a complete agreement will never be achieved even through the measures that must be taken; these countries don't agree politically, therefore an economic cooperation will be impossible; cooperation with the West will never be realized; etc.

1 1 1 1 1

Unemployment and war damage is too widespread:

Not enough jobs; the rate of unemployment is too high; the towns are destroyed; etc.

1 1 1 1 1

Others:

They don't agree on this matter, their top interest is the German defense contribution; an army and heavier tax burdens would be the consequences; we can't want millions of able-bodied Germans to emigrate, we must retain our know-how; that doesn't mean a satisfactory solution for us because specialists will emigrate who are needed in Germany; etc.

4 4 4 2 5

No opinion:

3 3 3 3 3
27% 30% 25% 19% 24%

* Less than half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

A REUNITED GERMANY, RECOVERY OF LOST TERRITORIES, SEEN AS BEST SOLUTION OF THE OVERPOPULATION PROBLEM:

The solution to the overpopulation problem which appeals to most West Germans is to remove the cause, as they see it, by returning the refugees and expellees to the Eastern territories from whence they came. This solution in turn requires certain predominant steps - the reunification of Germany, the return of former German areas detached since the war, and the expulsion of the Communists and/or Russians from those territories. Such is the proposal advanced by more than half (53%) of the West German people when asked to suggest ways of solving the problem. Much less frequently proposed are such suggestions as emigration (13%), housing construction (10%), resettlement of refugees within West Germany (5%), improved job opportunities (4%), cooperation on the international level (3%), withdrawal of the occupying powers (2%), birth control (1%).

"Could you make a suggestion as to how to solve this problem?"
 ("What else could be done?") (Asked of those who said West Germany is overpopulated.)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
 GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Return of refugees to lost territories in the East:

By restoring Germany, including Silesia and Eastern Prussia; reunify Germany, in order to enable the large number of refugees to return to their homelands; to send refugees and expellees back to the territories they came from, but under the same conditions under which they used to live in former times; there is no other solution than getting the Eastern territories back - not through war, however, but through diplomatic channels; removal of the iron curtain, I don't care how this could be brought about; we must get the Eastern territories back, Germany must again be as large a country as she was before the war; it is necessary to restore this country's frontiers of the year 1937; through return of Eastern territories; through bringing about German unification, so that Eastern Germany is a part of our country again; return of Eastern territories at earliest possible date; if they return the Eastern provinces to us, the problem would be solved; throw the Russians out - send the refugees back to where they came from; keep after the Yanks, ask them to see to it that the people concerned can go back home-start negotiations with Russians; through negotiations with Russians on a Four Power basis, as a result of which refugees would be allowed to return back home; etc.

58% 53% 52% 51% 50%

Emigration to foreign countries or colonies:

Extension of emigration program; a number of persons should be allowed to emigrate, procedures should be simplified; emigration is the only answer to the problem; facilitate emigration to countries offering advancement to new-comers; we should get our colonies back; return German colonies; etc. 13

15 21 20 13

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Housing construction:

Instead of producing cannons, houses should be built; intensify the housing program, promote building generally; the housing shortage should be remedied - many more housing units should be constructed; put up money to build housing units; to give loans to people eager to get their own homes built; through building housing projects on the outskirts of cities; to construct a large number of small-type apartments - that's all I can think of; etc.

10% 10% 11% 4% 5%

Resettlement and regional distribution of refugees:

To move refugees from densely populated areas of Western Germany to less densely populated areas; through large-scale resettlement; refugees should be moved to areas with a low percentage of refugees; other districts should admit refugees, too; by refusing to admit refugees from the Eastern Zone of Germany, and by distributing refugees fairly all over Western Germany - the Ruhr area is densely populated while Southern Germany still can absorb people; by resettling refugees primarily in Southern and Northern Germany (from now on); etc.

5 7 4 1 3

Provide job opportunities:

Increase industrial potential, export, reclaim marshy areas; people engaged in skilled trades should be assisted and they should be settled according to the requirements of individual areas; to settle workers where they are needed - to intensify soil cultivation, not to support people with public funds but to make them work; etc.

4 4 4 3 5

Cooperation on international level:

Settlement of refugee problem on international level; I think the government has to change this - they want to send people back home; all countries should help us, alone we can't settle this problem; good cooperation, mutual tolerance; can be solved only on the political level; with funds provided by foreign powers; those powers that caused people to be expelled should now admit them; etc.

3 4 3 1 4

Withdrawal of occupation forces and foreigners:

Throw out all of them, the occupation forces, then there would be room; the occupation forces should leave; then there would be more room, too; expel foreigners; get rid of minorities (DPs) and occupation forces; to send the occupation forces away as sort of "samples without value", that would help; etc.

2 2 2 2 2

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Birth control:

Try to keep number of births down; give official sanction to abortion, not punish people for it any more; etc.

1% * 2% 3% 1%

No solution to be found:

There is no way to change things; there is nothing to be done; it's useless; just take my home, crowded with refugees, nobody will help us, that's certain; etc.

1 * 2 1 1

Others:

You have to watch East-West developments, the problem may solve itself; men and nations are unable to solve this problem - only with divine guidance will they succeed; improved social legislation - streamlining administration; etc.

2 3 3 2 3

No suggestion/No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{16}{115\%}$ ** $\frac{16}{114\%}$ ** $\frac{15}{119\%}$ ** $\frac{20}{108\%}$ ** $\frac{11}{106\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON THE OVERPOPULATION ISSUE ...

Attitudes toward various aspects of the overpopulation are generally very similar among all population segments. The predominant view among Germans in all walks of life is that West Germany is currently greatly overpopulated and cannot achieve a satisfactory standard of living as long as this condition obtains. Likewise small fractions of similar size in all groups do not see economic integration with the West as a solution, though the higher status elements more often than their opposites believe it would help some; correspondingly, however, the former groups are also more inclined than others to say it would have no effect.

"Do you think that Western Germany is overpopulated or not at the present time?"

	Very much	Much	Some- what	Not over- popu- lated	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	52%	36%	5%	5%	2%..100%	575
Women	45	38	5	4	8	613
Education:						
Elementary school	48	37	5	4	6	985
Beyond elementary	50	37	5	6	2	197
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	47	38	4	5	6	701
300 - 399 DM	53	35	6	4	2	254
400 and more	51	36	5	5	3	192
Ages:						
- 24 years	51	37	6	4	2	144
25 - 34 "	50	36	7	4	3	241
35 - 44 "	45	44	3	5	3	271
45 - 54 "	55	25	7	5	8	243
55 years and over	44	40	3	5	8	287
Party Preferences:						
SPD	50	38	4	4	4	272
CDU/CSU	46	36	7	6	5	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	46	44	3	5	2	88
Other parties	52	33	9	6	-	81
No party	57	35	2	4	2	244
Don't know	40	38	6	4	12	239
Occupation:						
Professionals	56	37	-	7	-	46
Businessmen	49	33	6	7	5	150
White-collar workers	53	36	5	4	2	155
Skilled laborers	52	40	3	2	3	218
Semi-skilled laborers	53	32	4	6	5	157
Farmers	36	45	9	3	7	145
Housewives	50	31	5	9	5	22
Unemployed	64	27	5	2	2	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	41	39	5	6	9	197
Religion:						
Catholics	48	36	5	5	6	521
Protestants	47	39	5	4	5	610
Origin:						
Natives	48	37	6	4	5	932
Expellees, Refugees	49	37	2	6	6	254
Veteran Status:						
Yes	53	35	5	6	1	325
No	51	37	4	4	4	243

"Do you think that Western Germany can achieve satisfactory living conditions with her present size of population or not?" (Asked of all who judged West Germany to be somewhat to very much overpopulated.)

	Yes	No	Qualified answer	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	29%	50%	8%	6%	7%...100%	575
Women	21	48	3	16	12	613
Education:						
Elementary school	23	49	5	13	10	985
Beyond elementary	31	50	9	2	8	197
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	23	50	4	12	11	701
300 - 399 DM	25	51	9	9	6	254
400 and more	33	46	7	6	8	192
Age:						
- 24 years	27	52	1	13	7	144
25 - 34 "	25	54	4	10	7	241
35 - 44 "	28	49	5	9	9	271
45 - 54 "	19	52	7	10	12	243
55 years and over	24	41	8	14	13	287
Party Preference:						
SPD	30	49	5	8	8	272
CDU/CSU	26	47	9	7	11	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	32	50	7	4	7	88
Other parties	28	51	6	9	6	81
No party	19	59	4	12	6	244
Don't know	18	42	2	22	16	239
Occupation:						
Professionals	35	48	11	-	6	46
Businessmen	25	46	8	9	12	150
White-collar workers	32	48	8	6	6	155
Skilled laborers	29	50	4	12	5	218
Semi-skilled laborers	20	51	4	14	11	157
Farmers	18	50	5	17	10	145
Housewives	18	54	-	14	14	22
Unemployed	21	59	5	12	3	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc,	22	44	6	13	15	197
Religion:						
Catholics	28	45	6	11	10	521
Protestants	22	52	5	12	9	610
Origin:						
Natives	25	50	5	11	9	932
Expellees, Refugees	22	49	6	11	12	254
Veteran Status:						
Yes	29	49	10	6	6	325
No	29	53	5	6	7	243

"Supposing the size of population in Western Germany would remain about the same, do you think that closer economic cooperation within the framework of a West European confederation might help to find a solution for the over-population problem or would it have hardly any influence? (Do you think it would a definite solution of the problem or not?" Asked of all who judged West Germany to be somewhat to very much overpopulated.)

	Definite solution	Will help to achieve it	Hardly any in- fluence	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	7%	39%	33%	14%	7%...100%	575
Women	3	22	19	44	12	613
Education:						
Elementary school	5	28	24	33	10	985
Beyond elementary	7	43	32	10	8	197
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	3	28	25	33	11	701
300 - 399 DM	8	34	26	26	6	254
400 and more	8	38	30	16	8	192
Age:						
- 24 years	2	32	29	31	6	144
25 - 34 "	5	31	30	27	7	241
35 - 44 "	7	34	22	28	9	271
45 - 54 "	5	32	27	24	12	243
55 years and over	6	23	22	36	13	287
Party Preference:						
SPD	10	32	28	22	8	272
CDU/CSU	7	34	21	27	11	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	3	46	27	17	7	88
Other parties	5	27	32	30	6	81
No party	2	29	34	29	6	244
Don't know	2	19	17	46	16	239
Occupation:						
Professionals	4	46	32	11	7	46
Businessmen	7	37	21	23	12	150
White-collar workers	5	41	30	18	6	155
Skilled laborers	7	30	29	29	5	218
Semi-skilled laborers	4	29	25	31	11	157
Farmers	3	18	23	47	9	145
Housewives	5	13	27	41	14	22
Unemployed	8	36	35	18	3	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	4	23	21	37	15	197
Religion:						
Catholics	7	32	22	29	10	521
Protestants	4	28	29	30	9	610
Origin:						
Natives	5	30	26	30	9	932
Expellees, Refugees	6	29	26	28	11	254
Veteran Status:						
Yes	8	41	34	11	6	325
No	6	38	32	17	7	243

III. HOW STRONG ARE UNITY SENTIMENTS IN WEST GERMANY?

Expressly or implicitly assumed by the large preponderance of West German as already suggested in the foregoing sections, is that the reunion of East and West Germany is not only desirable but essential to the future well-being of the German people.* Accordingly, it goes without saying that the West German people will continue to press for unification into the foreseeable future, at least. But the German people as represented in this study are far from demanding unification regardless of price.

MAJORITY PREFER SPLIT GERMANY TO COMMUNISM ...

Few West Germans are prepared to compromise with Communist forces to achieve reunification. To most, a split Germany is a lesser evil than a Germany steeped in Communism. Three in four West Germans would oppose reunification if it were to result in more widespread Communist influence.

"If Communism were to win considerable influence in Germany through reunification, would you then be for or against reunification?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
For it	14%	13%	15%	10%	20%
Against it	76	76	76	79	72
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

And of the few who would still favor reunification despite the threat of increased Communist influence (14%), almost all (10%) claim they would give up reunification if it meant outright Communist rule.

"Would you also be for it if Communism were to come to power?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes	3%	4%	2%	1%	3%
No	10	8	12	8	15
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	14%	13%	15%	10%	20%

* Not expressly sought in this survey were attitudes toward the desirability of German reunification, for the reason that previous RAS surveys have consistently shown that this wish is practically unanimous among the West German public.

R E S T R I C T E D

MOST OPPOSE USE OF FORCE TO REUNIFY GERMANY ...

Indicative of the German people's present repugnance for war or violence is the fact that three in every four would oppose the use of force to gain reunification, even if that were the last resort. Only 13 per cent say they think reunification is worth the price of using force to gain it.

West Berliners appear to be somewhat less averse to the idea if it were necessary in realizing unification. Although six in ten are opposed, a large minority would be willing to risk force if reunification were impossible to achieve through peaceful means.

"Suppose the future would reveal that the reunification of Germany could only be accomplished by force, would you then agree to Germany's using force if she were able to do so, or would you disagree?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Agree	15%	18%	12%	12%	32%
Disagree	73	68	80	76	60
Depends	2	2	1	1	3
No opinion	10	12	7	11	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT THINK THEY WOULD HAVE RIGHT TO USE FORCE ...

The preponderant averseness to force that currently obtains does not, it is important to note, derive from ethical considerations, at least for many West Germans. More than half do not see anything inherently wrong about employing aggressive means to achieve unification - Germany, they say, retains the right to do so, if all else fails.

Thus, despite the current state of opinion, there is no guarantee that in the future, circumstances and conditions being different, the use of force would not receive widespread public support.

"Aside from whether you agree or disagree with the use of force, do you think that Germany would have the right to use force after all other means have failed to achieve reunification, or would we not have this right?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, would have the right	56%	58%	54%	55%	65%
No, would not have the right	25	23	28	20	26
No opinion	19	19	18	25	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

R E S T R I C T E D

REUNIFICATION NOT SEEN AS CURE-ALL ...

That reunification does not appear to be a universal panacea is evident in the fact that as many as a quarter of the West Germans can point out disadvantages they think would currently accrue from it. The threat most frequently anticipated is that of increased Communist (10%) and Russian (6%) infiltration and influence in West Germany once the two zones are united. Others fear the financial drain on West Germany resulting from the aid which, were East and West Germany one, would have to be given to the East Zone.

"Apart from the advantages, can you tell me any disadvantages which reunification might have for West Germany? What else?"

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

No disadvantages:

No, no ill effect, those people are Germans, too; no, there won't be disadvantages of any sort; there cannot be any disadvantages as everybody will be sensible; no, I don't think there would be any disadvantages; I can't think of any; etc.

48%	44%	49%	57%	57%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Strengthening of Communism in Western Germany:

Communism will grow, that's all; it might mean that Communist infiltration would increase slightly, because then there would be more chances to get at people; Communists could get the upper hand in Western Germany, that's all; people living in the Eastern Zone of Germany might be so strongly influenced by Communist doctrines that this would influence developments here unfavorably; there would be a danger of Leninist ideas taking root here; Communists from the Eastern Zone of Germany would seize power here; etc.

10	10	10	8	6
----	----	----	---	---

Retarding of West German reconstruction through financial aid to Eastern Zone and differences in currencies:

People living in the Eastern Zone are so impoverished that we would have to aid them financially for some time after the reunification; the economic situation might become more strained as consumer goods might flow to the East, maybe there would be ill effects in regard to currencies, too, our currency has to be adapted to the East Zone currency; the plans of the Federal Government would be upset; reconstruction here would be considerably slowed down due to reconstruction being started in the Eastern Zone, where up till now nothing has been done; I guess we would suffer a considerable financial set-back; first there are two currencies and the reconstruction has to be started in Eastern Germany; we probably would have to put up a lot of money to finance reconstruction in the East for there nearly everything was destroyed, I can't think of any other reasons; etc.

8	8	9	5	13
---	---	---	---	----

(cont'd on next page)

Danger of stronger Russian influence on Western Germany:

In this case the Russians would become our closest neighbors, that's all I know; as long as the Russians rule Eastern Germany reunification would have no advantages, we don't want any dealings with the Russians, because there always is the danger of the Russians coming to Western Germany; thus Russian influence on the whole of Germany would increase; the West could go Bolshevik; there is nothing to be said against trade agreements, but as to their politics, they should leave me alone, the Russian paradise does not appeal to me, I can't think of any more disadvantages; the Russians might succeed to win over to their side an army in Western Germany; etc.

6% — 5% 7% 1% 2%

Danger of forfeiting friendship of Western powers:

That the Americans might turn away from us; in this case the Yanks would just draw back and watch what course Germany is going to take; because otherwise the Western European nations would not consider Germany an ally of a friendly power any more; through these burdens Germany then would be unable to fulfill her responsibilities towards the West; in regard to politics, Germany might be isolated; the Western powers might not be as interested in Germany any more as their influence decreased; Americans would not assist us to the same extent as before; etc.

1 1 1 1 2

Increased tension between Germany and the Eastern powers:

The Eastern powers always hated us and we'll probably never be on friendly terms with them; because out of these differences friction could arise with Poland, no other reasons; etc.

1 1 1 1 3

Heightened danger of war:

I'm pretty sure that this will result in a war; the only ill effect I can think of is that the Russians wouldn't like this development and might start a war; etc.

1 1 1 1 *

Restriction of personal freedom:

I am afraid of being the target of denunciations, as many people were in 1945; I didn't consider this problem up till now, the Hennecke system would be introduced here; religious practice and individual freedom would be suppressed; we just would be slaves of the Russians; deportation to Siberia; etc.

1 1 1 - -

Others:

Disputes about who is going to take over the government might result in unrest; chances of development for our young people might be unfavorably influenced; no, just that the Eastern Zone is run down; etc.

2 2 2 - 2

Don't know/No opinion:

$\frac{26}{104\%}$ ** $\frac{29}{102\%}$ ** $\frac{23}{104\%}$ ** $\frac{22}{102\%}$ ** $\frac{17}{102\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

The men and the better educated are somewhat more inclined than their counterparts to favor reunification even if it were to bring with it increased Communist influence. Also of some interest is the fact that SPD and FDP adherents more often than Adenauer's followers say they would favor reunification despite the possibility of more widespread Communism in Germany.

"If Communism were to win a considerable influence in Germany through reunification, would you then be for or against reunification?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	18%	74%	8%...100%	575
Women	9	79	12	613
Education:				
Elementary school	13	76	11	985
Beyond elementary	18	75	7	197
Income (per month):				
- 299 DM	14	75	11	701
300 - 399 DM	12	80	8	254
400 and more	17	79	4	192
Age:				
- 24 years	19	74	7	144
25 - 34 "	14	79	7	241
35 - 44 "	13	77	10	271
45 - 54 "	11	77	12	243
55 years and over	14	73	13	287
Party Preference:				
SPD	15	81	4	272
CDU/CSU	9	84	7	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	19	76	5	88
Other parties	30	63	7	81
No party	11	78	11	244
Don't know	11	65	24	239
Occupation:				
Professionals	17	76	7	46
Businessmen	13	80	7	150
White-collar workers	16	76	8	155
Skilled laborers	16	77	7	218
Semi-skilled laborers	13	73	14	157
Farmers	5	81	14	145
Housewives	9	77	14	22
Unemployed	15	75	10	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	14	75	11	197
Religion:				
Catholics	12	78	10	521
Protestants	14	76	10	610
Origin:				
Natives	13	77	10	932
Expellees, Refugees	16	73	11	254
Veteran Status:				
Yes	19	74	7	325
No	18	75	7	243

02515

R E S T R I C T E D

Men more frequently than women think force should be used to achieve unification if that were the last resort. Expellees and refugees are also more inclined than native West Germans to favor resorting to force if necessary. But the preponderance in all groups say they would oppose the use of forceful measures even if all other efforts should fail.

"Suppose the future would reveal that the reunification of Germany could only be accomplished by force, would you then agree to Germany's using force if she were able to do so, or would you disagree?"

	Agree	Dis- agree	Qualified answer	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	20%	71%	2%	7%..100%	575
Women	11	74	2	13	613
Education:					
Elementary school	15	72	2	11	985
Beyond elementary	15	76	3	6	197
Income (per month):					
- 299 DM	17	70	2	11	701
300 - 399 DM	16	77	1	6	254
400 and more	12	82	1	5	192
Age:					
- 24 years	16	73	-	11	144
25 - 34 "	13	80	2	5	241
35 - 44 "	17	73	1	9	271
45 - 54 "	11	78	2	9	243
55 years and over	19	63	3	15	287
Party Preference:					
SPD	16	77	3	4	272
CDU/CSU	19	73	1	7	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	17	80	1	2	80
Other parties	26	66	6	2	81
No party	16	77	*	7	244
Don't know	6	65	1	28	239
Occupation:					
Professionals	7	89	2	2	46
Businessmen	14	79	-	7	150
White-collar workers	23	69	3	5	155
Skilled laborers	16	75	*	9	218
Semi-skilled laborers	12	75	1	12	157
Farmers	16	69	1	14	145
Housewives	18	68	-	14	22
Unemployed	15	78	2	5	61
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	16	64	5	15	197
Religion:					
Catholics	14	77	1	8	521
Protestants	17	69	2	12	610
Origin:					
Natives	13	75	2	10	932
Expellees, Refugees	23	64	2	11	254
Veteran Status:					
Yes	19	72	3	6	325
No	21	72	1	6	243

On the other hand, the majority in all groups claim that Germany would have the right to use force in achieving reunification if other methods failed, although in some groups - notably the better educated - as many as a third think she would not have this right.

"Aside from whether you agree or disagree with the use of force, do you think that Germany would have the right to use force after all other means have failed to achieve reunification, or would we not have this right?"

	Yes, would have the right	No, would not have the right	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	62%	28%	10%...100%	575
Women	51	22	27	613
Education:				
Elementary school	56	23	21	985
Beyond elementary	59	32	9	197
Income (per month):				
- 299 DM	56	22	22	701
300 - 399 DM	56	30	14	254
400 and more	60	29	11	192
Age:				
- 24 years	62	21	17	144
25 - 34 "	60	25	15	241
35 - 44 "	56	25	19	271
45 - 54 "	57	25	18	243
55 years and over	50	25	25	287
Party Preference:				
SPD	63	28	9	272
CDU/CSU	59	24	17	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	62	32	6	88
Other parties	59	29	12	81
No party	53	30	17	244
Don't know	45	12	43	239
Occupation:				
Professionals	61	30	9	46
Businessmen	56	27	17	150
White-collar workers	63	26	11	155
Skilled laborers	55	27	18	218
Semi-skilled laborers	61	21	18	157
Farmers	51	20	29	145
Housewives	54	14	32	22
Unemployed	62	28	10	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	52	23	25	197
Religion:				
Catholics	59	24	17	521
Protestants	54	24	22	610
Origin:				
Natives	56	25	19	932
Expellees, Refugees	59	22	19	254
Veteran Status:				
Yes	64	27	9	325
No	61	29	10	243

IV. HOW STRONG IS IRREDENTISM IN WEST GERMANY?

LEGAL CLAIM TO EASTERN TERRITORIES WIDELY SUPPORTED ...

Irredentism can be expected to be a strong force among Germans until and unless the lost territories east of the Oder-Neisse line are again incorporated into a reunited Germany.

The vast majority of West Germans and Berliners assert that Germany has a rightful claim to East and West Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia. A legal claim is also staked out for the Sudetenland - first incorporated into Germany by Hitler - by half in West Germany. In Berlin, as many (40%) say it rightfully belongs to Germany as hold the negative view (42%). *

"Which of these territories has Germany a rightful claim to and which not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>EAST PRUSSIA</u>					
Legal claim	88%	93%	83%	87%	96%
No legal claim	1	1	1	2	1
No opinion/No answer	11	6	16	11	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>WEST PRUSSIA</u>					
Legal claim	83%	86%	79%	80%	91%
No legal claim	3	3	3	3	4
No opinion/No answer	14	11	18	17	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>POMERANIA</u>					
Legal claim	83%	89%	77%	79%	97%
No legal claim	2	2	2	2	1
No opinion/No answer	15	9	21	19	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>SUDETENLAND</u>					
Legal claim	54%	57%	53%	45%	40%
No legal claim	22	22	22	25	42
No opinion/No answer	24	21	25	30	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>SILESIA</u>					
Legal claim	87%	92%	81%	89%	99%
No legal claim	1	1	*	2	-
No opinion/No answer	12	7	19	9	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Not included in the inquiry were attitudes toward the Saar region as previous studies have shown that almost all regard it as rightfully German. See Report # 124 "Repercussions in West Germany of the French Ambassadorial Appointment to the Saar).

R E S T R I C T E D

FEW BELIEVE WESTERN POWERS OPPOSE GERMANY'S CLAIMS ...

Only a fraction of West Germans believe that the Western powers will actively oppose Germany's territorial claims. The view of almost half in West Germany (46%), and eight in ten in Berlin, is that the Western powers would agree to Germany's recovering her lost territories. In addition, a quarter in Germany (17% in Berlin) think the West takes no stand one way or the other, or is qualifiedly agreed. Only a tenth in West Germany and scarcely anyone in Berlin believes the Western powers are actually oppose to the recovery of these regions.

"Is it your impression that the Western powers would agree to Germany's recovering her lost Eastern territories, do they oppose it, or are they indifferent?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Would agree to it	46%	49%	44%	45%	79%
Oppose it	11	9	14	8	1
Are indifferent, or qualifiedly agreed	25	26	23	24	17
No opinion	18	16	19	23	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

MOST URGE PRESSING AHEAD TO REGAIN LOST TERRITORIES ...

Not only do the German people feel strongly that they have a legal territorial claim; they also are prepared to press ahead to make their claim good, once Germany is united and armed again. West Berliners, possibly out of proximity to these regions, and also because the areas were part of the Prussia of which Berlin was the metropolis, almost unanimously (96%) recommend perseverance in recovering them.

"When Germany is reunited and armed in the future, should we put up with the loss of the Eastern territories, or do you think we should always keep trying to recover these territories?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Put up with it	8%	6%	9%	7%	3%
Keep trying	79	82	78	71	96
No opinion	13	12	13	22	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EVEN THOUGH WESTERN POWERS ARE AGAINST IT ...

If the Western powers should in the future come out against the reincorporation of the lost territories into a united Germany, their stand would apparently deter few (9%) West Germans from urging the recovery of the territories by every means at hand. Although more Berliners (26%) would yield to Western opposition, they, like the West Germans, give a 62 per cent vote for going ahead, regardless of what the U.S., Britain, and France have to say about it.

"Suppose the Western powers would be against our trying to recover the Eastern territories, should we keep trying everything to get these territories back, or should we then try to get along without the Eastern territories?" (Asked of all those who answered "Keep trying" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Keep trying everything	62%	64%	61%	57%	62%
Get along without them	9	9	10	7	26
No opinion	8	9	7	7	8
	79%	82%	78%	71%	96%

BUT TREPONDANCE IS AVERSE TO USING FORCE ...

As to future means of regaining the areas now under Polish or Russian control, the weight of opinion - according to spontaneous replies - is that the matter should, if possible, be amicably negotiated with the Russians, with or without the participation of the Western powers. The forceful return of the areas is recommended by relatively few, and then only if negotiations fail.

That the currently prevailing view is to avoid force in seeking to recover the Oder-Neisse regions, is further indicated in response to a direct question. By a ratio of more than two to one, West Germans declare that they would disagree to the use of force to regain these regions, if, in the future, this should prove to be the only alternative. More West Berliners, it will be noted, favor force. The question and replies, followed by replies to the open query discussed above, are:

"Suppose the future would reveal that Germany could only recover her lost Eastern territories by force, would you agree to Germany's using force, if she were able to do so, or would you disagree?" (Asked of those who say Germany should keep trying to recover territories.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Agree	20%	24%	17%	14%	36%
Disagree	53	50	56	53	51
Qualified answer	2	2	2	3	5
No opinion	4	6	3	1	4
	<u>79%</u>	<u>82%</u>	<u>78%</u>	<u>71%</u>	<u>96%</u>

"And what should we try to do to recover these territories?"
(Asked of those who say Germany should keep trying to recover territories.)

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	---------------	------------	----------------	--------

Negotiate with the East:

Keep showing by honest negotiations that we insist on the return; what belongs to us must be returned - we must negotiate and must try everything possible; must not give in during negotiations; trying to reach an agreement with the Russians by negotiating; demand it by negotiating in a friendly manner; by diplomacy; keep asking the Western powers to negotiate with the Russians about the subject; we should try to get the two partners East and West to a round-table conference; they must come to terms and reach an agreement; should explain to those who occupy these lands that the country is ours; come to terms in a peaceful manner with their governments about the return; be energetic conferences; without war, remain neutral, carry on neutral negotiations everywhere, should not try to be friends with either side; negotiations with the Russians must be carried on in a friendly and peaceful manner; demand the recovery by peace treaty, not by force; try to achieve that through diplomatic channels, not by the use of weapons; keep negotiating as long as possible, what else could be done; under no circumstances should it be tried by the use of force; only by negotiations, not by war; on a friendly basis and by a limited cooperation to prevent hostility; etc.

54% 54% 54% 56% 63%

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Use force (if negotiations fail):

If friendly negotiations fail and if Germany cooperates with the Western powers, force should be used; if no results by friendly dealings, the war; arrange meetings, negotiate, show the Russians our power and force them to return those territories to us; we should fight for their recovery, try by the use of weapons to regain our land - but we need an army to be able to threaten the Russians; etc.

7% 8% 6% 6% 19%

Decide by a plebescite:

Should arrange a plebescite in all Germany, including the Eastern territories, of course - I think that's the only possibility; a plebescite should be carried through in those lands to let the people choose for themselves; etc.

2 2 2 2 3

Germany can do nothing:

We cannot do anything because that is up to others, the victorious powers; etc.

1 1 1 1 *

Others:

Some day it will happen without our interference that the Eastern territories are free again; we could offer the Russians machines in exchange - we must keep demanding these territories to be returned to us; the land which the Russians have now should be returned to Poland; we should try to make these territories become economically dependent upon us, by these means we could slowly get these territories on our side; well, we have something like Foreign Ministers who ought to know; the politicians should decide that for themselves, that's what they are there for; it must be tried to solve the problem within a united Europe; etc.

6 6 4 3 2

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{11}{81\%}$ ** $\frac{13}{84\%}$ ** $\frac{12}{79\%}$ ** $\frac{6}{74\%}$ ** $\frac{11}{98\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITIES HOLD GERMANY HAS RIGHT TO USE FORCE ...

Does the current widespread disinclination to employ force to recover the lost territories imply there is little basis for the fears held by many observers that an irredentist Germany once united and armed would seek to embroil Europe in aggressive adventures directed eastward? The answer to this question cannot by any means be an unequivocal No as further findings suggest.

About seven in ten (67%) in West Germany and three quarters in West Berlin reserve the future right to use force to regain Germany's former possession if all other means fail. As with the reunification issue, ethical considerations thus do not loom large as a reason for rejecting forceful measures.* All that can be said is that the use of force is currently unpopular. Whether or not it will remain so in the future when the scars and memories of the lost war disappear is open to question.

"Aside from your agreement or disagreement with the use of force, do you think Germany would have the right to recover the Eastern territories by force after all other means have failed, or would we not have this right?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, would have the right	67%	67%	67%	67%	76%
No, would not have the right	15	15	17	12	13
No opinion	18	18	16	21	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

MAJORITY CONFIDENT EASTERN LANDS WILL BE REGAINED ...

An added indication that the irredentist pot will keep boiling is the finding that six in ten West Germans (78% in Berlin) believe the Eastern territories will eventually be recovered.

"Do you believe that Germany, in the course of time, will recover the lost Eastern territories, or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, will recover them	61%	66%	58%	53%	78%
No, will not recover them	16	14	19	15	12
Qualified answer	6	5	6	7	4
No opinion	17	15	17	25	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* It may be noted that a larger proportion say Germany has the right to use force to regain the Eastern territories than to reunite Germany. A possible explanation for this difference is that in the case of reunification, force would be applied against fellow Germans, whereas to recover the Eastern regions it would be used against non-Germans.

R E S T R I C T E D

CURRENT OPPONENTS OF FORCEFUL MEASURES ALSO LARGELY HOPEFUL OF ULTIMATE RECOVERY ...

The depth and extensiveness of faith in the ultimate recovery of the lost territories is seen in sharper focus in the paired comparisons of attitudes on the issue as set forth in the tables below. As could be expected, proponents of aggressive efforts express confidence in the return of the Eastern areas more frequently than opponents of such a course of action. More noteworthy, however, is that the preponderance even of those who appear to be reconciled to the loss of the territories - or at any rate, counsel caution in recovery efforts - also are hopeful that the regions will eventually be reunited with Germany. What the attitudes would be of the people who now disapprove of trying to regain these lands but nevertheless expect them to be recovered, if recovery were long delayed remains a future problem.

Of those who say ...

Lost territories will ...

Be recovered Will not Depends Don't know

When Germany is united and armed, we should keep trying to recover lost territories
Accept loss

Be recovered	Will not	Depends	Don't know
67%	16%	6%	11%...100%
50	27	8	15

If Western powers oppose recovery, Germany should keep trying to recover lost territories
Accept loss

Be recovered	Will not	Depends	Don't know
69	15	6	10
66	24	6	4

If other means fail to recover lost territories, Germany should

Use force

Be recovered	Will not	Depends	Don't know
78	11	5	6

Not use force

Be recovered	Will not	Depends	Don't know
63	19	6	12

Of other means fail, Germany has right to use force to regain territories

Be recovered	Will not	Depends	Don't know
67	17	6	10

Has not the right

Be recovered	Will not	Depends	Don't know
62	19	7	12

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

IRREDENTISM AMONG VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS ...

Continued efforts to recover the territories east of the Oder-Neisse line, once Germany is united and armed again, are advocated by large majorities in all population groups. Refugees who can be considered as having a vested interest in the issue are particularly agreed, as they are on all aspects of the recovery issue. The better educated, the men, and the upper income groups - that is the opinion leaders - also advocate continued efforts more often than their counterparts.

"When Germany is reunited and armed in the future, should we put up with the loss of the Eastern territories, or do you think we should always keep trying to recover these territories?"

	Put up with it	Keep try- ing	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	7%	86%	7%...100%	575
Women	8	73	19	613
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	8	77	15	985
Beyond elementary	8	86	6	197
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
- 299 DM	7	77	16	701
300 - 399 DM	8	83	9	254
400 and more	9	86	5	192
<u>Age:</u>				
- 24 years	9	82	9	144
25 - 34 "	8	81	11	241
35 - 44 "	7	76	17	271
45 - 54 "	8	82	10	243
55 years and over	7	77	16	287
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	7	88	5	272
CDU/CSU	7	80	13	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	11	88	1	88
Other parties	11	82	7	81
No party	7	83	10	244
Don't know	6	62	32	239
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	9	91	-	46
Businessmen	7	83	10	150
White-collar workers	5	90	5	155
Skilled laborers	12	75	13	218
Semi-skilled laborers	7	80	13	157
Farmers	7	65	28	145
Housewives	5	72	23	22
Unemployed	10	87	3	61
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	6	79	15	197
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	7	77	16	521
Protestants	8	81	11	610
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	8	78	14	932
Expellees, Refugees	4	86	10	254
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	8	86	6	325
No	8	85	7	243

Few appreciable group difference obtain in regard to opinions on the position taken by the Western powers on Germany's recovery of her lost territories, although more younger people than older, and more refugees than natives, express the view that the powers are agreed.

"Is it your impression that the Western powers would agree to Germany's recovering her lost Eastern territories, do they oppose it, or are they indifferent?"

	Would agree to it	Oppose it	Are indifferent	Qualified answer	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	45%	12%	25%	7%	11%..100%	575
Women	48	10	16	2	24	613
Education:						
Elementary school	47	10	19	4	20	985
Beyond elementary	43	14	25	9	9	197
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	47	10	20	3	20	701
300 - 399 DM	47	11	21	8	13	254
400 and more	49	13	24	5	9	192
Age:						
- 24 years	53	8	21	3	15	144
25 - 34 "	50	13	21	4	12	241
35 - 44 "	49	9	22	4	16	271
45 - 54 "	43	11	21	8	17	243
55 years and over	42	12	17	4	25	287
Party Preference:						
SPD	51	11	25	4	9	272
CDU/CSU	52	10	16	5	17	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	55	16	15	11	3	88
Other parties	42	22	19	6	11	81
No party	45	9	25	5	16	244
Don't know	36	8	18	1	37	239
Occupation:						
Professionals	39	15	35	7	4	46
Businessmen	41	12	27	7	13	150
White-collar workers	56	10	21	8	5	155
Skilled laborers	46	15	18	3	18	218
Semi-skilled laborers	51	9	18	4	18	157
Farmers	37	9	20	1	33	145
Housewives	46	9	18	-	27	22
Unemployed	39	17	26	3	15	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	52	8	13	5	22	197
Religion:						
Catholics	48	11	18	5	18	521
Protestants	46	11	21	4	18	610
Origin:						
Natives	45	12	21	4	18	932
Expellees, Refugees	51	8	17	6	18	254
Veteran Status:						
Yes	45	13	26	9	7	325
No	46	12	23	5	14	243

In all population groups, the preponderant opinion is that, even though the Western powers are against it, Germany should continue to do everything possible to recover the Eastern territories. More frequently expressing this view than others are the refugees, the men, and the better educated.

"Suppose the Western powers would be against our trying to recover the Eastern territories, should we keep trying everything to get these territories back, or should we then try to get along without the Eastern territories?" (Asked of those who said in earlier query West Germany should keep trying to regain Eastern territories).

	Keep trying every- thing	Get along without them	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	69%	10%	6%	15% 100%	575
Women	55	9	10	26	613
Education:					
Elementary school	61	9	8	22	985
Beyond elementary	69	20	8	13	197
Income (per month):					
- 299 DM	62	7	9	22	701
300 - 299 DM	64	12	7	17	254
400 - and more	63	17	6	14	192
Age:					
- 24 years	62	12	6	20	144
25 - 34 "	66	8	8	18	241
35 - 44 "	58	11	7	24	271
45 - 54 "	67	9	6	18	243
55 years and over	59	8	10	23	287
Party Preference:					
SPD	69	11	8	12	272
CDU/CSU	62	11	7	20	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	69	17	1	13	88
Other parties	63	10	10	17	81
No party	65	9	8	18	244
Don't know	47	5	10	38	239
Occupation:					
Professionals	74	13	4	9	46
Businessmen	65	11	8	16	150
White-collar workers	71	11	8	10	155
Skilled laborers	59	10	6	25	218
Semi-skilled laborers	63	11	6	20	157
Farmers	50	7	8	35	145
Housewives	59	9	5	27	22
Unemployed	74	8	3	13	61
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	60	9	10	21	197
Religion:					
Catholics	60	11	6	23	521
Protestants	63	8	10	19	610
Origin:					
Natives	59	11	8	22	932
Expellees, Refugees	73	6	7	14	254
Veteran Status:					
Yes	71	10	5	14	325
No	67	10	8	15	243

R E S T R I C T E D

The use of force to recover the Eastern areas is recommended much more frequently by refugees than by natives. Men and younger persons are also more inclined than their opposites to urge forceful measures, if only thus can the territories be regained. The better educated and those in the upper income brackets more frequently disagree with the use of force.

"Suppose the future would reveal that Germany could only recover her lost Eastern territories by force, would you agree to Germany's using force, if she would be able to do so, or would you disagree?" (Asked of those who did not say West Germany should put up with loss of Eastern territories.)

	Agree	Dis- agree	Qualified answer	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	26%	56%	3%	8%	7%..100%	575
Women	15	59	1	17	8	613
Education:						
Elementary school	21	56	2	13	8	985
Beyond elementary	18	65	4	5	8	197
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	22	55	1	15	7	701
300 - 399 DM	20	60	2	10	8	254
400 and more	17	67	3	4	9	192
Age:						
- 24 years	28	50	3	10	9	144
25 - 34 "	18	64	2	8	8	241
35 - 44 "	21	57	1	14	7	271
45 - 54 "	19	59	2	12	8	243
55 years and over	19	55	2	17	7	287
Party Preference:						
SPD	24	62	2	5	7	272
CDU/CSU	22	56	4	11	7	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	19	68	-	1	12	88
Other parties	31	47	4	7	11	81
No party	21	62	1	9	7	244
Don't know	11	50	1	32	6	239
Occupation:						
Professionals	7	80	-	4	9	46
Businessmen	16	63	3	11	7	150
White-collar workers	28	59	1	7	5	155
Skilled laborers	22	57	1	7	13	218
Semi-skilled laborers	17	60	1	15	7	157
Farmers	17	54	3	19	7	145
Housewives	18	64	-	14	4	22
Unemployed	33	49	2	6	10	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	22	50	2	20	6	197
Religion:						
Catholics	21	58	2	12	7	521
Protestants	21	56	2	13	8	610
Origin:						
Natives	17	61	2	12	8	932
Expellees, Refugees	32	47	3	14	4	254
Veteran Status:						
Yes	24	60	2	6	8	325
No	28	53	4	7	8	243

That Germany has the right to use force to regain her former possessions is largely held by all population elements, with the men, the better schooled, the well-to-do, the younger people, and of course the refugees are more strongly of this view than their counterparts.

"Aside from your agreement or disagreement with the use of force, - do you think Germany would have the right to recover the Eastern territories by force after all other means have failed, or would we not have this rights?"

	Yes, would have the right	No, would not have the right	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	73%	17%	10%..100%	575
Women	62	13	25	613
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	65	15	20	985
Beyond elementary	74	19	7	197
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
- 299 DM	64	15	21	701
300 - 399 DM	70	17	13	254
400 - and more	78	17		192
<u>Age:</u>				
- 24 years	74	12	14	144
25 - 34 "	70	14	16	241
35 - 44 "	68	12	20	271
45 - 54 "	66	20	14	243
55 years and over	60	17	23	287
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	72	16	12	272
CDU/CSU	71	15	14	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	76	19	5	88
Other parties	68	25	7	81
No party	68	15	17	244
Don't know	53	10	37	239
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	74	20	6	46
Businessmen	76	15	9	150
White-collar workers	75	15	10	155
Skilled laborers	65	18	17	218
Semi-skilled laborers	65	13	22	157
Farmers	61	12	27	145
Housewives	73	9	18	22
Unemployed	76	16	8	61
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	60	16	24	197
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	67	16	17	521
Protestants	68	13	19	610
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	65	17	18	932
Expellees, Refugees	73	11	16	254
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	74	16	10	325
No	72	19	9	243

The belief that the lost territories will one day be regained is the preponderant opinion among Germans of all walks of life. Refugees, and the men, are particularly optimistic on this score

"Do you believe that Germany, in the course of time, will recover the lost Eastern territories, or not?"

	Yes, will recover them	No, will not re- cover them	Qualified answer	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	67%	16%	6%	11%...100%	575
Women	56	16	6	22	613
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	61	16	5	18	985
Beyond elementary	66	16	9	9	197
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
- 299 DM	60	17	5	18	701
300 - 399 DM	67	14	6	13	254
400 and more	65	12	7	16	192
<u>Age:</u>					
- 24 years	58	24	3	15	144
25 - 34 "	59	20	7	14	241
35 - 44 "	65	12	7	16	271
45 - 54 "	66	12	6	16	243
55 years and over	58	16	5	21	287
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	66	18	8	8	272
CDU/CSU	64	15	5	16	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	60	25	7	8	88
Other parties	69	16	7	8	81
No party	58	18	7	17	244
Don't know	55	10	3	32	239
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	69	17	7	7	46
Businessmen	60	14	8	18	150
White-collar workers	70	15	8	7	155
Skilled laborers	67	14	4	15	218
Semi-skilled laborers	60	14	10	16	157
Farmers	45	23	5	27	145
Housewives	59	14	9	18	22
Unemployed	57	26	7	10	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	63	15	2	20	197
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	61	17	6	16	521
Protestants	61	15	6	18	610
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	58	18	6	18	932
Expellees, Refugees	76	11	4	9	254
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	69	15	6	10	325
No	65	17	7	11	243

R E S T R I C T E D

V. WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF GERMAN LOYALTY TO THE WEST?

Clearly the long-range national aspiration of the West German people, as reflected in such issues as overpopulation, reunification and Eastern territorial claims would seem to point the future focus of German attention on the East. Currently most Germans appear to believe and hope that these future aspirations can be fulfilled without prejudice to good Western relations, though they have served notice in regard to their territorial claims that they will not be dissuaded by any Western opposition should such occur. The questions arise: How strong is German allegiance to the West? Can West Germany be relied on to honor her Western commitments in the event that other alternatives are feasible and in face of the strong urge to fulfill aspiration lying eastward?

The ultimate answers to these basic questions lie - as with so many of the problems raised in this study - in the future. Indications on the current strength of West German loyalty to the West are offered in the following findings.

ALLEGIANCE TO WEST INDICATED, AS LONG AS COLD WAR LASTS ...

As long as the Cold War continues, West Germany's choice of a partner is clearly the West. A large preponderance votes for future cooperation with the West even though joining with the East might in the future appear to have greater economic and political advantages. Only a small fraction asserts that West Germany should not feel obliged to remain with the West under such circumstances.

"Supposing the present tension between East and West would not change considerably, which of the following views about Germany's future course comes closest to your opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
"Herr Mueller: West Germany should continue to cooperate with the West even though it may turn out later that cooperation with the East would have more political and economic advantages for us;	55%	53%	60%	48%	80%
"Herr Schulze: West Germany should not feel obliged to continue cooperation with the West if it turns out later that cooperation with the East would have more political and economic advantages."	14	14	14	10	9
Depends	5	6	3	10	4
No opinion	$\frac{26}{100\%}$	$\frac{27}{100\%}$	$\frac{23}{100\%}$	$\frac{32}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$

Allegiance to the West appears, according to the statements of respondents expressing this viewpoint, to be based more frequently on rejection of Communism (23%) than on any positive virtue associated with the West. Also mentioned quite often is that the West has proved to be a good friend (16%), and that cooperation with the West will better insure security and peace (9%). Another group (8%) base their allegiance on cultural solidarity with the West.

"Why should West Germany continue to cooperate with the West?"
(Asked of those who answered "should continue to cooperate" to previous question.)

WEST	British	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	Zone

Rejection of Communism:

We will not have to do anything with Communism; in order not to be subjected to Communism; we won't have anything to do with the Russians - they are Communists; because Communism rules the East; the East would only use this opportunity to force us to accept Communism; no useful things will turn out from cooperation with the East; I never had a great opinion of the Communists; you can't trust the Russians; we want to have to do as little as possible with the East; etc.

23%	19%	28%	21%	18%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

The West helped us in the past, and will in the future:

Because the Americans have supported us so well; we owe our revival only to the West; because the East hasn't demonstrated anything so far - the West helped us to get over the greatest difficulties; conditions would improve in every respect - as to food and employment; it is well known that people in the West are living under more favorable conditions than those from the East; it would in all respects be better to cooperate with the West; it is our moral obligation - we already have received so much help and will still get more; it would be more favorable for us and easier to get help; Russia hasn't got enough food for her own people, she is of no use to us; improvement in connection with the East is impossible; in my opinion it would be best to compare the conditions in the East with those in the West; etc.

16	16	15	10	22
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R E S T R I C T E D

WEST Brit, US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Cooperation with the West guarantees security, freedom and peace:

Because then war wouldn't break out so easily; we will be strong then and able to prevent another war; because only the present power of Russia causes such tensions; if Germany would turn away from the West, war would be unavoidable; for security reasons; it is easier to prevent a war in such a way; the West guarantees freedom and security; because another war wouldn't break out so soon; the West wants peace; cooperation with the West will strengthen West Germany; etc.

9% 8% 10% 9% 19%

Cultural solidarity with the West:

The Western mentality fits us better than the East; Western mentality is so similar to our own; we are more inclined to favor Western ideas; Western people are living next to us - finally we must achieve peace, unity with the West is more important; Russian ideas are alien to us; understanding with America is better; etc.

8 8 8 9 21

Others:

Because of the Russians - they must leave then, I don't know exactly; circumstances force us to do so, nevertheless one should try to overcome the difficulties which hinder an understanding; not political and economic viewpoints alone should serve as a guide for the future, but ideal considerations also; because of the idea of an all-Europe; because we are facing a general social development; etc.

1 1 2 1 3

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{59\%}$ $\frac{2}{54\%}$ $\frac{3}{66\%}$ $\frac{1}{51\%}$ $\frac{3}{86\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The few who advocate a free hand as against a Western commitment in the future, argue in various ways: Germany should be free to seek the most advantageous position (3%); the East would offer more economic advantages (3%) or a better chance for unity (2%), and an independent position is preferable (2%).

"Why should West Germany not feel obliged to continue to cooperate with the West?" (Asked of all who answered "should not feel obliged .." to previous question.)

WEST	Brita	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

Germany must watch over her advantages:

We must have an eye on our own interest and exploit our advantages, no matter on which side it is; we must cooperate with those states that offer the best advantages; because the Russians would probably be enough of diplomats to cooperate with us in a friendly manner - we don't have to expect more from the West than from the East; why should we side with the West if they (West) make concessions to the East one day which are not favorable for us?; in the end, every country must pursue its own advantages; because trade is important for us - everybody shall be happy in his own fashion; everybody looks for the best place for himself; for sound economic instincts, we want to cooperate with everybody; the economic advantage is the most important factor for us; we must seek and watch over our advantages everywhere; etc.

3%	3%	3%	2%	2%
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More economic advantages with the East:

Cooperating with the East, the chances of economic development would be greater, we could sell more goods to the East than to the West, as Western countries produce all kinds of goods, as it is; there are more market outlets for goods in the East than in the over-developed West; would be able to buy cheaper goods from the East; cooperation with the East in the economic sphere would be more advantageous for us, because we could sell more machinery to the Russians than to the Western countries; because under normal conditions the East could supply all raw materials we need; because they are our next-door-neighbors on the continent, America is far off, and the East is economically strong; this would be more advantageous to us; etc.

3	3	3	2
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(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Brit. US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

More chance for reunification:

Because through cooperation with the East a reunification of East and West Germany would be brought about more easily; because the East would thus be neglected too much, people would forget the Eastern Zone; we should always remember that the Eastern Zone is a part of our country; if Germany should continue to cooperate with the West this might mean that the division of Germany would be perpetuated; and Germany unity is the main consideration; because thus the split (between East and West Germany) would be accentuated; resettling refugees in their homelands; as refugees we would stand a better chance of returning to our home territories; etc.

2%	3%	2%	1%	*
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Preservation of independence:

We shouldn't commit us in any way, but should go about reconstructing our country independently in order to lead once more a peaceful life; we have to get along with both East and West; I think Germany should become independent, should become a republic, it would then be able to exploit economic possibilities without committing itself; if you commit yourself, you aren't free any more, your hands are tied; it would be more advantageous if we were a sovereign state, because then we would be independent and could shape our trade policy at our discretion; etc.

2	3	1	2	3
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Lack of interest of the Western powers:

Because the Western powers have no interest in Germany, but want to exploit Germany only for their own advantage; because I cannot forget how the Western powers treated us as a people after the defeat - I think of the hunger we had to experience and then I don't forget all the bombs with which they destroyed our country from the air; we cannot forget that the Western powers knocked us down - the instinct of self-preservation prevails in politics; we cannot tie ourselves stubbornly to the West; because the Western powers are really not nice to us, even though we are so industrious; we could completely get under the influence of the West and then become the playball of the West; etc.

2	1	2	1	-
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Increased danger of war:

Because we should not make an enemy of the East in order to prevent being overrun by them; the Russians are our big enemies and if we cooperate with them, we might be able to maintain peace; because we otherwise would have to suffer heavy damages in case of war from the East; because West Germany has no reason to intensify the tension with the East; if there should be a war, then we would not become involved; etc.

1	1	1	1	1
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No opinion:

$\frac{1}{14\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{13\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{14\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{10\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{9\%}$
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* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

TRADE WITH THE EAST FAVORED ...

In the past, the countries of Eastern Europe were for Germany a main source of supply for raw materials and agricultural products and a valuable market for her manufactured goods. Today many West German businessmen and officials as well declare that the German economy will not become really sound unless trade with the East can be resumed. The majority of West Germans apparently share these views, seven in ten recommending that in the future Germany should maintain commercial relations with the Eastern countries. Half, in fact, urge large scale trade with the East. (West Berliners are somewhat less enthusiastic on the matter than West Germans.)

"Should West Germany trade with the Eastern countries in the future or not? (Trade on a large scale or on not so large a scale?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, on a large scale	50%	53%	47%	47%	39%
Yes, on not so large a scale	19	19	21	15	27
No, no trade	10	8	11	12	16
Qualified answer	6	7	6	8	14
No opinion	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT NOT AT THE COST OF WESTERN COOPERATION ...

Few Germans would want to trade with the East contrary to the expressed wishes of the Western powers. If such commerce would adversely affect relations with the West, many would not consider dealing with the Iron Curtain countries. As indicated in the table below, East trade carried on at the price of cooperation with the West is rejected by a two to one preponderance in Western Germany, and by eight to one in Berlin.

"If trade with the East would endanger our cooperation with the West, should we nevertheless take up trade relations with the East or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, take up trade relations	19%	22%	15%	18%	7%
No, no trade relations	40	40	43	35	55
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>
	69%	72%	68%	62%	66%

Obviously future trade with the East does not commence to have the priority in German thinking that irredentism has. Seven in ten West Germans, it will be recalled, would override Western wishes if necessary to recover the territory east of the Oder-Neisse line. In contrast, unreserved support for future trade relations with the Communist East is given by only a minority of 19 per cent. The fear of jeopardizing Western relations would swing a considerable group away from the idea, with the result that more than half are opposed, unreservedly or under particular conditions.

NO CLEAR ROAD AHEAD FOR SCHUMAN PLAN ...

The Schuman Plan was used not only as a further yardstick of German allegiance to the West but also as a rough gauge of the possible future response to treaty obligations. The findings to this line of inquiry indicate first, that if the mainstay of future economic relations between West Germany and West Europe is to be the Schuman Plan, the forecast is unsettled, judging by the results of this study.

The bulk of the West German people are either in disagreement with the idea of the plan, doubtful or completely ignorant of it. Only three in ten give general approval of the plan now in its initial stage.

"Have you heard or read something about the Schuman Plan?"

If "Yes": Do you, by and large, agree or disagree with this plan?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, have heard of it, and:					
Agree	29%	29%	26%	32%	35%
Disagree	17	18	17	12	16
No opinion	25	25	26	26	32
No, not heard of it	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>30</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%

A further indication that West Germany might prove to be an uncertain partner in an economically integrated Europe is the fact that half of those who are informed of the Schuman Plan recommend that West Germany should walk out on the plan, if it appeared to be working disadvantageously for Germany.

In a broader sense, since West Germany's written commitment to the agreement was spelled out in the inquiry, the results also suggest that a substantial proportion of the West German people might not let treaty obligations stand in their way, if they felt it was impossible to negotiate differences. It is important to note, however, that as many as a fifth in West Germany (30% in Berlin) counsel adherence to a commitment, even though it appears to be working against Germany's interest.

As you probably know, West Germany has together with other nations, approved and signed the Schuman Plan.

"In case considerable disadvantages for West Germany would turn out from the Schuman Plan and negotiations on the removal of these disadvantages would not satisfy West Germany, would you be, under these circumstances, of the opinion that ...

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
"West Germany should not stick stick to the Schuman Plan but should follow her own economic policy	36%	37%	35%	36%	45%
"West Germany should nevertheless stick to the Schuman Plan because she has signed it."	22	22	23	20	30
No opinion	<u>13</u> 71%	<u>13</u> 72%	<u>11</u> 69%	<u>14</u> 70%	<u>8</u> 83%

Unilateral rejection of the Schuman Plan, should Germany in the future not like the way it is going is not only recommended by most of those who currently disagree with, or are doubtful of, the plan, but even among a considerable proportion of those who now favor it. This is demonstrated in the comparative table below:

	Germany should not stick to it	Germany should nevertheless stick to it	No opinion
Of those who now:			
Agree with the plan	46%	48%	6%..100%
Do not agree with it	76	20	4
Withheld opinions on it	41	20	39

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON ALLEGIANCE TO THE WEST ...

The majority opinion in most population groups favors Western cooperation as long as the Cold War lasts. Opinion leading elements - the better educated, higher income groups and the men - are particularly inclined toward this alternative.

"Supposing the present tension between East and West would not considerably change, which of the following views about Germany's future course comes closest to your opinion?

Herr Mueller: West Germany should continue to cooperate with the West even though it may turn out later that cooperation with the East would have more political and economic advantages for us.

Herr Schulze: West Germany should not feel obliged to continue cooperation with the West if it turns out later that cooperation with the East would have more political and economic advantages.

	Cooper- ation with West	Should not feel obliged	Qualified answer	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	62%	16%	8%	14%..100%	575
Women	48	11	3	38	513
Education:					
Elementary school	53	13	5	29	985
Beyond elementary	65	15	8	12	197
Income (per month):					
- 299 DM	53	11	5	31	701
300 - 399 DM	56	20	6	18	254
400 and more	66	15	6	13	192
Age:					
- 24 years	59	19	5	17	144
25 - 34 "	56	18	8	18	241
35 - 44 "	52	14	6	28	271
45 - 54 "	57	11	5	27	243
55 years and over	53	9	3	35	287
Party Preference:					
SPD	61	19	6	14	272
CDU/CSU	67	8	4	21	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	76	11	5	8	88
Other parties	48	31	5	16	81
No party	49	13	8	30	244
Don't know	35	10	4	51	239
Occupation:					
Professionals	57	24	6	13	46
Businessmen	54	15	8	23	150
White-collar workers	68	13	6	13	155
Skilled laborers	57	21	4	18	218
Semi-skilled laborers	51	13	5	31	157
Farmers	49	5	6	40	145
Housewives	50	5	-	45	22
Unemployed	59	18	5	18	61
Not employed: pensioner; students; retired; etc.	49	10	3	38	197
Religion:					
Catholics	58	12	4	26	521
Protestants	53	14	6	27	610
Origin:					
Natives	55	14	6	25	932
Expellees, Refugees	55	13	4	28	254
Veteran Status:					
Yes	64	17	9	10	325
No	62	15	6	17	243

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RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

All population elements give majority support to future trade with the East, with the higher status groups in the lead in advocacy of large-scale commercial relations.

"Should West Germany trade with the Eastern countries in the future or not?"

	Yes, on a large scale	Yes, on not so large a scale	No, no trade	Q.A.	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	60%	20%	6%	8%	6%...100%	575
Women	41	18	13	5	23	613
Education:						
Elementary school	47	20	11	5	17	905
Beyond elementary	63	15	4	13	5	197
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	47	19	12	4	18	701
300 - 399 DM	54	21	9	6	10	254
400 - and more	61	17	5	13	4	192
Age:						
- 24 years	46	21	14	4	15	144
25 - 34 "	49	24	13	5	9	241
35 - 44 "	55	16	9	6	14	271
45 - 54 "	48	20	9	10	13	243
55 years and	48	17	7	6	22	287
Party preference:						
SPD	53	23	11	8	5	272
CDU/CSU	44	20	15	10	11	264
FRP/LDP/DVP/BDV	61	22	7	9	1	88
Other parties	52	16	10	7	15	81
No party	58	18	7	4	13	244
Don't know	39	15	6	3	37	239
Occupation:						
Professionals	74	13	2	11	-	46
Businessmen	59	16	11	7	7	150
White-collar workers	56	22	6	7	9	155
Skilled laborers	55	19	9	7	10	218
Semi-skilled	47	19	12	5	17	157
Farmers	34	22	11	3	30	145
Housewives	36	9	5	18	32	22
Unemployed	47	25	18	2	8	61
Not employed: Pensioners; students; retired; etc.	46	16	10	8	20	197
Religion:						
Catholics	46	19	15	5	15	521
Protestants	51	20	7	7	15	610
Origin:						
Natives	51	18	10	6	15	932
Expellees, Refugees	46	22	11	8	13	254
Veteran Status:						
Yes	63	19	6	8	4	325
No	57	22	7	7	7	243

all groups the preponderance with opinions on the East trade issue could be against such trade if it would endanger West German cooperation with Western Europe. An appreciable minority of the higher status groups - the men, the better educated, and the upper income groups - would, notwithstanding the possible effect on Western integration continue to advocate Eastern trade.

"If trade with the East would endanger our cooperation with the West should we nevertheless take up trade relations with the East or not?"
(Asked of those who felt West Germany should trade with Eastern countries.)

	Yes, take up trade relations	No, no trade relations	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	25%	47%	8%	20%...100%	575
Women	13	34	12	41	613
Education:					
Elementary school	17	40	10	33	985
Beyond elementary	27	43	9	21	197
Income (per month):					
- 299 DM	17	39	10	34	701
300 - 399 DM	22	41	11	26	254
400 - and more	23	49	7	21	192
Age:					
- 24 years	18	42	8	32	144
25 - 34 "	21	42	10	27	241
35 - 44 "	18	43	10	29	271
45 - 54 "	21	37	10	32	243
55 years and over	16	38	11	35	287
Party preference:					
SPD	24	46	6	24	272
CDU/CSU	13	41	10	36	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	21	52	10	17	88
Other parties	31	28	9	32	81
No party	20	48	8	24	244
Don't know	13	24	17	46	239
Occupation:					
Professionals	39	37	11	13	46
Businessmen	22	42	11	25	150
White-collar workers	24	44	9	23	155
Skilled laborers	21	44	9	26	218
Semi-skilled	15	40	11	34	157
Farmers	12	35	9	44	145
Housewives	14	27	5	54	22
Unemployed	16	49	7	28	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	16	34	12	38	197
Religion:					
Catholics	15	41	9	35	521
Protestants	20	39	12	29	610
Origin:					
Natives	20	39	10	31	932
Expellees, Refugees	15	44	8	33	254
Veteran Status:					
Yes	27	48	7	18	325
No	24	46	9	21	243

Support for the Schuman Plan is more frequent among the better educated, the upper income group and the men. Affiliates or sympathisers with the Social Democratic party are much less inclined to approve the plan than are the CDU or FDP followers.

"Do you, by and large, agree or disagree with this plan?"
(Asked of those who had heard of Schuman Plan.)

	Agree	Dis- agree	No opinion	Not heard of plan	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	40%	26%	21%	13%...100%	575
Women	17	8	30	45	613
Education:					
Elementary school	24	17	26	33	985
Beyond elementary	50	18	22	10	197
Income (per month):					
- 299 DM	24	14	25	37	701
300 - 399 DM	33	23	27	17	254
400 and more	39	20	28	13	192
Age:					
- 24 years	26	17	24	33	144
25 - 34 "	31	19	26	24	241
35 - 44 "	28	18	25	29	271
45 - 54 "	25	16	29	30	243
55 years and over	32	14	24	30	287
Party Preference:					
SPD	28	27	24	21	272
CDU/CSU	40	11	23	26	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	46	17	25	12	88
Other parties	30	30	23	17	81
No party	24	17	30	29	244
Don't know	13	7	26	54	239
Occupation:					
Professionals	52	20	15	13	46
Businessmen	32	15	33	20	150
White-collar workers	47	22	19	12	155
Skilled laborers	25	23	30	22	218
Semi-skilled laborers	22	15	25	38	157
Farmers	21	11	20	48	145
Housewives	14	5	45	36	22
Unemployed	18	26	30	26	61
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	25	14	23	38	197
Religion:					
Catholics	32	13	26	29	521
Protestants	26	18	26	30	610
Origin:					
Natives	27	18	26	29	932
Expellees, Refugees	33	13	23	31	254
Veteran Status:					
Yes	42	28	18	12	325
No	40	23	24	13	243

It is noteworthy that men, persons with more than average education, and the higher income groups more frequently than their opposites say that Germany should adhere to the Schuman Plan, despite any apparent disadvantages in its future operation. However, these groups as well as other population segments tend more frequently to advocate walking out on the organization if it should appear in the future not to satisfy German interests.

"In case considerable disadvantages for West Germany would turn out from the Schuman Plan and negotiations on the removal of these disadvantages would not satisfy West Germany, would you be under these circumstances of the opinion that

1. West Germany should not stick to the Schuman Plan but should follow her own economic policy.
 2. West Germany should nevertheless stick to the Schuman Plan because she has signed it.
- (Asked of those who had heard of Schuman Plan.)

	Should not stick to Schuman Plan	Should stick to Schuman Plan	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	48%	29%	10%	13%..100%	575
Women	26	15	14	45	613
Education:					
Elementary school	35	19	13	33	985
Beyond elementary	44	36	10	10	197
Income (per month):					
- 299 DM	32	18	13	37	701
300 - 399 DM	46	25	11	18	254
400 and more	41	36	10	13	192
Age:					
- 24 years	34	22	11	33	144
25 - 34 "	41	25	10	24	241
35 - 44 "	38	20	12	30	271
45 - 54 "	35	21	14	30	243
55 years and over	33	23	14	30	287
Party Preference:					
SPD	45	25	9	21	272
CDU/CSU	35	27	12	26	264
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	38	41	9	12	88
Other parties	48	25	10	17	81
No party	42	18	12	28	244
Don't know	18	9	19	54	239
Occupation:					
Professionals	31	54	4	11	46
Businessmen	40	23	17	20	150
White-collar workers	43	38	6	13	155
Skilled laborers	42	22	14	22	218
Semi-skilled laborers	36	12	14	38	157
Farmers	27	14	11	48	145
Housewives	18	18	27	37	22
Unemployed	43	16	15	26	61
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	31	19	12	38	197
Religion:					
Catholics	33	26	12	29	521
Protestants	37	20	13	30	610
Origin:					
Natives	37	22	12	29	932
Expellees, Refugees	34	22	13	31	254
Veteran Status:					
Yes	52	28	8	12	325
No	43	32	12	13	243

GERMAN VIEWS ON THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT
FOLLOWING INITIALING AND PUBLICATION

Report No. 144

Series No. 2

July 8, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

With the initialing and publication of the Germany Treaty on May 26th, 1952, the way has been opened for more detailed appraisal than heretofore of German public opinion on the contractual agreements. The current study, conducted between June 4th and 11th, is based upon the standard rapid political sample of 800 cases drawn on a representative basis from all of West Germany.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

HIGHLIGHTS

- A. Awareness of the contractual agreement has increased, following initialing and publication, to point where now three quarters of the West German population claim familiarity.

Many are still vague, however, as to even elementary details. Though a majority indicated that they knew that the agreement had already been signed by the Chancellor, only a third revealed knowledge of the fact that a Bundestag decision would still be necessary before the contract could go into effect.

However, a majority appears to be apprised of the key fact that the contractual agreement carries with it an obligation for West Germany to participate in European defense.

- B. Public dissemination of the contents of the contractual agreement has apparently not altered the tendency for approval to outweigh disapproval. No opinion, however, is still considerable even among those indicating familiarity with the negotiations.

The favorable trend in evaluation maintains itself among the most crucial group - those who are aware of the defense participation corollary to the contractual agreement.

Support for Bundestag ratification rises to its maximum among the opinion leading population elements - the men, the better educated and the economically better situated.

Dislike and perturbations over the military corollary, rather than dissatisfaction with the contract per se, appears to most frequently underlie the judgments of those who oppose ratification.

Whatever the positive or negative attitudes toward the contractual agreement, the solid majority expectation in West Germany appears to be that the contract will in fact be ratified.

- C. More generalized queries in the present study contribute additional indications of receptivity to the contractual agreement.

If the contract was a major source of dissatisfaction with the public, one would expect a falling off in the extent of West German satisfaction with the Federal government. Trend indications are to the contrary, with evidence of a slight gain in satisfaction since September last.

- I -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Similarly support for German defense participation has registered a slight gain, which is contrary to what one would expect if the pivotal military participation condition to the contractual agreement was refusing to go down with the West German public.

- D. On the score of unity, twice as many West Germans hold that the contractual agreement reduces as feel that it enhances chances for German reunification. Follow-up inquiries, however, considerably moderate this picture.

Firstly, among those who see unity delayed by the contract, more believe the delay to be temporary than believe it to be permanent.

Secondly, a third of those who see unity delayed indicate that notwithstanding, Adenauer was right to conclude the agreement.

Clearly then, not all West Germans who see impediments to unity in present Western policy are automatically opposed. More than a few have apparently come to realize that policies must be evaluated in the net, and that unity is not the sole consideration in evaluating the desirability of a particular course of action.

- E. Whatever may be the pattern of German attitudes on the contractual agreement, there is no question but that the large majority favors holding a four power conference on German problems.

Only a third, however, appear to consider a four power conference at all likely to result in advantages for West Germany.

The indication is clear that if so many West Germans, in espousing a four power conference, are willing to pursue a course which by their own admission promises so little possibility of achievement, they do not understand the dangers involved in any delay in the Western program of action in Germany.

R E S T R I C T E D
I. CURRENT AWARENESS OF CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT

GENERAL AWARENESS NOW WIDESPREAD ...

Familiarity at least with the existence of contractual negotiations between the Western powers and Germany appears to be fairly widespread now among the German rank and file. Almost half were able to cite the projected agreement as the subject of negotiations between the Chancellor and Western representatives, and an additional quarter claimed to have heard or read something about the matter when it was alluded to by name.

"Do you know what the negotiations were about that Federal Chancellor Adenauer had recently with the Americans, the British and the French?"

	WEST GERMANY (786)	British Zone (408)	US Zone (285)	French Zone (93)
Yes, contractual agreement	47%	52%	45%	35%
Yes, other issues cited	7	7	7	6
No, I don't know	<u>46</u> 100%	<u>41</u> 100%	<u>48</u> 100%	<u>59</u> 100%

"We mean the contractual agreement; have you, by any chance, heard or read something about it?"* (Asked of all who did not cite contractual agreement above).

Yes, heard about it	26%	24%	28%	22%
No, not heard about it	<u>27</u> 53%	<u>24</u> 48%	<u>27</u> 55%	<u>43</u> 65%
Total indicating awareness of contractual agreement	73%	76%	73%	57%
Total unaware	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>43</u> 100%

The indication is that the publicity attendant to the initialing of the contract has substantially increased the extent of awareness of the agreement over the early May figures reproduced below.

"Have you heard about the negotiations on the contractual agreement between the Federal government and the Western powers which is supposed to grant greater independence to Western Germany?" (with further probe where indicated: "We mean the negotiations, which for some time have taken place between the Federal government and the three High Commissioners.")

(April 28th - May 10th, 1952)

Yes, heard about them	55%	59%	53%	50%
No, not heard about them	<u>45</u> 100%	<u>41</u> 100%	<u>47</u> 100%	<u>50</u> 100%

* The term used in the present study for the contractual agreement was in every case "Deutschlandvertrag" or literally "Germany Treaty" - the name by which it is best known in Germany.

BUT SPECIFIC AWARENESS STILL LIMITED ...

Many aware of the existence of the contractual agreement are still vague as to even elementary details. Though a majority indicated that they knew that the agreement had already been signed by the Chancellor, only 31 per cent revealed knowledge of the fact that a Bundestag decision would still be necessary before the contract could go into effect.

"Can you perhaps tell me whether the contractual agreement has already been signed by the Federal Chancellor or has it not yet been signed?" (Asked of all indicating awareness of contractual agreement).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, has been signed	58%	63%	57%	41%
No, has not yet been signed	4	4	4	5
No opinion	11	9	12	11
	<u>73%</u>	<u>76%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>57%</u>

"Do you know if the contractual agreement comes into effect on being signed or is it not yet effective?" (Asked of all indicating awareness of contractual agreement).

In effect on being signed	11%	14%	7%	6%
Not yet effective	40	42	40	31
No opinion	22	20	26	20
	<u>73%</u>	<u>76%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>57%</u>

IF "Not yet effective":

"When will it come into effect? (What has to be done first that it will come into effect?)"

Bundestag decision, etc.	31%	35%	29%	23%
Other course of action	3	3	4	2
No opinion	6	4	7	6
	<u>40%</u>	<u>42%</u>	<u>40%</u>	<u>31%</u>

However, despite the indicated weakness on details, a majority of the West German population appears to be apprised of the key fact that the contractual agreement carries with it an obligation for West Germany to participate in European defense.

"Do you happen to know if upon conclusion of the contractual agreement West Germany is obliged to contribute military forces to a West European army, or is it not obliged to do so?"

Obliged to contribute military forces	58%	61%	58%	47%
Not obliged to contribute military forces	4	5	4	2
No opinion	11	10	11	8
	<u>73%</u>	<u>76%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>57%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN AWARENESS ...

As is to be expected, awareness of the contractals, both in general and in specific detail, is at its maximum among the generally more educated and informed segments of the West German population - the men, the better schooled, and the better off.

"Do you know what the negotiations were about that Federal Chancellor Adenauer had recently with the Americans, the British and the French?"

(Those who did not cite contractals were questioned further as follows:)

"We mean the contractual agreement; have you, by any chance, heard or read something about it?"

	Total in- dicating awareness of agree- ment	(Cited con- tractuals in initial query)	(Claimed recogni- tion in follow- up query)	Total un- aware	No. of cases*
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	89%	(66%)	(23%)	11%...100%	368
Women	58	(30)	(28)	42	418
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	70	(42)	(28)	30	662
Beyond elementary	89	(78)	(11)	11	122
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	46	(18)	(28)	54	461
300 - 399 DM	78	(58)	(20)	22	156
400 DM and more	85	(63)	(22)	15	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	76	(48)	(28)	24	184
30 - 39 years	75	(50)	(25)	25	141
40 - 49 years	73	(47)	(26)	27	201
50 years and over	69	(45)	(24)	31	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	86	(56)	(30)	14	179
CDU/CSU	72	(49)	(23)	28	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	88	(73)	(15)	12	40
Other parties	84	(59)	(25)	16	64
No party	70	(45)	(25)	30	201
Don't know	52	(24)	(28)	48	155
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	86	(82)	(4)	14	28
Businessmen	88	(58)	(30)	12	85
White-collar workers	84	(64)	(20)	16	75
Skilled laborers	78	(51)	(27)	22	195
Semi-skilled laborers	76	(44)	(32)	24	117
Farmers	57	(31)	(26)	43	103
Unemployed	75	(44)	(31)	25	32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	50	(28)	(22)	50	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	66	(43)	(23)	34	323
Protestants	77	(50)	(27)	23	430
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	73	(47)	(26)	27	629
Expellees, Refugees	72	(48)	(24)	28	155
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	80	(53)	(27)	20	275
No	69	(44)	(25)	31	508

* The results should of course be viewed with caution among population groupings for which the numbers of cases are limited.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Do you happen to know if upon conclusion of the contractual agreement West Germany is obliged to contribute military forces to a West European army or is it not obliged to do so?"

	Obliged to con- tribute military forces	Not obliged to contri- bute mili- tary for- ces	No opinion	Not asked as un- aware of contract- al agreement	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	77%	4%	8%	11%...100%	368
Women	41	4	13	42	418
Education:					
Elementary school	55	4	11	30	662
Beyond elementary	76	5	7	12	122
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	51	5	12	32	461
300 - 399 DM	68	4	6	22	156
400 DM and more	74	3	7	16	127
Age:					
Up to 29 years	62	5	9	24	184
30 - 39 years	62	6	6	26	141
40 - 49 years	59	3	11	27	201
50 years and over	53	3	13	31	258
Party Preference:					
SPD	70	5	11	14	179
CDU/CSU	56	4	12	28	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	75	5	7	13	40
Other parties	67	8	6	19	64
No party	61	3	7	29	201
Don't know	35	3	14	48	155
Occupation:					
Professionals	71	4	11	14	28
Businessmen	72	5	12	11	85
White-collar workers	73	3	8	16	75
Skilled laborers	66	4	8	22	195
Semi-skilled laborers	56	6	14	24	117
Farmers	47	3	7	43	103
Unemployed	59	3	13	25	32
Not employed; pensioners; students, retired; etc.	35	4	10	51	116
Religion:					
Catholics	51	5	10	34	323
Protestants	62	3	11	24	430
Origin:					
Natives	58	4	11	27	629
Expellees, Refugees	59	5	9	27	155
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	67	3	10	20	275
No	54	5	10	31	508

II. PRESENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT

ACCEPTANCE OUTWEIGHS REJECTION AMONG GERMANS AWARE OF CONTRACT ...

With the contractual agreement finally open to public gaze, following its initialing on May 26th, the way was clear for the first time to obtain reactions without presenting a preliminary description of the contract (which unavoidably influences the replies). Questioning of respondents who indicated awareness of the negotiations disclosed that recommendations for Bundestag acceptance definitely outweigh preferences to the contrary. No opinion in the matter is still considerable, however, even among this informed group.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement?" (Asked of all indicating awareness of contractual agreement after told - "The Bundestag has yet to vote on the contractual agreement.")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Accept it	33%	39%	26%	25%
Reject it	19	18	20	15
No opinion	21	19	27	17
	73%	76%	73%	57%

The present post-initialing picture of German public approval of the contractuals' preponderating over disapproval, accords with that obtained in prior surveys (see below), though the earlier figures are not strictly comparable since in those instances the question was to put to every respondent after all were given a short introductory description of the impending contractual agreement.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement?" (Asked after all told: "The fact is the contractual agreement is supposed to grant West Germany considerable independence. At the same time West Germany accepts the responsibility to participate with divisions in a West European army.")

	1952 April 28 to May 4	1952 May 16 to May 21
Accept it	39%	41%
Reject it	31	32
No opinion	30	27
	100%	100%

Though respondents not aware of the defense participation corollary manifest a somewhat greater preponderance of approval over disapproval of the contractual agreement, it is important to note below that among the group aware of this condition the same favorable direction of preponderant reaction is maintained.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement?" (Asked of those priorly indicating awareness of the negotiations).

"Do you happen to know if upon conclusion of the contractual agreement West Germany is obliged to contribute military forces to a West European army or is it not obliged to do so?"

	Recommend acceptance of contractual agreement	Recommend rejection of contractual agreement	No opinion	No. of cases
Aware of defense participation condition	48%	30%	22%...100%	457
Not aware of defense participation condition	33	9	58	114

RESTRICTED

REASONS CITED FOR APPROVING CONTRACT ...

Among respondents aware of the contractual negotiations, security considerations appear to slightly outweigh independence and equality as reasons for recommending Bundestag acceptance of the proposals.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept the contractual agreement or reject it?"

IF "Accept the contractual agreement":
"Why should the Bundestag accept it?"

West	Br.	US	Fr.
Germany	Z.	Z.	Z.

Because security would be increased:

In order to make them realize that they can't attack us just like that, for the West is getting strong; for the sake of our security; because it's advantageous for Germany, in alliance with the West, Germany is strong enough to face the Russians; in order not to be at the mercy of the East; Germany should not stand aside, because all alone we can't hold off the Russians; it means security for us, as you can never trust the Russians; because I fear the Russians, the Russians won't be so brazen if all stand together; we are all alone, we can't defend ourselves, without an army that's impossible; simply no country can do without defense forces; etc.

13% 14% 13% 4%

Because independence and equality would be more easily realized:

To preserve our freedom, because otherwise we won't get anywhere; through the contractual agreement German independence will be re-established to a considerable extent; because that's one step ahead on the road to equality and freedom; because it would be best for Germany, conditions would become normal again and our sovereignty would be reestablished in the end; since the die is cast, we must take the consequences - it means more independence for us; etc.

7 9 4 3

General answers, expressing belief in progress and improvement:

Because the situation is going to improve; that we might find peace at long last; that living conditions will become fairly orderly again, things simply can't go on in the present manner; it's more advantageous for us; etc.

5 6 3 7

Because alliance and cooperation with the Western powers are necessary:

We have to cooperate with the West, can't think of an alternative for us; it's probably the wisest thing to do, because it's always more advantageous to cooperate with the Western powers; in order to further the cause of a United Europe; as the East has formed a large bloc we have to join up with the West and form an alliance; in order to become a full partner of the West; for the time being it's the only way to get ahead, the fronts must be clearly defined, we belong to the West after all; etc.

4 3 6 5

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.

Because Germany has no choice - it would be the lesser evil:

Because of the situation in which West Germany is at present, the Bundestag has to accept the contract, there is no alternative; it's a beginning, after all, we don't have a choice, anyway; because otherwise the Americans wouldn't show any interest for us any more, it's the only way for our country to get to its feet again; because we can't do anything else, otherwise we'd get into a bad mess, they would keep us short; because it's the only way for Germany to work it's way up again; etc.

4%	5%	2%	7%
----	----	----	----

Because there would be a better chance for ultimate reunification:

Better, because otherwise unification with the Eastern Zone would never come about; in order to be at peace at last and to bring about the reunification of Germany; etc.

1	2	*	1
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Others:

In order not to aggravate political tensions and to create orderly conditions; to raise the younger generation properly; in order to make the foreign powers appreciate our efforts; in order to have it fixed, so we get something done at last; in order to get the younger generation off the street; because if they all join up, the Russians will give in at last; etc.

6	8	7	2
---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

1	1	1	-
41%	48%	36%	29%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS CITED FOR DISAPPROVING CONTRACT ...

Dislike and perturbation over the military corollary, rather than dissatisfaction with the contract per se, appears to most frequently underlie the judgments of those who oppose ratification of the Germany Treaty.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement?"

IF "Reject the contractual agreement":

"Why should the Bundestag reject it?"

	West Germany	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
<u>I am against rearmament:</u>				
Because I personally don't o.k. the defense contribution, and I'm sure, the majority of the people don't either; we are fed up to the teeth, we don't want an army once more, for all the world; because we must let our sons become soldiers again; because of the defense contribution; etc.	8%	8%	10%	8%
<u>It increases the danger of war:</u>				
The approval of the Bundestag would increase the danger of war; if it gives its approval, we'll have another war; because I think another war might be brought about by it; the Americans, the British and the French should settle it among themselves, we don't want to become another Korea, it's better to keep out of it; because the contractual agreement will cause severe tensions between East- and West Germany, and the danger of war between the Western allies and the Soviets with their allies will be increased; because war will break out then; etc.	7	5	7	10
<u>The West wants to exploit us for her own ends:</u>				
Because we won't get equality, but will be used for American interests in the end; because it makes Germany dependent on others; the Americans have the right to veto; because its end is to exploit the German Michel; we would be too much committed to the West; we are already over heads and ears in debts, the contractual agreement would be unfavorable to us; because it contains clauses which are unacceptable for us; because nothing favorable will come of it; etc.	4	4	4	3
<u>To come to an agreement with the East will become more difficult:</u>				
As long as East- and West Germany are not united, one shouldn't conclude one-sided agreements; break off relations with the East, no possibility for a reunification; because it must negotiate with the Russians first, see where it comes to if the Russians are ignored, how many people must suffer through it; because reunification will get more difficult or even made impossible; we shouldn't reject the Russians they belong to us; etc.	3	3	5	-
<u>The financial burden is too heavy:</u>				
Because Germany can't afford to pay so much money for rearmament purposes except the amount is reduced; that will cost our money, there are better things to do than to equip soldiers once more; because it is our financial ruin; etc.	1	1	*	2
<u>Others:</u>				
Not on principle, but in its present form, as far as it is known; what are we interfering for? Why should we care for our enemies, they may fight each other without us, otherwise they will state again we are to blame; etc.	3	3	2	5
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{3}{26\%}$	$\frac{3}{24\%}$	$\frac{1}{29\%}$	$\frac{5}{28\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D
WHAT COURSE OF ACTION DO OPPONENTS RECOMMEND? ...

Respondents opposed to the contractual agreement focus primarily upon neutrality and negotiations with the East as the course of action they would like West Germany to pursue.

"What would you prefer; should the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement?"

IF "Reject it":

"What would you suggest West Germany should do then?"

West	Br.	US	Fr,
Germany	Z.	Z.	Z.

Bide one's time - remain neutral:

Just sit on the fence, it's still too early, they shouldn't negotiate before the situation is quite clear; as long as there are occupation forces we should sit back; neutrality; not to get involved with anybody, remain neutral; look on while the others are fighting it out for us for a change; keep out of everything; just hands off the whole business, we should stay neutral; not join forces with anybody, keep out of everything and see to it first of all that there is order in our own country and that everybody is able to live comfortably; etc.

7% 5% 8% 12%

Negotiate with the East in order to establish friendly relations and to bring about the reunification of Germany:

Get to terms with the Russians by approaching them in a friendly way; we should wait for the outcome of the negotiations with Eastern Germany; we should wait for an agreement with the East on the plebiscite, etc.; friendly relations with all neighbors, above all with Russia. This may come about if Germany does not rearm, Russia extended her hand to make peace, let's not discuss whether she did right or wrong, we, however, ignored and refused the hand that she extended, that's not wise; negotiations, with the Russians, too; first of all try to bring about a reunification through negotiations; negotiate with the East in order to make reunification a fact; etc.

6 8 6 2

Work towards peace and the conclusion of a peace contract:

What use is the whole contractual agreement to us. Down with it. We want a peace treaty, we've had plenty of wars in our time and are exhausted. If the contractual agreement actually is concluded hopes for a peace, that is so important to us, may well be abandoned; they should do something for the cause of peace; they should conclude a peace treaty at last; we should demand a peace treaty; etc.

2 2 2 3

Work towards German's full sovereignty (without a contractual agreement):

Germany should try to get independence without the contract and without counter-demands; because this is premature, there is no guarantee as yet for the equality they promise us; to make sure that Germany is recognized as fully equal by all nations; etc.

2 2 1 1

Others:

First they hang our fellow-countrymen and then they do the same as we did. They are all just stinkers, I wouldn't move a finger for them; what should West Germany do, she has to rebuild her economy first; they should be just and see to it that the worker is able to live comfortably, then he won't bother about politics, everything else should be left to Mr. Adenauer. Everything is meant for the rich only, not for us; I'm not in the least interested in politics; etc.

5 4 5 1
5 5 7 7
27% 26% 29% 26%

No opinion/No answer:

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN ACCEPTANCE OF CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT ...

Support for Bundestag ratification of the contractual agreement rises to its maximum among the more alert and informed population segments - the men, the better schooled, and the better off. Not surprisingly, rejection sentiments are most widespread among respondents of SPD political persuasion. But even in this formally opposed group, it should be noted, not many more than a third expressing opinions in the matter take the position that the contract should be rejected - though not many less express indecision.

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement?" (Asked of all aware of the contractual agreement after told - "The Bundestag has yet to vote on the contractual agreement.")

	Recommend acceptance	Recommend rejection	No opinion	Not asked as unaware of agreement	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	46%	22%	21%	11%...100%	368
Women	21	15	22	42	418
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	31	17	22	30	662
Beyond elementary	44	25	20	11	122
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	29	18	21	32	461
300 - 399 DM	38	23	17	22	156
400 DM and more	43	17	25	15	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	30	23	22	25	184
30 - 39 years	38	18	18	26	141
40 - 49 years	27	21	25	27	201
50 years and over	35	14	20	31	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	30	31	25	14	179
CDU/CSU	47	7	18	28	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	63	7	18	12	40
Other parties	42	27	14	17	64
No party	27	21	22	30	201
Don't know	17	11	24	48	155
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	36	18	32	14	28
Businessmen	47	21	20	12	85
White-collar workers	43	23	18	16	75
Skilled laborers	27	28	23	22	195
Semi-skilled laborers	34	17	25	24	117
Farmers	28	6	24	42	103
Unemployed	28	22	25	25	32
Not employed; pensioners; students, retired; etc.	26	11	13	50	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	31	18	17	34	323
Protestant	35	18	24	23	430
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	31	19	23	27	629
Expellees, Refugees	38	19	16	27	155
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	30	26	24	20	275
No	34	15	20	31	508

HOW MUCH INDEPENDENCE GRANTED BY CONTRACT? ...

Evaluation of specifically the independence feature of the contractual agreement reveals the most frequent opinion to be that "somewhat" greater independence for West Germany will thereby be attained. Fifteen per cent see much to almost complete independence as a consequence; but an equal proportion (14%) maintain that Germany will have no more independence than before. Favorable evaluations, it will be noted below, are most prevalent among the opinion leading population elements - the better educated and the economically better situated.

"Do you think that West Germany will obtain by and large greater independence through the contractual agreement or not? Would it obtain somewhat greater or much greater independence or would it become almost completely independent?" (Asked of all indicating awareness of contractual agreement).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
No greater independence	14%	14%	13%	13%
Somewhat greater independence	26	29	25	21
Much greater independence	11	11	11	10
Almost complete independence	4	5	3	2
No opinion	18	17	21	11
	73%	76%	73%	57%

	No greater	Somewhat greater	Much greater or almost complete	No opinion	Not asked as unaware of agreement	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	19%	35%	21%	14%	11...100%	368
Women	9	18	9	22	42	418
Education:						
Elementary school	14	23	13	20	30	662
Beyond elementary	14	43	24	8	11	122
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	15	23	12	18	32	461
300 - 399 DM	11	34	19	14	22	156
400 DM and more	15	31	20	19	15	127
Age:						
Up to 29 years	18	31	12	14	25	184
30 - 39 years	13	33	13	15	26	141
40 - 49 years	13	23	15	21	28	201
50 years and over	11	23	16	19	31	258
Party Preferences:						
SPD	21	30	14	21	14	179
CDU/CSU	5	29	24	14	28	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	12	35	30	10	13	40
Other parties	22	30	17	14	17	64
No party	15	28	11	16	30	201
Don't know	8	14	6	24	48	155
Occupation:						
Professionals	18	43	7	18	14	28
Businessmen	12	40	21	15	12	85
White-collar workers	17	27	25	15	16	75
Skilled laborers	18	28	13	19	22	195
Semi-skilled laborers	14	27	15	20	24	117
Farmers	11	23	11	13	42	103
Unemployed	19	16	15	25	25	32
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	7	16	11	16	50	116
Religion:						
Catholics	12	24	15	15	34	323
Protestants	14	28	15	20	23	430
Origin:						
Natives	13	26	15	19	27	629
Expellees, Refugees	14	30	16	13	27	155
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	18	28	13	21	20	275
No	12	26	15	16	31	508

RESTRICTED

The small proportion who held that no greater independence than before will be obtained from the contractual agreement insist mainly that such a contract leaves unaltered the dependence of West Germany on the Western powers.

"Do you think that Western Germany will obtain by and large greater independence through the contractual agreement or not? (Would it obtain somewhat greater or much greater independence or would it become nearly completely independent?)"

IF "No greater independence":
"What makes you think so?"

West Germany	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
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Continuation of dependence on the Western powers:

In the end the English, the French and the Americans have the final say, the contract had to be accepted by us "as is"; the Americans want to govern us; the Americans will never let us have liberty of action; this is no turn for better, the matter is going to cost us dear and they will still have the final say, the Amis, I mean; we lost the war and the Amis will not listen to our reasoning, they go on just as they please; we have to dance to the Americans' piping; because we depend upon the foreign countries through that; Germany will never get rid of the occupation troops; we were promised greater independence, but the Americans will stay here and will manage things the same as before; the moment we have signed the contract we'll become completely dependent; because the English, above all, still do as they please; etc.

8%	8%	8%	6%
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Economic dependence:

Because I cannot see any economic changes taking place here; because Western Germany will continue to be dependent upon the Western powers, the Schumann-Plan proves it too; because in the end we are always dependent upon the Americans, mainly in regard to economic matters; etc.

2	2	2	-
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Germany's exploitation by the Allies, especially in military respect:

The Western powers take advantage of us, just as the Russians do; I assume that the present conditions will remain in existence, the only thing the Western powers want is to take advantage of Germany; because I don't trust the French and the Americans further than I can see them - they exploit Germany and merely want our soldiers since we used to be the best in the world; they'll never ask us anything, our soldiers are to be exploited abroad, i.e. in France, on an exchange basis, for a corresponding number of French - we are not asked about it anyway; armament industry is restricted, only 12 divisions are being set up which, if necessity arises, must fight in other theaters of operation; etc.

2	2	2	4
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Others:

Because of the speculative policy of the Jewish capital; we will always be the losers; on the basis of the general policy and the attitude of the Allies as shown here in Germany - the people here will definitely remain slaves, the Western powers are not interested in Germany's recovery; because the enemy is suppressing us, he does not want us to recover; the French will never agree to it, they remain our arch-enemy, they do not want us to get back on our feet; etc.

1	2	2	2
1	1	*	1
14%	15%	14%	13%

No opinion/No answer:

- * Less than one half of one per cent.
- Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DOES THE CONTRACT SQUARE WITH ANTICIPATIONS? ...

The returns disclose no unitary trend on the extent to which the now published contract exceeds or falls short of whatever anticipations West Germans had built up over the long period of negotiations.

"Considering all you have learned about the contractual agreement up till now: has West Germany got more out of the contractual agreement than you would have expected or less?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
More than expected	16%	17%	13%	15%
Less than expected	16	19	17	9
About as much as expected	16	16	16	14
No opinion	<u>25</u> 73%	<u>24</u> 76%	<u>27</u> 73%	<u>19</u> 57%

	More than expected	Less than expected	About as much as expected	No opinion	Not asked as unaware of contract	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	22%	20%	23%	24%	11...100%	368
Women	10	13	9	26	42	418
Education:						
Elementary school	16	15	14	25	30	662
Beyond elementary	17	25	23	24	11	122
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	12	15	15	26	32	461
300 - 399 DM	22	21	18	17	22	156
400 DM and more	20	17	16	32	15	127
Age:						
Up to 29 years	15	21	15	24	25	184
30 - 39 years	13	15	20	26	26	141
40 - 49 years	14	15	15	28	28	201
50 years and over	18	15	14	22	31	258
Party Preference:						
SPD	15	24	19	28	14	179
CDU/CSU	26	9	16	21	28	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	38	17	15	17	13	40
Other parties	16	28	16	23	17	64
No party	11	19	16	24	30	201
Don't know	6	7	12	27	48	155
Occupation:						
Professionals	7	39	18	22	14	28
Businessmen	14	21	19	34	12	85
White-collar workers	20	22	21	21	16	75
Skilled laborers	16	21	17	24	22	195
Semi-skilled laborers	18	14	20	24	24	117
Farmers	16	6	9	27	42	103
Unemployed	6	22	19	28	25	32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	17	7	9	17	50	116
Religion:						
Catholics	16	13	14	23	34	323
Protestants	16	19	16	26	23	430
Origin:						
Natives	15	15	17	26	27	629
Expellees, Refugees	17	22	12	22	27	155
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	16	21	18	25	20	275
No	15	14	15	25	31	508

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

WILL THE CONTRACT BE RATIFIED? ...

Whatever the positive or negative attitudes toward the contractual agreement, the solid majority expectation in West Germany appears to be that the contract will in fact be ratified by the Bundestag. This opinion is particularly widespread among the more educated and informed population segments.

"Apart from whether you are for or against the contractual agreement, what do you think is going to happen, will the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement?"**

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Accept it	67%	71%	64%	59%
Reject it	4	5	4	4
No opinion	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>32</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%
	Accept it	Reject it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	79%	6%	15%...100%	368
Women	57	3	40	418
Education:				
Elementary school	64	5	31	662
Beyond elementary	83	3	14	122
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	63	4	33	461
300 - 399 DM	77	6	17	156
400 DM and more	76	6	18	127
Age:				
Up to 29 years	73	5	22	184
30 - 39 years	72	3	25	141
40 - 49 years	61	7	32	201
50 years and over	64	3	33	258
Party Preference:				
SPD	75	8	17	179
CDU/CSU	65	3	32	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	93	-	7	40
Other parties	83	6	11	64
No party	69	3	28	201
Don't know	46	3	51	155
Occupation:				
Professionals	72	7	21	28
Businessmen	80	7	13	85
White-collar workers	77	3	20	75
Skilled laborers	71	6	23	195
Semi-skilled laborers	66	7	27	117
Farmers	58	1	41	103
Unemployed	69	3	28	32
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	55	1	44	116
Religion:				
Catholics	67	2	31	323
Protestants	67	6	27	430
Origin:				
Natives	65	5	30	629
Expellees, Refugees	76	4	20	155
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	72	6	22	275
No	65	4	31	508

** Question put to all respondents after those unaware of the contractual agreement were told the following: "The contractual agreement was signed on May 26th by Federal Chancellor Adenauer; through this contract West Germany obtains considerable independence and accepts at the same time the obligation to participate with divisions in a West European army. The Bundestag has yet to vote on the contractual agreement."

R E S T R I C T E D

III. SOME BACKGROUND INDICATIONS OF RECEPTIVITY TO AGREEMENT

NO DROP IN SATISFACTION WITH ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ...

Further more generalized queries in the present study contribute additional support to the indication that following initialing and publication of the contractual agreement West German reactions continue to be more favorable than unfavorable.

If the contractual agreement was a major source of dissatisfaction with the public, one would expect a falling off in the extent of West German satisfaction with the activities of the Federal government. As compared to September of last year, current findings reveal no evidence of such a drop, rather in fact indications are of a slight gain in overall satisfaction with the present government's handling of West German affairs.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Federal government in West Germany up till now? (Very satisfied or fairly satisfied?) (Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

WEST GERMANY

Sept 1951 June 1952

Very satisfied	5%	7%
Fairly satisfied	44	49
Dissatisfied	29	25
Very dissatisfied	8	5
No opinion	14	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

(June 1952)

	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very satisfied	9%	5%	6%
Fairly satisfied	52	47	49
Dissatisfied	23	27	23
Very dissatisfied	4	6	3
No opinion	12	15	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN SATISFACTION WITH GOVERNMENT TREND ...

Group breakdown of the trend in satisfaction with the activities of the Federal government reveal no important population group (for which the number of cases is enough to be reliable) manifesting any marked falling off in satisfaction. The SPD is no exception as in this group as with most others the trend appears to be, for whatever reasons, a slight increase since last September in satisfaction with the Federal government's activities.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Federal government in West Germany up to now?"

	<u>Satisfied</u>		<u>Dissatisfied</u>		<u>No opinion</u>		<u>No. cases</u>
	Sept 51	June 52	Sept 51	June 52	Sept 51	June 52	
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	50%	64%	44%	29%	6%	7...100%	368
Women	48	50	31	30	21	20	418
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	49	56	37	29	14	15	662
Beyond elementary	51	62	39	29	10	9	122
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	49	52	35	32	16	16	461
300 - 399 DM	45	61	45	32	10	7	156
400 DM and more	57	69	34	21	9	10	127
<u>Age:</u>							
18 - 24 years	51	50	34	30	15	20	104
25 - 34 years	59	54	37	36	4	10	157
35 - 44 years	48	56	36	33	16	11	179
45 - 54 years	44	59	45	23	11	18	163
55 years and over	56	61	31	24	13	15	181
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	44	53	49	38	7	9	179
CDU/CSU	78	74	13	14	9	12	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	48	75	44	23	8	2	40
Other parties	38	45	55	50	7	5	64
No party	33	53	49	34	18	13	201
Don't know	44	50	27	20	29	30	155
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	65	54	27	32	8	14	28
Businessmen	43	58	45	30	12	12	85
White-collar workers	56	76	31	19	13	5	75
Skilled laborers	45	57	46	32	9	11	195
Semi-skilled laborers	50	54	36	36	14	10	117
Farmers	48	55	28	23	24	22	103
Unemployed	-	47	-	41	-	12	32
Not employed; pensioners; students, retired; etc.	52	53	34	25	14	22	116
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	54	56	34	29	12	15	323
Protestants	45	58	39	28	16	14	430
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	49	56	37	29	14	15	629
Expellees, Refugees	48	62	40	29	12	9	155
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, member	45	57	51	33	4	10	275
No	50	57	34	27	16	16	508

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS ADVANCED BY DISSATISFIED MINORITY ...

Economic complaints far outdistance any other reason offered by those expressing dissatisfaction with the activities of the Federal government up to now. Only two per cent in West Germany explicitly mention the contractual agreement as a source of dissatisfaction, though an additional 5 per cent bring up objections to the projected German military.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Federal government in West Germany up till now?"

IF "Dissatisfied":

"What are you dissatisfied with?"

West Germany	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
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Economic difficulties:

Life is too expensive, unemployment, housing shortage, nobody cares for these problems, there is only talking and promising; as to the prices, it employs a completely wrong policy. Taxes are too high; the living costs and the taxes are too high, more should be done for the workers; the man in the street must pay the taxes, the rich ones can do what they like; we war-widows get so little money that we can hardly breathe, the refugees are supported so well that they can build new houses; that it reduced the pensions for the widows and orphans; the man in the street lost all his money but the government didn't recompense him for this loss; it doesn't care for the workers, the taxes are too high; the Federal Plant Constitution Law, it tries to cheat the workers; etc.

19%	18%	22%	10%
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A new German military:

Because I don't sympathize very much with the army; that a new army is to be raised that leads to another war; that soldiers are to be called up again, our men are still kept prisoners of war, why should we lend our men to another war?; that our government wants a new army; it wants to send our children into another war to die for our former enemies; that it wants to raise an army again, it must be paid with our money, and our sons have to be sacrificed again; etc.

5	4	6	6
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The contractual agreement:

It shouldn't have engaged itself so soon with the Western powers, the contractual agreement was concluded too early; they should have got more out of the contract, Adenauer ought to have accomplished more; Adenauer is linked too closely to the West, and that hinders a reunification of Germany; we shouldn't have signed the contract; with the contractual agreement; etc.

2	3	1	2
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Other problems:

It shouldn't forget that the Germans in the East-zone belong to us; the Federal machinery is too huge, administration absorbs too much money; its foreign policy; the parliament wasn't informed about the contract before it was signed, such a dictatorial method is to be rejected; the leading persons are too old; it should get our men from Russia; the government acts under the direction of the Military Government, it doesn't lend an ear to what the people has to say; the high ranking officials get too much money and too high a pension, others get nothing at all; etc.

6	6	6	10
*	*	-	-
32%	31%	35%	28%

No opinion/No answer:

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

NO DROP IN SUPPORT FOR GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

Just as with satisfaction with the activities of the Federal government, the trend of West German approval of the defense participation issue reveals no evidence of a drop in recent months, but rather a slight gain. Support for defense participation appears to have edged upwards to a point where it is now no less than and possibly somewhat in excess of opposition.**

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

WEST GERMANY

	Febr. 1952	May 1952	June 1952
Very much for it	16% } 43%	18% } 44%	18% } 47%
Somewhat for it	27	26	29
Very much against it	14 } 48	15 } 46	18 } 42
Somewhat against it	34	31	24
No opinion	9	10	11
	100%	100%	100%

(June 1952)	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very much for it	22%	14%	12%
Somewhat for it	32	26	29
Very much against it	20	17	15
Somewhat against it	17	32	24
No opinion	9	11	20
	100%	100%	100%

This direction of trend is contrary to what one would expect if the pivotal military participation element in the contractual agreement were sticking in the craw of the West German populace. The indication of increasing rather than decreasing support for defense participation also tends to add to the suggestion, it need hardly be pointed out, that the current Communist scare-campaign has many elements of a boomerang.

** One must say "possibly" here because the five per cent advantage for support over opposition in the current figures is not quite large enough to be completely beyond chance with the size of sample employed. It should be appreciated also at the present juncture, that the question employed to measure defense participation sentiment is a stringent one. Much higher levels of support are obtainable if question wordings give some assurance of German equality in any defense setup. See in this connection Report # 130, dated March 31, 1952, entitled "West German Public Opinion on Defense Participation Following the Formal Bundestag Debate, II. Current Support and Resistance - And Some Factors Related Thereto."

R E S T R I C T E D
GROUP VARIATIONS IN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION TREND ...

The most interesting indication emerging from a population group breakdown of the defense participation trend, is that despite the increase in approval in the overall since February, among the crucial 18 to 24 year olds the extent of support has fallen off. The number of cases in this group is too small for any firm conclusion in the matter on the basis of the present findings, but more detailed study is obviously indicated. As has been consistently the case since the beginning, support for German defense participation is most widespread among the opinion leading elements of the public.

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

	<u>For it</u>		<u>Against it</u>		<u>No opinion</u>		<u>No. of cases</u>
	Feb. 52	June 52	Feb. 52	June 52	Feb. 52	June 52	
Sex:							
Men	51%	58%	47%	38%	2%	4...100%	368
Women	36	37	49	46	15	17	418
Education:							
Elementary school	40	45	51	43	9	12	662
Beyond elementary	57	56	33	38	10	6	122
Income (per month):							
0 - 299 DM	41	45	48	43	11	12	461
300 - 399 DM	47	52	48	42	5	6	156
400 DM and more	49	55	47	38	4	7	127
Age:							
18 - 24 years	41	32	49	54	10	14	104
25 - 34 years	36	46	58	47	6	7	157
35 - 44 years	41	42	53	48	6	10	179
45 - 54 years	40	54	52	38	8	8	163
55 years and over	53	56	32	27	15	17	181
Party Preference:							
SPD	37	40	60	56	3	4	179
CDU/CSU	65	65	30	26	5	9	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	73	28	25	2	2	40
Other parties	50	57	48	37	2	6	64
No party	35	44	58	44	7	12	201
Don't know	27	32	45	44	28	24	155
Occupation:							
Professionals	50	53	45	40	5	7	28
Businessmen	53	57	38	36	9	7	85
White-collar workers	51	51	40	40	9	9	75
Skilled laborers	33	40	63	53	4	7	195
Semi-skilled laborers	38	51	57	43	5	6	117
Farmers	30	42	54	37	16	21	103
Unemployed	47	59	42	38	11	3	32
Not employed: pensioners; students, retired; etc.	53	49	36	32	11	19	116
Religion:							
Catholics	46	48	45	40	9	12	323
Protestants	41	46	49	43	10	11	430
Origin:							
Natives	41	47	50	42	9	11	629
Expellees, Refugees	49	49	42	39	9	12	155
Trade Union Membership:							
Yes, member	40	44	58	50	2	6	275
No	44	49	46	37	10	14	508

R E S T R I C T E D

THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT AND GERMAN UNITY ...

A final consideration that obviously plays a crucial background role in influencing evaluations of the contractual agreement, is its relationship to the attainment of German unity. Returns to an initial question appear to bear out the suppositions of many in indicating twice as many West Germans feeling that the contract reduces as feeling that it enhances chances for West German unity. But follow-up inquiries, it will be noted below, considerably moderate the adverseness of the picture. Firstly among those who see unity delayed by the contract, more than hold the contrary believe the delay to be temporary in nature rather than permanent. Secondly, and more importantly, a third of those who see unity delayed by the contract indicate that notwithstanding, Adenauer was right in concluding the agreement. This matches the proportion who took the contrary view, with the rest expressing no opinion.

These last figures are of real significance since they demonstrate that those West Germans who see impediments to unity in the present Western policy for Germany are not all automatically opposed. More than a few have apparently come to realize that policies must be judged in the net, and that unity is not the sole consideration in evaluating the desirability or undesirability of a particular course of action.

"Do you think that the conclusion of the contractual agreement improves or reduces the chances for a reunification of Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Improves chances	18%	20%	16%	16%
Reduces chances	40	41	41	38
Makes no difference	13	12	14	11
No opinion	29	27	29	35
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Reduces chances":

"Would a reunification of Germany thereby be made more difficult to achieve just temporarily or for good?"

Made more difficult to achieve temporarily	20%	21%	17%	20%
Made more difficult to achieve for good	14	15	15	12
No opinion	<u>6</u> 40%	<u>5</u> 41%	<u>9</u> 41%	<u>6</u> 38%

IF "Reduces chances":

"In spite of this, do you consider the conclusion of the contractual agreement by Federal Chancellor Adenauer to be right or not right?"

Right in spite of difficulties	15%	17%	12%	14%
Not right	14	13	18	11
No opinion	<u>11</u> 40%	<u>11</u> 41%	<u>11</u> 41%	<u>13</u> 38%

R E S T R I C T E D
GROUP DIFFERENCES ON UNITY ANGLE ...

The three group breakdowns following indicate that though opinion leading sectors of the population - the men, the better schooled and the better off - tend more often than their counterparts to see delay to unity in the contractual agreement, they also tend more frequently to judge the delay to be only temporary and to argue that nevertheless, Adenauer was right in concluding the agreement.

"Do you think that the conclusion of the contractual agreement improves or reduces the chances for a reunification of Germany?"

	Improves chances	Reduces chances	Makes no difference	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	19%	49%	17%	15...100%	368
Women	17	32	9	42	418
Education:					
Elementary school	18	38	13	31	662
Beyond elementary	20	53	11	16	122
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	17	36	12	35	461
300 - 399 DM	24	47	12	17	156
400 DM and more	18	50	14	18	127
Age:					
Up to 29 years	18	49	12	21	184
30 - 39 years	15	42	13	30	141
40 - 49 years	17	40	12	31	201
50 years and over	21	33	13	33	258
Party Preference:					
SPD	16	51	12	21	179
CDU/CSU	28	33	16	23	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	32	43	10	15	40
Other parties	23	47	16	14	64
No party	15	42	13	30	201
Don't know	10	29	8	53	155
Occupation:					
Professionals	21	57	4	18	28
Businessmen	19	48	13	20	85
White-collar workers	15	49	16	20	75
Skilled laborers	19	48	10	23	195
Semi-skilled laborers	22	40	9	29	117
Farmers	13	25	21	41	103
Unemployed	22	31	16	31	32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	19	28	12	41	116
Religion:					
Catholics	20	37	12	31	323
Protestants	17	41	13	29	430
Origin:					
Natives	17	40	13	30	629
Expellees, Refugees	24	41	10	25	155
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	18	49	11	22	275
No	18	36	13	33	508

R E S T R I C T E D

IF "Contractual agreement reduces chances for unity":

"Would a reunification of Germany thereby be made more difficult to achieve just temporarily or for good?"

	Made more difficult to achieve temporarily	Made more difficult to achieve for good	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	26%	18%	5%	51...100%	368
Women	14	11	7	68	418
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	18	14	6	62	662
Beyond elementary	28	19	7	46	122
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	16	13	7	64	461
300 - 399 DM	24	17	6	53	156
400 DM and more	28	15	7	50	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	23	20	6	51	184
30 - 39 years	20	16	6	58	141
40 - 49 years	18	13	8	61	201
50 years and over	18	10	5	67	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	21	22	8	49	179
CDU/CSU	22	5	6	67	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	30	10	3	57	40
Other parties	22	19	6	53	64
No party	20	16	5	59	201
Don't know	12	10	7	71	155
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	35	18	4	43	28
Businessmen	18	21	9	52	85
White-collar workers	28	17	4	51	75
Skilled laborers	23	18	6	53	195
Semi-skilled laborers	21	12	6	61	117
Farmers	14	6	5	75	103
Unemployed	16	12	3	69	32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	9	10	9	72	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	19	12	6	63	323
Protestants	19	15	7	59	430
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	20	14	6	60	629
Expellees, Refugees	19	15	7	59	155
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	24	19	6	51	275
No	18	11	7	64	508

R E S T R I C T E D

IF "Contractual agreement reduces chances for unity":

"In spite of this, do you consider the conclusion of the contractual agreement by Federal Chancellor Adenauer to be right or not right?"

	Right in spite of difficulties	Not right	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	22%	16%	11%	51...100%	368
Women	9	13	10	68	418
Education:					
Elementary school	13	14	11	62	662
Beyond elementary	24	16	13	47	122
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	13	13	10	64	461
300 - 399 DM	19	19	8	54	156
400 DM and more	19	14	17	50	127
Age:					
Up to 29 years	18	21	11	50	184
30 - 39 years	15	14	13	58	141
40 - 49 years	14	13	12	61	201
50 years and over	12	12	9	67	258
Party Preference:					
SPD	16	22	14	48	179
CDU/CSU	21	3	9	67	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	23	12	8	57	40
Other parties	16	19	12	53	64
No party	14	18	10	58	201
Don't know	7	10	11	72	155
Occupation:					
Professionals	25	25	7	43	28
Businessmen	19	16	13	52	85
White-collar workers	23	16	11	50	75
Skilled laborers	15	21	12	52	195
Semi-skilled laborers	14	13	12	61	117
Farmers	9	8	9	74	103
Unemployed	16	12	3	69	32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	9	9	11	71	116
Religion:					
Catholics	13	14	10	63	323
Protestants	16	14	11	59	430
Origin:					
Natives	15	14	11	60	629
Expellees, Refugees	16	14	11	59	155
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	17	21	11	51	275
No	14	11	11	64	508

LARGE MAJORITY FAVORS CONFERENCE ...

Whatever may be the pattern of German attitudes on the contractual agreement, there is no question but that the large majority favors the holding of an East-West four power conference on German problems. In a population group, even among those from whom Chancellor Adenauer characteristically draws his greatest support, does the proportion who express themselves as against such a conference reliably exceed one in ten.

"Would you favor it or not if the Western Powers and Russia would join in a four power conference on Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Favor it	75%	77%	76%	71%
Do not favor it	8	6	10	6
No opinion	17	17	14	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Favor it	Do not favor it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	83%	10%	7%...100%	368
Women	70	5	25	418
Education:				
Elementary school	75	7	18	662
Beyond elementary	83	10	7	122
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	75	8	17	461
300 - 399 DM	83	6	11	156
400 DM and more	79	9	12	127
Age:				
Up to 29 years	80	6	14	184
30 - 39 years	77	8	15	141
40 - 49 years	73	8	19	201
50 years and over	74	8	18	258
Party Preferences:				
SPD	86	8	6	179
CDU/CSU	73	10	17	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	85	2	13	40
Other parties	82	12	6	64
No party	77	7	16	201
Don't know	59	5	36	155
Occupation:				
Professionals	85	4	11	28
Businessmen	74	14	12	85
White-collar workers	84	7	9	75
Skilled laborers	82	6	12	195
Semi-skilled laborers	81	5	14	117
Farmers	58	12	30	103
Unemployed	84	3	13	32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	69	7	24	116
Religion:				
Catholics	71	10	19	323
Protestants	78	6	16	430
Origin:				
Natives	75	8	17	629
Expellees, Refugees	80	8	12	155
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	84	6	10	275
No	71	9	20	508

RESTRICTED

BUT ONLY A MINORITY BELIEVES FAVORABLE RESULTS ARE LIKELY ...

Though three quarters of the West German population favor an East-West four power conference on Germany, only a third appears to consider it at all likely to result in advantages for West Germany. Particularly do the more educated and informed population elements believe that resultant advantages are improbable.

"Supposing in the near future a four power conference on Germany would take place, do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for West Germany will result from it?" (Asked of all who did not express disapproval of a four power conference.)

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	
Advantages likely	33%		36%	32%	25%	
Advantages unlikely	34		35	31	39	
No opinion	25		23	27	30	
	92%		94%	90%	94%	
	Likely	Unlikely	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:	
Sex:						
Men	38%	38%	14%	10%	100%	368
Women	29	30	36	5		418
Education:						
Elementary school	34	31	28	7		662
Beyond elementary	27	51	13	9		122
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	35	28	29	8		461
300 - 399 DM	37	41	17	5		156
400 DM and more	28	44	19	9		127
Age:						
Up to 29 years	30	39	24	7		184
30 - 39 years	32	38	22	8		141
40 - 49 years	34	37	21	8		201
50 years and over	34	26	32	8		258
Party Preference:						
SPD	36	40	17	7		179
CDU/CSU	39	29	22	10		147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	25	65	7	3		40
Other parties	41	28	17	14		64
No party	34	32	28	6		201
Don't know	22	28	44	6		155
Occupation:						
Professionals	25	53	18	4		28
Businessmen	35	33	19	13		85
White-collar workers	29	51	13	7		75
Skilled laborers	37	36	21	6		195
Semi-skilled laborers	38	32	26	4		117
Farmers	27	25	35	13		103
Unemployed	38	34	25	3		32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	30	22	41	7		116
Religion:						
Catholics	34	30	26	10		323
Protestants	33	35	26	6		430
Origin:						
Natives	33	32	27	8		629
Expellees, Refugees	36	39	18	7		155
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	40	37	18	5		275
No	29	32	30	9		508

R E S T R I C T E D

The most frequent point brought up by those who favor a four power conference despite any real hope as to resultant advantages, is that no stone should be left unturned in seeking agreement between East and West.

"Why would you favor it then if such a four power conference would take place?" (Asked of all who indicated favor of a four power conference but indicated that resultant advantages were improbable.

WEST Br. US. French
GERMANY Z. Z. Z.

One should not leave any stone unturned in order to reach an agreement between East and West:

A rapprochement might be expected at any rate, and this might become a basis for further negotiations; everything possible must be done; if they don't meet, they will always oppose each other, they should meet and negotiate; because one must take advantage of the last chance for negotiations, it always means a small step forward; because negotiations are always useful; try everything by using friendly approach; one never loses hope that something might come out of it; because, in spite of all, one should try to make some headway by peaceful methods; one must make an attempt; one should not leave any stone unturned; so that current questions will be discussed again; they might come to an agreement; they might, eventually, reach an agreement; etc.

17% 18% 13% 20%

In order to prevent war:

Because they could settle everything at the conference table instead on the battle field; they might agree on several issues, and that would diminish the danger of war; because, at least, the differences between the occupation powers might be settled, so that a war can be avoided; we always have to offer them a chance for peace, we must demonstrate to the Russians again and again that we don't want war; etc.

5 3 7 4

The West must demonstrate its willingness for negotiating it, thereby, forces the Russians to put their cards on the table:

I presume that the Russians then would turn to all directions, and it would become clear that it is Russia who is against unification in a democratic spirit; in order to force the Russians to show their colors; in order to corner the Russians at last; one must try it, the Russians shouldn't be able to say that we have shut the door; in order to convince the people that it is impossible to negotiate with the Russians; etc.

3 4 2 5

In order to bring about reunification of Germany:

As a step on the way to reunification; because we must try everything to reunite Germany; so that Germany gets reunited, without a border parting East and West Germany; etc.

3 3 3 1

In order to get to know the real intentions of both parties:

One can form an opinion if one knows the exact intentions of both parties; there might still be a chance, but I doubt it; if they come to an agreement, nothing good will come out of it for us; etc.

1 1 2

Others:

That is a tricky affair, I don't expect anything from a conference, for the moment, one may only look to Korea where negotiations are held without any success; we actually don't know whether we are Americans or Germans at the moment; etc.

3 3 3 5

No opinion/No answer:

32% 32% 30% 37%

* Less than half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

A FURTHER ASSESSMENT OF GERMAN REACTIONS
TO THE SOVIET WAR OF NERVES

Report No. 145
Series No. 2

July 10, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRIA
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

HIGHLIGHTS

THE SOVIET WAR OF NERVES CONTINUES TO BE TAKEN IN STRIDE BY THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE ... judging by results of the most recent survey on the issue completed in mid-June by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. This tends to confirm the earlier indication that the net effect thus far of the Communist pressure campaign is to stiffen the backs of the German rank and file.

ONLY A FIFTH SAY THEY ARE QUITE DISTURBED BY RECENT COMMUNIST-INSPIRED EVENTS ... though Russian efforts to create alarm and tension have raised some perturbations among the public generally.

A RUSSIAN ATTACK ON WEST GERMANY IS NOT VERY LIKELY IN THE NEAR FUTURE ... in the opinion of a preponderance of the respondents. But a majority see increased trouble ahead for Berlin, almost a third forecasting another blockade.

THE ONLY ANSWER TO THE RUSSIAN THREATS IS A POLICY OF FIRMNESS ... according to the preponderance. The tenor of the comments throughout the study is that a show of strength and firmness is the only way to impress the Russians and make them yield.

SPECIFICALLY ... if the Russians continue to try to block German integration with the West, half propose severe counter-measures; a quarter suggest more moderate counter-efforts. A small fraction (8%) say nothing should be done.

SUGGESTIONS ON WHAT TO DO IN THE EVENT OF ANOTHER BERLIN BLOCKADE ... are even more revealing of West German reactions to the Communist war of nerves. Though measures taken in 1948-49 successfully broke that blockade, half want the West to use more forceful measures in the next blockade, should it occur. A fifth believe the previous successful measures would again prove adequate. Only a few (8%) advise giving up Berlin.

Results in the present study are based upon a survey of all of West Germany, conducted between June 3rd and June 12th, 1952, utilizing a probability sample of 800 cases. As usual, interviews were gathered under German auspices (thus eliminating any dangers of American sponsorship bias) by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

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R E S T R I C T E D

I. GENERAL REACTIONS TO COMMUNIST PRESSURE CAMPAIGN

SOME PERTURBATIONS OVER SOVIET PRESSURE CAMPAIGN ...

The Soviet scare campaign tactics have not entirely failed to perturb the West German public. But so far the Communist efforts to create tension apparently have really disturbed only a small minority of the West German people.

When initially asked whether they have been disturbed by any recent events, less than half (45%) in West Germany reply affirmatively, most of whom spontaneously cite Communist inspired tensions or developments. An additional fraction (13%) apparently not sufficiently alarmed at the Communist maneuvers to think of them until reminded, mention one or more in response to a direct probe. Their replies to the initial question and the probe are presented below.

"Have there been any events lately which have disturbed you?"

"And were there any incidents caused by the Communists, the East Zone government or the Russians which have disturbed you? Which incidents?" (Asked of all who did not mention Communist incidents in initial question.)

Response to	Response	Total
first question	to probe	

Border incidents:

Closing of borders; there are said to be shootings at the border and traffic is being stopped; evacuation of districts bordering on the Eastern Zone; yes, the border incidents, that many people lost their homes; obstruction of traffic by Communists, they are closing the borders; road blocks, dismantling of rails, closing of border at times; that the Russians seal off all highways leading to the East Zone; the 5-kilometer belt along the East Zone (border); trenches at zonal borders; the evacuation of some villages located near the zonal border through People's Police; etc.

15%	8%	23%
-----	----	-----

Incidents in Berlin (blockade, riots, demonstrations):

That the Russians cut off West Berlin; shutting off Berlin districts; cutting off of telephone communications between East and West Berlin; provocations in Berlin; borders in Berlin area are being closed; that whole Berlin business, the cutting off of the broadcasting station; yes, Berlin, closing of sector borders; sealing off of Berlin, taking over a Berlin suburb; the brawls and trouble making in Berlin; they cut off all borders in Berlin, so that Berliners are in a trap; the shootings in Berlin; the goings-on in Berlin; the riots in Berlin; etc.

13	8	21
----	---	----

Plane incident and Essen incident:

.. French plane was fired on, there were riots in the Ruhr area; they fired on a plane; the Russians attacked a plane; incidents in Essen; the Sunday of blood-shed in Essen; it was rumored and reported that Germans fired on fellow-Germans; Communist inspired demonstrations in Essen; demonstrations in the Rhineland; Communist inspired incidents in the Ruhr area; the riot in Essen; they fired on and killed a person; etc.

4	5	9
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(cont'd on next page)

Response to Response
first question to probe

Total

Communist activities in general:

That members of the People's Police fired on American soldiers; there was a strike; the People's Police are again kidnapping people; the FDJ riots in Western Germany; strikes and demonstrations; the infiltration of young Communists into Western Germany, whose job is to instigate riots; Russian propaganda; Communist inspired riots and demonstrations; etc.

4%

3%

7%

Remilitarization in the East Zone:

Arming the East; the warning of Mr. Grotewohl that an army would be raised in the East Zone if the contractual agreement would be signed; it was announced that the People's Police would be strengthened and that an army would be raised; etc.

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Defense contribution (remilitarization, rearmament, debate on defense contribution):

The debate on the defense contribution; only that the defense pact might lead to friction with the Russians; people again talk such much about an army; the defense contribution caused us a lot of alarm. the situation in regard to an army; they want to raise an army again; that they may sanction the defense contribution; that business with an army; military problems; by military service which has been re-introduced, as you may know; the raising of a European army; etc.

5

-

5

Contractual agreement - German contract; etc.:

The contractual agreement; the contractual agreement disturbed me quite a lot; signing of the contractual agreement; that they put their signatures under the contractual agreement; etc.

4

-

4

Fear of war - in connection with Korea, Indo-China, etc., too:

I hope there won't be another war; the constant danger of another war; the war in Korea; the Korean war and its meaning for Germany; that the war in Korea is still on and the riot in Koje (island); that there might be another war; one learns time and again that there is disagreement and is afraid of another war; etc.

3

-

3

Other events not caused by Communists (Russians):

That would just be church affairs; the experiments with A-bombs; the increasing gravity of the political situation; I heard that the Yanks again put blasting charges into bridges; crash of a jet fighter near our place; rising prices; the plant constitution bill, through which the rights of the employees are curtailed; the fluctuating prices; reduced working hours and possible dismissals; plant constitution law; strikes; that food prices are too high; the aggressive attitude the French are showing in the Saar; the many planes that cruise around these days; my pension may be reduced; the trade union inspired riots in Nuremberg and Munich; that business with the plant constitution law, we were called on to strike; etc.

11

1

12

No; none; not disturbed:

56

116%**

43

126%**

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

*Less than one half of one per cent.

BUT RELATIVELY FEW GREATLY DISTURBED

While more than half can, with more or less assistance, think of disturbing manifestations of Soviet activities - reference to the contractals and the army probably also, should be considered as a score for the Communists - only a fifth say they find these developments quite perturbing.

"Are you somewhat disturbed or quite disturbed by this (these) event(s)?" (Asked of those who mentioned events to previous questions.)

WEST GERMANY

Quite disturbed	20%
Somewhat disturbed	29
No opinion	8
	<u>57%</u>

: PREPONDERANCE CONTINUES TO RECOMMEND SEVERE COUNTER-MEASURES ...

Communist pressure has also failed to frighten the preponderance of West Germans into a submissive frame of mind. Half advocate severe counter-measures if the Russians continue to threaten German efforts to integrate with the West; additionally, another fifth recommend some kind of counter-stroke. In contrast, less than one in ten opposes retaliation of any kind. Nor are advocates of a firm course easily swayed by events as may be seen in the trend of replies. Though since early May, Soviet action especially in regard to border regions has stepped up, West German opinions on the advisability of strong counter-moves have not budged at all.

"Lately there have been Communist demonstrations in Essen and other incidents in Western Germany and West Berlin instigated by the Communists by which the Communists protested against the contractual agreement and our participation in a West European army.

"Supposing incidents instigated by the Communists would occur more and more frequently in West Germany, should one take counter-measures or not? (Severe measures or not so severe measures?)"

	<u>May 1952</u>	<u>June 1952</u>
Severe measures	51%	50%
Not so severe measures	21	25
No measures	8	7
No opinion	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>
	100%	100%

R E S T R I C T E D

PREPONDERANCE DISCOUNTS POSSIBILITY OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION ...

Further evidence that the Soviet tension tactics, porturbing as they may be, have failed to cause widespread anxiety is apparent in other trend developments. The likelihood of an imminent Russian attack on West Germany now, as throughout 1952, is largely discounted by the preponderance of the West German people. However, as many as three in ten think there is a good chance that the Communists might soon take such an action.

It will be noted that in June 1951 relatively more West Germans feared Russia might attack soon, though Soviet pressure at that time was probably not as concentrated as the current campaign. (In 1951, Communist efforts centered around the "peace plebescite" and general drum-beating of FDJ groups preliminary to the world youth rally in Berlin.) The relative decline in expressed anxiety may mean that West Germans are becoming inured to the Russian scare tactics, and regard each successive effort merely as another cry of "Wolf-Wolf."

"In your opinion, is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or great?) (Very small or small?)"

	<u>June 1951</u>	<u>Febr. 1952</u>	<u>May 1952</u>	<u>June 1952</u>
Very great	14%	7%	5%	7%
Great	22	22	24	23
Small	34	43	42	38
Very small	11	13	14	12
No opinion	19	15	15	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

II. REACTIONS TO THE BERLIN SITUATION

TROUBLE AHEAD FOR BERLIN IS SEEN BY MANY WEST GERMANS ...

A second Berlin blockade is anticipated by three in ten West Germans. In addition, another 17 per cent foresee other serious difficulties ahead for the Berlin people. The preponderance (54%), however, forecasts no great trouble for Berlin.

"Do you expect any (further) serious difficulties for Berlin in the future? (What sort of difficulties?)"

WEST GERMANY

Yes	46%
No	<u>54</u>
	100%

Blockade:

That the air-lift will have to be started again because of the blockade imposed on Berlin; Berlin will be completely cut off; the Russians will try in the future to disturb the population of Berlin by blockades and coal calamities; another blockade could be possible; the approaches to Berlin will be locked again; stricter enforcement of blockade; etc.

29%

Others:

War will start in Berlin if serious incidents continue to occur; demonstrations; Cold War; the Russians will make even more reprisals; tensions between the big powers; the Russians will employ stronger measures; Russia will use stricter measures against the German population; that the Russians will take everything; there will be one disturbance after the other; occupation of Berlin by People's Police and Russians; etc.

9

No opinion:

8
<u>46%</u>

Most of the people who forecast trouble for Berlin base their predictions on the fact that the Russians or the Communists are already making difficulties and can be expected to continue on the same course. Only a small fraction (5%) appear to connect Berlin's difficulties with Soviet retaliation for the signing of the contractual.

"What makes you think so?" (Asked of all who answered "Yes" to previous question.)

WEST GERMANY

Recent incidents and general attitude of the Russians:

I gather it from recent incidents; the last incidents showed that; recent events and disturbances proved it; you can observe that in everything they did up to now; I assume that on the grounds of the latest incidents; because the present measures of the Russians reveal that; they already started, didn't they?; up to now the Russians have given us every reason to expect that; there is no telling what the Russians might do, they make their decisions over night, events of the past few weeks proved that; by the overall attitude of the Russians, - the Eastern Zone will not only stand by and watch; it is in the air that the Russians want a war, otherwise they would not act so aggressively; because they make so much trouble for the Eastern Zone people; etc.

13%

Incidents in Berlin, danger of occupation of the whole of Berlin:

I think that shows the shutting off of the East Sector of Berlin; restricting the economy, closing the sector borders; because they already go about closing borders, but it won't be so easy for the Russians as it was last time since we have some help from the West now; because the Russians made the inhabitants of the British Sector leave same; the overall picture in Berlin; because traffic to Berlin is being hindered and Berlin is cut off from the Eastern Zone; before long the Russians will take all of Berlin by force; because they will isolate Berlin more and more, they won't let people come over any longer; the Russians want to make the Americans mad by their behavior in Berlin; the Russians block off Berlin, I just happened to hear that from some Berliners; etc.

8

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST GERMANY

Incidents at the zonal border:

Because the Russians close the zonal borders; the borders will be shut down very tightly so there is no connection any more with the East; the border has been closed already, maybe within a week there will be further measures - drivers refuse to drive there already; in most cases the Russians have carried out their threats and they already started with making trouble at the border; as I already said, the Russians won't let anybody cross the zonal border; because there are continuous incidents along the border and sudden blockings; the Russians build defenses along the border and hinder traffic into the Eastern Zone again; by making trouble for people all the time and closing the borders and the like; because the Russians closed the border; because of the defense belt along the border which they arrange at present - that is a start already; because the Russians build strong defenses; etc.

7%

Conclusion of the contractual agreement:

Because of the contractual agreement; that is in connection with the contractual agreement - the Russians feel cheated by this agreement and therefore they are opposed to it; because of the contractual agreement - Berlin is a thorn in the side of the Russians; because the Russians do not like the contractual agreement; daily you can hear about new incidents - the Russians want to intimidate us till the contractual agreement has been ratified; by the conclusion of the contractual agreement; well, the newspapers reported that by the conclusion of the contractual agreement the tension has been increased; etc.

5

Newspaper and radio reports and hearsay:

I only know from radio and newspaper reports; by the newspaper reports; by the reports which I heard lately; because I heard so much about that subject again lately; etc.

5

Tension and disunion among the Eastern and Western Allies:

Because the Russians and the Americans never will agree with each other; the Russians do not give in, and the Western occupation powers put up with everything the Russians do in Berlin; they do not come to an agreement, the Russians want to dominate; none of them will give in; etc.

2

Retaliation in the East as a counter-measure against remilitarization in the West:

That we are to get an army again will make the Russians sore; because we will have soldiers again; the Russians always want to create trouble, especially when they hear of a West German army; because the East also raises an army; war agitation of the Russians - they draft young people, but those boys do not want to join their army; etc.

1

Others:

That is the force of habit; because they expelled the people; I think it won't come to the worst, i.e. war, armed raids, at the most; because they blocked up the radio station; see recent events in Essen; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

3

2

46%

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

FIRMNESS ON THE PART OF THE WEST IS RECOMMENDED ...

Suggestions as to how the West should meet another Berlin blockade probably give the clearest indication obtained in this study that the current Russian scare campaign has so far failed to impress many Germans. Only a fifth recommend that the same measures used so successfully to break the 1948-49 blockade should be used again. This would be an easy suggestion for West Germans to make, if they were somewhat hesitant about the danger of the Russian threat. (Only a handful (8%) suggest buckling under another blockade.) By far the most popular proposal, made by half in West Germany, is that the West adopt a more unyielding and firmer course of action than in 1948-49. Further indication of their lack of anxiety over the Russian threats is that their reasons for urging a policy of firmness are largely that force is the only answer that will impress the Russians and put an end to their threats.

"Supposing the Russians would impose a new blockade of Berlin, should the Western powers then show a firmer and more unyielding attitude than the last time or should they be more yielding?"

WEST GERMANY

Firmer and more unyielding attitude	47%
Same as last time	22
More yielding attitude	8
No opinion	23
	100%

"Why should one be firmer and more unyielding?"

WEST GERMANY

The Russians understand nothing but power, they understand yielding as weakness:

That is the character of the Russians; they give in if the enemy is strong and doesn't show any weakness; in order to show fight to the Russians - first of all, we mustn't be scared, that would be a proof of weakness; you are doomed if you give in to the Russians - you can't cope with the Russians if you are weak, you must show them a bold front; the West should show fight to Ivan, he won't dare to attack then; because there is no other way to impress the Russians - the Russians will become more and more cheeky if one doesn't oppose them firmly; there is no other possibility to attain the end - rudeness must be met by rudeness; otherwise the Russians will play hide-and-seek with the Western powers; in order to show the Russians that they can't do whatever they like without being punished; etc.

35%

Otherwise they would grab Berlin and all of Germany:

Otherwise the Russians might attempt to get the whole of Berlin; otherwise Berlin will become entirely Russian, they needn't put up with everything the Russians do; if they go back just one step in Berlin, the Russians will get the better of them; in case they give way, they will lose their influence on Berlin, and that means surrender to Communism; because the Russians would then take the appropriate measures, they are waiting for the moment when the Western powers will leave Berlin; in order to prevent the Russians from coming to us (West Zone); in order to throw the Russians out of Germany; otherwise the Russians will overrun us; if Communism prevails, nothing will be left; because we don't want Communism; otherwise they will advance more and more; etc.

5

(cont'd on next page)

- 6 -

R E S T R I C T E D

They must come to a decision on Berlin:

Berlin must not be left in the lurch; this island (Berlin) must be defended; in order to support the Berlin people; because the contractual agreement grants us more help, they should make good their promises; because a blockade only means more expenses for us, we have to bear the costs; etc.

3%

Others:

In order to prevent more disturbances; otherwise it might result in severe conflicts, but Germany wants a genuine peace now, and security against war and destruction; etc.

3

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{46\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IF ANOTHER AIRLIFT IS UNFEASIBLE, SOME WOULD START A FIGHTING WAR ...

Although the West Germans want the West to meet a challenge of another blockade with firmness, many of them are hard put to make any recommendations as to what course the West should follow if another airlift should prove unfeasible. Among those with positive suggestions, by far the largest share (18%) propose the use of force to break the blockade even at the risk of war. But half can offer no suggestions at all, and others say variously that nothing can then be done (7%), or nothing which might lead to another war should be done (4%). A small group (3%) suggest yielding Berlin.

"Supposing Berlin is blockaded and for some reasons no airlift could be established, what measures should then be taken?"

WEST GERMANY

Use force, even start a war, to remove blockade:

To open the route to Berlin by force; keep open the land routes by force and with all means, use fighter planes to protect airlift; then we have to use force; to force open a route by land or via waterways; to remove blockade by force - carried out by the armies of the Western Allies; then we should start fighting; the whole of Russia should be destroyed by an A-bomb, then there would be peace at last; to chase the Russians out of Berlin; we can't give in, therefore we must fight to open a corridor to Berlin by force; then we have to use force in order to prevent women and children living there from starving and to protect them; then we have to use force as this situation would be considered in the same light as an attack on Germany; etc.

18%

Negotiate in a spirit of cooperation:

To negotiate; try friendly approach; negotiate before Berlin is doomed; they should negotiate in order to arrange things, all parties should make some concessions, we only want peace; to negotiate, we can't leave them in the lurch; negotiate in a friendly spirit; conduct negotiations - if these fail it might be an idea to protect the necessary traffic by armed forces; etc.

8

Show a firmer attitude - use diplomatic channels:

If we are firm enough, the Russians might give in, positively no war; diplomats should succeed in meeting Stalin above all, to fly to Moscow, as Mr. Churchill already suggested; it's no use to employ force, we could submit the issue to the United Nations; employ diplomatic pressure; bring a charge against the Soviets before the UN; etc.

4

(cont'd on next page)

Under no circumstances take measures leading to war:

None which might lead to another war; I told you already, everything but another war - any other course the government is welcome to take, I don't care; they shouldn't start another war on account of the city, though Berliners would be worth fighting for; whatever is best for us, we don't want another war, however, Germany should not perish; etc.

4%

Impose counter-blockade:

Blockade measures taken by the nations of the free world against Russia and her satellites; take the same measures as the Russians do; if we'd break off trade relations this would mean a loss to Russia; if things come to a head we should use force; stop all trade, even prohibit transportation of goods through this country, to the East and to the satellite countries; sever all connections with Russia and the nations belonging to the Eastern bloc; economic counter-measures; we should use reprisals in return; etc.

3

Give up Berlin - evacuate city:

Berlin should be given up; rather give up Berlin than start another war; I would prefer to see Berlin integrated into the Eastern Zone; if the choice would be: either give up Berlin or have another war, then I would be in favor of giving up Berlin; we know what it is all about, either we give up Berlin or that business will start again; I hate war, that means more or less we'd have to give up Berlin; in that case Berlin should be turned over to the Russians, for it's not justified to start a war for that cause; there will be no other way than to give up Berlin; Berliners should be evacuated in time; to evacuate people by plane or by ship; that's difficult, give it up to avoid another war; etc.

3

Nothing can be done - any kind of counter-measures mean war:

Nothing much can be done; then there would be no way left to help Berlin; that's hard to decide, that would mean war and nobody wants another war; then war would be inevitable; by then things would have come to a head, war would break out; what measures are there still to be taken; I have no idea what could be done; in this case Berlin would be cut off; what could one do without risking another war, I couldn't tell; that's a difficult problem; if force is being used this leads to another war; I don't know, all other measures mean war; this is a terrible idea, it would mean another war; then a hot war would be inevitable; that's difficult to say, any additional activity would lead to war; I can't tell, just there are no more wars; then there is nothing that can be done; I'm opposed to armed intervention; we shouldn't give up Berlin, it's difficult to find a remedy, we should, however, not fight it out; there is no alternative to using force, we don't want another war, however; such a situation might develop into another war, which should be avoided; I don't know, if you can't get to Berlin by plane any more, the case is probably lost anyway; etc.

7

Others:

This is not going to happen, therefore the question is pointless; it shouldn't come to that; the Russians do not have the right to violate treaties, one of which contains exact details about the division (of the city) and border lines; we Germans are one nation, we belong together; the guilty ones should face the music all alone, there's nothing I can say to that; well, I really don't know, the successor of General Eisenhower should know about that; for the time being they shouldn't take any measures, because the West isn't strong enough yet; etc.

8

No opinion/No answer:50
105%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- 10 -

R E S T R I C T E D.

III. GROUP DIFFERENCES

HIGHER STATUS GROUPS APPEAR LEAST IMPRESSED BY COMMUNIST PRESSURE TACTICS ...

While the weight of opinion in all population groups is toward firmness in the face of Russian threats, this view is particularly prevalent among the upper status segments - the better educated, higher income groups and the men. Among these groups, majorities recommend using severe measures against continued Communist efforts to prevent German integration with the West, discount the imminent danger of a Russian attack on Germany, and vote for a policy of greater firmness in the event of another Berlin blockade, which they anticipate more frequently than their counterparts.

"Lately there have been Communist demonstrations in Essen and other incidents in Western Germany and West Berlin instigated by the Communists by which the Communists protested against the contractual agreement and our participation in a West European army.

"Supposing incidents instigated by the Communists would occur more and more frequently in West Germany, should one take counter-measures or not? (Severe measures or not so severe measures?)"

	Severe measures	Not so severe measures	No measures	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	54%	25%	9%	12%...100%	368
Women	45	26	6	23	418
Education:					
Elementary school	48	25	7	20	662
Beyond elementary	58	28	8	6	122
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	48	24	8	20	461
300 - 399 DM	54	33	7	6	156
400 DM and more	54	25	7	14	127
Age:					
Up to 29 years	59	23	7	11	184
30 - 39 years	45	33	7	15	141
40 - 49 years	45	28	8	19	201
50 years and over	48	23	7	22	258
Party Preference:					
SPD	53	26	9	12	179
CDU/CSU	51	29	8	12	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	20	10	-	40
Other parties	58	19	11	12	64
No party	45	27	7	21	201
Don't know	40	24	3	33	155
Occupation:					
Professionals	39	32	18	11	28
Businessmen	60	22	5	13	85
White-collar workers	54	33	8	5	75
Skilled laborers	46	33	10	11	195
Semi-skilled laborers	51	21	8	20	117
Farmers	44	21	3	32	103
Unemployed	59	16	6	19	32
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	48	18	7	27	116
Religion:					
Catholics	49	25	7	19	323
Protestants	50	26	7	17	430
Origin:					
Natives	48	25	8	19	629
Expellees, Refugees	56	26	6	12	155
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	50	28	8	14	275
No	49	25	7	19	508

"In your opinion, is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or great?) (Very small or small?)"

	Great	Small	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	26%	65%	9%...100%	368
Women	34	36	30	418
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	30	48	22	662
Beyond elementary	32	58	10	122
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	32	45	23	461
300 - 399 DM	28	60	12	156
400 DM and more	29	62	9	127
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	38	49	13	184
30 - 39 years	25	57	18	141
40 - 49 years	32	44	24	201
50 years and over	26	50	24	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	31	52	17	179
CDU/CSU	33	51	16	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	33	65	2	40
Other parties	42	47	11	64
No party	32	50	18	201
Don't know	19	42	39	155
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	39	50	11	28
Businessmen	30	64	6	85
White-collar workers	32	57	11	75
Skilled laborers	31	55	14	195
Semi-skilled laborers	28	47	25	117
Farmers	27	45	28	103
Unemployed	41	34	25	32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	28	37	35	116
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	32	47	21	323
Protestants	29	51	20	430
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	29	51	20	629
Expellees, Refugees	35	46	19	155
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	26	56	18	275
No	33	46	21	508

"Do you expect any (further) serious difficulties for Berlin in the future?"

	Yes	No	No answer	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	51%	44%	5%...100%	368
Women	41	41	18	418
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	43	44	13	662
Beyond elementary	58	36	6	122
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	44	43	13	461
300 - 399 DM	48	42	10	156
400 DM and more	49	42	9	127
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	49	40	11	184
30 - 39 years	44	46	10	141
40 - 49 years	48	40	12	201
50 years and over	41	45	14	258
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	46	47	7	179
CDU/CSU	37	50	13	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	75	25	-	40
Other parties	56	35	9	64
No party	49	41	10	201
Don't know	37	41	22	155
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	54	32	14	28
Businessmen	59	35	6	85
White-collar workers	51	44	5	75
Skilled laborers	43	47	10	195
Semi-skilled laborers	43	44	13	117
Farmers	34	48	18	103
Unemployed	53	38	9	32
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	44	39	17	116
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41	47	12	323
Protestants	48	40	12	430
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	43	45	12	629
Expellees, Refugees	54	33	13	155
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	46	47	7	275
No	45	40	15	508

"Supposing the Russians would impose a new blockade on Berlin, should the Western powers then show a firmer and more unyielding attitude than the last time or should they be more yielding?"

	Firmer and more unyield- ing attitude	More yielding attitude	Same as last time	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	58%	5%	24%	13%...100%	368
Women	37	10	21	32	418
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	45	8	22	25	662
Beyond elementary	58	7	24	11	122
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	43	8	23	26	461
300 - 399 DM	56	9	22	13	156
400 DM and more	55	6	20	19	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	53	10	19	18	184
30 - 39 years	43	7	29	21	141
40 - 49 years	46	6	24	24	201
50 years and over	45	7	21	27	258
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	53	9	27	11	179
CDU/CSU	57	8	18	17	147
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	72	5	15	8	40
Other parties	67	10	9	14	64
No party	35	8	30	27	201
Don't know	31	5	19	45	155
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	61	7	21	11	28
Businessmen	50	11	21	18	85
White-collar workers	55	7	29	9	75
Skilled laborers	44	9	29	18	195
Semi-skilled laborers	53	6	19	22	117
Farmers	34	7	19	40	103
Unemployed	59	6	13	22	32
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	43	6	17	34	116
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	48	8	20	24	323
Protestants	45	7	24	24	430
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	44	8	24	24	629
Expellees, Refugees	58	7	18	17	155
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	50	9	25	16	275
No	45	7	22	26	508

HOW STRONG IS RESISTANCE MORALE IN
WEST BERLIN TODAY

Report No. 146
Series No. 2

• July 28, 1952

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PUB/RAS.

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

HIGHLIGHTS

THE MAJORITY OF THE WEST BERLINERS ARE FOR ALL OUT RESISTANCE SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS ATTEMPT TO TAKE OVER WEST BERLIN. . .

...Two thirds declare that if Russia attacked, the West Berlin people should fight on the side of the West - to the death, according to most comments - provided they were armed in time.

...Further indications of close identification with the West are the findings that large majorities 1) express the desire that Western forces remain in Berlin even though their withdrawal might maintain peace, and 2) believe that an attack on Berlin would be considered a cause for war by the Western powers.

A COMPLICATING FACTOR...is that the will to resist Soviet aggression appears grounded in part on the assumption that the Western powers have pledged themselves to an on-the-spot, presumably large-scale military defense of Berlin.

...Eight in 10 declare that the West would defend Berlin if the Communists attacked and

...Almost five in 10 believe a potential Eastern onslaught would be successfully held back by the West.

West Berliners who anticipate a successful defense of their city by the Western powers are more inclined than others to be in the potential resistance-fighter group - thus suggesting that an exaggerated view of the present commitments of the West toward Berlin may not be unrelated to the will to resist potential Communist aggression.

A PREPONDERANCE FAVORS WEST BERLIN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY, IF THIS WERE POSSIBLE.

...But a large minority is opposed for the reason that such might encourage Communist retaliation.

...The majority of West Berliners do not, however, expect the East to start a war soon.

BUT PREDICTIONS OF WAR OR PEACE DO NOT APPEAR TO INFLUENCE POTENTIAL RESISTANCE ATTITUDES...

...West Berliners who say the Russians might attack soon are just as frequently for resistance if an attack comes as those who do not anticipate an imminent war.

Clearly many West Berliners prefer because of their exposed position to avoid provoking the Russians, but are prepared to resist if it becomes necessary to do so.

RECENT SOVIET HARASSMENTS HAVE ONLY STIFFENED THE BACKS OF THE WEST BERLIN PUBLIC...according to the findings of this survey.

...Shifting from future contingencies to the present situation, it is clear that while the Berlin people are quite cognizant of the increased pressure on their city, their reply is to pursue a policy of firmness.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

...This is particularly apparent in West Berliners' advice on how to meet another blockade, should such occur. (Only a quarter anticipate this eventuality). The majority counsels a firmer course than in the 1948-1949 blockade, notwithstanding the success of the West at that time.

AS TO BERLIN'S ROLE IN THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENTS, MANY WEST BERLINERS ARE MISINFORMED OR UNCERTAIN...

...The majority recommends ratification of the contracts, but only 36 percent know that West Berlin is not included in the agreement.

This situation assumes no little significance since persons who err in thinking their city is a party to the contract approve more frequently than the correctly informed of Western policy and readiness to defend Berlin. When such persons find out the correct state of affairs there is a danger that morale will weaken unless convincing arguments can be brought to their attention in explanation of the difference in treatment accorded West Berlin.

REGARDING CURRENT SUPPORT FROM THE WEST...West Berliners exhibit majority dissatisfaction in regard to aid from West Germany, but appear to be preponderantly satisfied with Western power aid and Western power handling of the present Berlin situation.

THE CURRENT STATE OF WEST BERLIN GENERAL MORALE...as measured by several indices of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with life in West Berlin, continues to remain relatively firm despite the continuing Soviet campaign of fear and intimidation.

The findings reported above are based on a survey made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs during the last two weeks in June, 1952. A probability sample of 300 cases was utilized, representing the population of the three Western Sectors of Berlin. As usual, interviews were gathered under German auspices (thus eliminating any dangers of American sponsorship bias) by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main. a German survey organization working under contract with Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

I. WEST BERLINERS WILL TO RESIST SOVIET AGGRESSION

As Communist pressure on West Berlin again reaches critical proportions, the question arises: Is the Berlin will to resist continuing to hold firm or is it being sapped by the apparently endless war of nerves waged against this Western outpost by the Russians and their Communist satellites? To provide an indication of West Berliners' current attitude toward this problem, the issue was put to them in a line of inquiry couched in very stringent terms. Suppose, they were asked, the Russians should attack Berlin, how should West Berliners react - should they fight or give in without a fight? What about the Western powers - could they be expected to defend Berlin, and, if so, to what end?

BERLINERS WOULD PREFER WAR TO WITHDRAWAL OF WEST ...

To begin with, the vast majority (78%) wants the Western powers to remain in Berlin even though war could be avoided by their withdrawal.

"Supposing war could be avoided if the Western powers would withdraw from West Berlin: should they do so then or should they stay here?"

Stay here	78%
Withdraw	16
No opinion	6
	<u>100%</u>

MAJORITY BELIEVES WEST WOULD DECLARE WAR IF BERLIN ATTACKED ...

But if the Soviets should try to capture West Berlin, a two thirds majority state that this would lead the West to declare war.

"Supposing the East would try to take over West Berlin: do you think the Western powers would declare war on the East in that case or not?"

Would declare war	66%
No, wouldn't declare war	25
Don't know	9
	<u>100%</u>

AND WOULD FIGHT TO DEFEND BERLIN ...

Even a larger majority (81% believe that the West would seek to defend Berlin against a Russian onslaught. And as many as half (48%) assert that the Western defense of this exposed outpost would be successful.

"And do you believe the Western powers would defend West Berlin in that case or not?"

Would defend West Berlin	81%
Wouldn't defend West Berlin	16
Undecided	3
	<u>100%</u>

"Would one, in your opinion, be able to hold West Berlin or not?" (Asked of those who answered "would defend West Berlin", or "undecided" to previous question.)

Would hold West Berlin	48%
Wouldn't hold West Berlin	26
Undecided	7
	<u>81%</u>

... The foregoing results clearly demonstrate remarkably extensive confidence in the West and suggest a high degree of morale among West Berliners. But they are not without implications that might cause adverse repercussions in the future. If, as seems the case from the above findings, the West Berliners expect that Western defense plans call for on-the-spot, large-scale resistance to an attack on Berlin, they may be going far beyond the present commitments of the Western powers regarding West Berlin.

BERLINERS WOULD FIGHT ALONG WITH THE WESTERN POWERS ...

The majority of West Berliners have, however, no intention of leaving the defense of Berlin solely to the Western powers. Two thirds declare that an armed Berlin citizenry should stand side by side with the West in any future battle for Berlin.

"Of course nobody wants another war; suppose, however, the East, in spite of the declaration of the Western powers, would try to take over Berlin: what should West Berliners do in that case?

"West Berliners should surrender without a fight and should wait for the Western powers to liberate them.

26%

"West Berliners should be armed in time and sufficiently and should defend Berlin at the side of the Western powers."

65

Qualified replies

3

Undecided

6
100%

The large vote for arming Berlin citizens "in time" assumes current significance in view of a like suggestion made by the Free Jurists association (and supported by the Berlin city council) as the aftermath of the kidnapping of one of their members. Though this survey antedated the abduction of Dr. Linse by the Communists, the above findings suggest that the public would strongly support the jurists' request that known anti-Communist fighters in West Berlin be permitted to carry arms.

SURRENDER TO THE RUSSIANS IS IMPOSSIBLE ...

The majority of West Berliners not only declare Berliners should stand in the front lines to defend their city, but they promise a fight to the finish if the Russians attack. Remarkable determination is evident in the reasons cited by those who vow resistance. Any risk, even death itself, is preferable, they say, to a Russian conquest of Berlin. Typical comments of this group are:

"In no case can we surrender to the Russians, everyone abhors them. Rather die than fall into the hands of the Russians."

"The Berliners would suffer so much at the hands of the Russians that no matter what the circumstances, we would have to defend ourselves to the last drop of blood."

"We won't surrender without fighting. We know the Russians all right - we simply must defend ourselves."

Additionally, one in ten (11%) argues that Berliners cannot leave all the fighting to their friends, but they too must take part. They say, for example:

"Well, we cannot just wait for the others to liberate us, we ourselves must help too."

"Our lives are endangered, our city is involved. If foreigners fight for us, we must at least help."

"We would be fighting for our own freedom, and our own home town. You cannot expect the Americans to defend Berlin alone."

"The Western powers have done everything so far to hold Berlin, so it would not be fair to surrender without a fight instead of helping to fight."

Other respondents (9%) argue that if the Berliners were also armed the Russians could be turned back or give other various arguments.

REASONS ADVANCED BY THE DEFEATIST MINORITY ...

Defeatism arising from the memory of the Russian conquest of Berlin in 1945 and from awareness of the currently exposed position of Berlin largely characterizes the thinking of the 26 per cent who say West Berliners should not try to defend themselves against the Russians. Typical of the comments are the following:

"Not a single stone would remain in place. It would make no sense to defend Berlin, and God's mercy on us if the Russians should meet one of us with a gun in hand. Berlin would be completely destroyed, any defense is quite hopeless - Berlin would once again become a heap of rubble."

"From the military point of view I consider any resistance useless. The Russians would have the advantage because they would be the first to strike a blow. It would only cost unnecessary sacrifices."

CONFIDENTIAL

THE PREPONDERANCE DISCOUNTS THE CHANCES OF ANOTHER WAR ...

Many West Berliners do not apparently anticipate that they or the Western powers will actually have to take up arms against the Russians. First, an increasingly large preponderance has arrived at the opinion that there will not be another world war within the next ten years. And of those who do predict a war, only a few (9%) forecast its outbreak within two years time.

"Do you believe that there will be a new world war within the next ten years?"

	Dec '51	June '52
Yes	43%	37%
No	47	54
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%

"About when would you say it would come to a war?" (Asked of those who answered "yes" to previous question.)

Within a year	3%	2%
1 - 2 years	13	7
3 - 5 years	11	13
More than 5 years	4	6
Others	1	2
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
	43%	37%

AND A MAJORITY THINKS RUSSIA WILL YIELD TO FIRM COUNTER-MEASURES ...

Second, on the more immediate problem of how Russia would be likely to react if the West should adopt strong counter-measures, a two thirds majority asserts that the Russians would yield rather than risk a war.

"Supposing the Western powers would take sharper measures against the Russians; do you think the Russians would give in then or would they risk another war?"

Give in	65%
Risk war	27
Qualified answer	3
No opinion	<u>5</u>
	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

BUT WILL TO RESIST IS AS STRONG AMONG THOSE FORESEEING A HOT WAR AS AMONG OTHERS ...

The fact that the preponderance of West Berliners are currently optimistic on the chances of avoiding a hot war, should not be taken to indicate that when they predict active resistance to any future Russian onslaught they are merely indulging the luxury of brave talk. On the contrary, cross-analysis of attitudes reveals little or no difference in predictions of the future behavior of West Berliners between those who expect another world war soon or believe that Russia's reply to strong Western counter-measures would be an attack on Berlin, and those who anticipate a more peaceful future. Both are almost equally inclined to predict active resistance on the part of the Western powers as well as the West Berliners to any potential Eastern attack.

Say ... If East Should Try to Take Berlin,
the West Would:

Of those who say:	Declare war	Would not	Undecided
There will be another world war within 10 years	67%	23%	10%...100%
There will not be	67	26	7
If the West takes sharper measures, Russia will risk another war	63	29	8
Will yield	70	24	6

In the Event of Such a War, the West Would:

	Defend Berlin	Not defend	Don't know
There will be another world war within 10 years	81%	19%	5%...100%
There will not be	81	15	4
If the West takes sharper measures, Russia will risk another war	78	19	3
Will yield	84	16	-

If West Defends Berlin Will:

	Hold back Russians	Will not	Undecided
There will be another world war within 10 years	43%	33%	5%...81%
There will not be	52	22	7 ...81
If the West takes sharper measures, Russia will risk another war	52	15	11 ...78
Will yield	49	30	5 ...84

If East Should Try to Take Berlin,
West Berliners Should:

	Do nothing	Fight with West	Qualified Undecided
There will be another world war within 10 years	31%	64%	5%...100%
There will not be	23	68	9
If the West takes sharper measures, Russia will risk another war	25	69	6
Will yield	27	68	5

CONFIDENTIAL

WHAT SHOULD DEFENSE POLICY BE? ...

While the majority of West Berlin citizens intimate they would resist to the death if attacked by the Russians, a somewhat different question still remains: What do they think should be Western defense policy under present conditions?

On the issue of West German participation in the European defense community, West Berliners have for a long time shown more extensive approval than have the West German people, as is most recently indicated by results obtained in a May 1952 survey.

"Are you in general for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	May 1952	
	West Berlin	West Germany
Very much for it	38%	18%
Somewhat for it	34	26
	} 72%	
Very much against it	9	15
Somewhat against it	14	31
	} 23	
Undecided	5	10
	100%	100%

It is interesting to raise the further question at this point: How many Berliners think it would be wise for West Berlin to join the Western European defense organization?

The results of this additional inquiry suggest that the Berlin public is not quite as agreed on the advisability of their own participation as regarding that of their fellow West Germans, though a preponderance approves this step also.

"As you know, West Germany is to participate with military forces in the West European defense army. Should, in your opinion, West Berlin also participate in it or not?"

Yes, it should	53%
No, it shouldn't	36
Qualified answer	2
No opinion	9
	100%

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Considering how closely most West Berliners identify themselves with the West, their decision on defense participation very probably was not an easy one to make. Many did not apparently decide simply on a basis of psychological identification with the West, but rather in terms of what actual policy seemed feasible and best for West Berlin. This is suggested by the way the 67 per cent who say they would fight to the finish for Berlin vote pro and con participation in Western defense.

These people who are clearly on the anti-Communist, pro-Western side divide as follows on the advisability of Berlin's joining the European army:

... 43 per cent are for it
... 16 per cent are against it
... $\frac{8}{67\%}$ per cent are undecided

In contrast, not all of the 27 per cent who say they would not resist if the Russians should attack are against participation in an army. This is the way their votes divide:

... 8 per cent are for it
... 17 per cent are against it
... $\frac{2}{27\%}$ per cent are undecided

As would be expected, strongest support for the army comes from those who would fight if necessary to save Berlin. Clearly, the 17 per cent who would neither fight in an emergency for Berlin nor would consider joining the Western defense system were it possible for West Berlin to do so, are the defeatist elements.

The most interesting group is found among the potential Berlin resistance fighters who either oppose or are undecided about participation in the West European army. The reason why all of the group, whose loyalty to the anti-Communist cause would be difficult to question, are not for an army is suggested in accompanying comments. It will be noted in the table on the following page that the primary argument is that if Berlin joined the West army, this could easily provoke a Russian attack. Apparently some Berliners do not in their exposed position wish to invite aggression, but when and if it comes will do everything they can to overcome it.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Why should West Berlin not participate in it?" (Asked of those against taking part.)

It would mean provoking the Russians, thus endangering Berlin's critical position still more:

If there would be military forces here, the situation would get tenser all the time, then the Russians would go mad and cut off Berlin more and more; then the East will hate us still more, the Russians will think up more ways to make trouble for people; because we are in quite a jam already, this would be too provoking; this is an island here, if we set up military forces, the only result will be the Russians making more trouble, and people will suffer from it; because West Berlin is located in the middle of the Red Sea, one should oppose the Russians in the political sphere only, not in the military sphere; for the time being that would be a bad blunder, we are so close to the Russians, they would encircle the city in a short time and we couldn't defend us against such a strong power; otherwise the Russians would occupy West Berlin, as thing are now it is neutral territory, that's what saves us; etc.

18%

It would increase the danger of war:

We have had enough dead (in the last war), this might result in another war; there might be a civil war; we don't want another war, and soldiers bring on wars; my husband was killed, such a thing shouldn't happen again, when I think of my boys, bombings, etc.; I lived through all of the last war and I certainly don't want to stick it out once more; we are fed up with war, in some way this question is connected with war; etc.

8

The German soldier is not respected, would be cannon-fodder:

Under present circumstances I consider a participation of any German forces to be rather unwise, defamation of the German as a soldier, the German soldier has not yet been rehabilitated; Germans mean just cannon fodder for foreign powers, for this they are good enough; because we don't want to stick out our necks for others, first they let the Russians have everything in order to ruin us, now they want to do things just the other way around; etc.

2

It would weaken Berlin's economy:

Because the economic strength would suffer a bad set-back, this Berlin simply cannot stand; first our disrupted economy has to recover, then we can consider an army - later on, when the economic situation is all right again, we could think of raising military forces; etc.

1

Others:

It might result in diplomatic complications, we might thus bar the way to negotiations; Berlin men have stood much more than those in the West as it is, they should at least be spared this; as long as West Berlin has not got the same rights as the Federal Republic, we are not in a position and are not willing either, to participate, it would be considered just an appendage, that's the only reason, if we had the same rights, then I would be in favor of participation; etc.

$$\frac{9}{38\%}$$

CONFIDENTIAL

II. REACTIONS TO CURRENT SOVIET WAR OF NERVES

Shifting from future contingencies to the immediate Communist pressure campaign, West Berliners though generally cognizant of the Russian scare tactics affirm again their advocacy of a policy of strength.

ONLY A FACTION IS QUITE DISTURBED ...

Less than half (45%) state that they have found recent events and developments disturbing to them. Of these, only a third (15% of the total West Berlin public) assert the events have been "quite disturbing."

"Have any events occurred recently that have disturbed you?"

	May '52	June '52
Yes	41%	45%
No	<u>59</u> 100%	<u>55</u> 100%

"Are you only somewhat disturbed or quite disturbed by this (these) event (s)?" (Asked of those respondents who mentioned any events to previous question.)

Quite disturbed	15%
Somewhat disturbed	29
No opinion	<u>1</u> 45%

BUT INCREASED RECOGNITION IS GIVEN TO SOVIET PRESSURE TACTICS ...

The current war of nerves has not failed to impinge on the West Berlin public, notwithstanding the fact that the preponderance continues to assert that they have not been disturbed by recent events and developments. Though scarcely any more people now than a month previously state they are perturbed, among those specifying disturbing incidents and developments a difference may be noted, all in the direction of East-West issues. Currently, scarcely anyone refers to developments clearly unrelated to Soviet tension tactics, whereas a month previously about a fifth made such references. Summarizing comparative findings for the May and June survey, 32 per cent of the mentions in December 1951 related to the East-West struggle with special reference to its more recent manifestations, and a fifth referred to non-specific East-West issues. In contrast, in June, every mention of problems is based on the East-West conflict. Comments obtained in the June survey follow.

"Have any events occurred recently that disturbed you? (Any other events?)"

Isolation of Berlin:

That no Berliners are allowed to enter the zone; that the Russians blocked the traffic and allow nobody to enter the East Zone; these blockings, barricades, etc., maybe our children will have to go hungry again; the blocking measures of the Soviets, the introduction of "Laissez-passers"; the tyranny against us West Berliners, that we cannot get to our premises in the Eastern Zone; that the Russians have occupied all territory around Berlin and that they cut off the West Sectors from the zone; the isolation of Berlin by the Russians; that the zonal borders were closed; etc.

32%

Provocations, disturbances and demonstrations on the part of the Communists and Russians:

The Russians keep trying to cause unrest by demonstrations and propaganda; these continuous troubles caused by the Russians and the disturbances by the FDJ in West Berlin; I have become afraid because of the latest Russian measures here; because the Russians keep bullying us West Berliners; by the latest Russian encroachments; the kidnappings that happened in West Berlin; etc.

8

Contractual agreement (Generalvertrag):

That contractual agreement affair - I live in the East and the Eastern identity card was taken away from me, now I cannot call on my wife; the contractual agreement is my main concern - I am not disturbed so easily; the contractual agreement and the nasty Russian tricks caused by it, the closing of borders; etc.

3

Remilitarization in the Eastern Zone:

I heard that the East is busily rearming and the young men are drafted to the police forces; the rearmament of the East, above all, is very disturbing; etc.

1

Others:

That there are so many refugees coming from the East, because the Russians evacuate them; the price increase - when is that going to stop?; the strange behavior of the trade unions about the plant constitution law and their strikes against it - but it almost looked as if they were striking against the contractual agreement; etc.

4

No; none; not disturbed:

55
103%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

POLITICAL ISSUES ALSO LOOM LARGER AS WEST BERLIN'S "MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEM" ...

Another indicator of the current morale of the West Berlin people is their judgment on what is the most pressing problem now facing Berlin. Now, as previously, the emphasis is on economic problems which suggests that recent manifestations of Soviet pressure are at least not top-of-the-mind thinking to the majority of West Berliners. However, as compared with findings obtained in late 1951, more emphasis is currently given to East-West pressures than previously was the case.

"In your opinion, what is the most difficult problem in West Berlin at the present time?"

	Nov '51	June '52
Economic - unemployment, high prices and taxes; etc.	69%	59%
Political- East-West split, possible blockade, Russian pressure; etc.	28	38
No opinion	<u>5</u> 102%*	<u>3</u> 100%

RATIFICATION OF CONTRACTUALS WILL BRING INCREASED PRESSURE ...

West Berliners not only preponderately ascribe the increased tension to the signing of the contractual agreement but are inclined frequently to predict greater pressure following the ratification of the contract.

"You probably have heard or read about incidents and measures taken against West Berlin: (Informatory note to those who had previously not mentioned any incidents or events)

"What, in your opinion, are the causes which touched off these incidents and measures just now?"

Contractual agreement	55%
European Defense Community	4
Both (these treaties) -	3
Other causes	21
Don't know	<u>17</u> 100%

"And do you think that the pressure on West Berlin will increase or lessen or remain unchanged after the contractual agreement (Generalvertrag) has come into effect?"

Will increase	41%
Will lessen	17
Will remain unchanged	24
Undecided	<u>18</u> 100%

A QUARTER FORECAST ANOTHER BLOCKADE ...

The ratification of the contract with the West will produce another Berlin blockade, according to a quarter (26%) of the West Berlin population.** This represents a decline in the proportion predicting a blockade since May, when 35 per cent foresaw such an eventuality. Almost as many (21%) predict other pressures, either increased harassment of Berlin or probably even a war.

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

** Two questions were asked: first, those who foresaw increased tension were queried: "What will happen then?" Those who did not mention a blockade were asked "Do you expect another blockade of Berlin?"

SEVERE COUNTER-MEASURES RECOMMENDED IF ANOTHER BLOCKADE OCCURS ...

If another blockade should be imposed by the Russians, West Berliners largely advise stiff resistance. Despite the successful breaking of the 1948-1949 blockade only about a quarter recommend a repetition of measures similar to those then used. In contrast, seven in ten (68%) propose the use of more drastic means of overcoming another blockade.

"Suppose the Russians would re-impose a blockade of Berlin: should one behave in the same way as last time or should one take more severe measures?"

	May '52	June '52
Same as last time	36%	26%
More severe measures	58	68
No opinion	6	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

As the above trend figures indicate, the increasing recommendations for more severe counter-measures suggest that the net effect of the current war of nerves has been to stiffen resistance toward the implications of a blockade. Added indirect evidence that West Berliners are not too disposed to emphasize hardships and dangers of a blockade is seen in responses to a query seeking evaluations on relative hardships encountered since the war's end. It will be noted that only a handful (8%) recall the blockade year as the most adverse since 1945. Conversely, about two thirds (64%) think of the years immediately after the war as the most difficult.

"If you look back on the years since the end of the war, which period was for you personally the worst?"

Period between 1945 - 1947	64%
Blockade period	8
Time after blockade	8
Other periods	20
	<u>100%</u>

COUNTER-BLOCKADE OR FORCEFUL BREAKING OF BLOCKADE ARE LEADING RECOMMENDATIONS...

Proponents of severe counter-measures to break any future blockade of Berlin largely divide between two recommendations: one (26%) is to impose a counter-blockade on the East, the other (20%) is to keep routes to Berlin open by force.

"What measures are you thinking of?" (Asked of those proposing more severe counter-measures.)

Counter-blockade, economic boycott of the East:

Cut the Russians off in the same way, stop all goods at the Russian zone border; treat the Russians the same way they treat us, cut them off completely; impose a counter-blockade; we should make trouble for the Russians in the same way as they make trouble for us, especially in the economic sphere, we should cut off their coal supplies, electric power and so forth; to cut off the Russians in retaliation, as regards steel they are dependent on us; not to keep contracts (delivery of steel) concluded with Russia; that's a difficult problem, we should try to make it impossible for people to buy in HO stores (state-controlled stores), we should stop all trade; etc.

26%

Breaking the blockade by force:

A few American tanks should push through on the main highway (Autobahn), then trucks could come along right behind them, I don't think the Russians would do anything about it; they should drive right on, I doubt it if the Ivans would do anything about it; face the Russians boldly, the Americans should open up a railway route by force; they should employ sharper measures, armed forces should keep open the route between east Berlin and the West; open up routes to Berlin by force, the Autobahn and the air route to Berlin should be placed under the control of the Western powers; etc.

20

Kick the Russians out of Berlin - let military forces take over the whole of Berlin:

Out with the Russians, that's best; they should kick out the Russians, I'm sure it could be done; military forces should take over the whole of Berlin, we should make a clean sweep of it at long last; challenge the Russians militarily, outright war, with fair means, however; etc.

5

Others:

Intensified propaganda; close down legations, expel that diplomatic crowd; the West should put its foot down, so that elections would be held after the UN had checked on conditions; etc.

8

No opinion:

11
70%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IF ANOTHER AIRLIFT IS IMPOSSIBLE, MANY SAY FORCE SHOULD BE USED TO BREAK A BLOCKADE ...

According to more than four in ten (44%) force, even at the risk of war, should be employed to overcome another blockade if an airlift should prove impracticable. However, a quarter are unable to propose any solution failing an airlift, and 10 per cent aver that under such circumstances nothing could be done.

"Supposing Berlin is blockaded and for some reasons no airlift could be established, what measures should then be taken?"

The blockade should be broken by force, if necessary by war:
Try to get through to Berlin by land by using force; should just drive through, I want to see if and what the "Ivans" would do about it; they should supply us with arms, then we see to it that the blockade will not last very long; then West Germany should break the blockade by the use of force; they should invade the East Zone and clear the situation and relations with the Russians once and forever; then we will have to take up arms; etc.

44%

Peaceful negotiations:

Political measures only, one should negotiate; try to come to an agreement with the Russians, even give in a little, if necessary, while negotiating with the Russians; try to get along with the Russians peacefully, under no circumstances would I approve of a war; etc.

5

Counter-blockade:

A counter-blockade, for instance, should be imposed on the Russians; etc.

5

Food stuffs should be stocked in time:

Insure in time that we have a sufficient supply of food stuffs and other goods to enable us to stand a blockade until such time as effective counter-measures can be taken; etc.

2

Population should be called upon for self-help:

Break the blockade with the help of the Eastern Zone people for we have enough friends there - distribute all goods justly; then the Berliners must look out for themselves, they managed all right last time, too; etc.

2

Others:

We will have to rely on the world conscience, the whole world must put the Russians under pressure, but without causing war; then the Allies would have to take care of that, that's their business; etc.

8

Nothing can be done about it, all counter-measures would lead to war:

You could do nothing about it, but give in to fate; one couldn't do anything, try to cope with the situation and see who is going to help us; we couldn't do anything at all then, we would have to give ourselves up to the Russians or we would starve; well, nothing can be done about it, at least in my opinion, the Senate ought to know that, we would then have to side with the Russians, we would have no choice; etc.

10

No opinion/No answer:

25
101%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FEW FORESEE A MORALE PROBLEM IN THE EVENT OF ANOTHER BERLIN BLOCKADE ...

According to West Berliners' own forecasts of their probable reactions, there would not be a great morale problem in the event of another blockade. Though the West Berlin people continue to be remembered for the fortitude and courage with which they met the 1948-1949 blockade, three in ten now say that they could be expected to do even better in withstanding another Soviet effort to seal off Berlin. And more than half (53%) predict that in such an event West Berliners would repeat their past performance. Only a tenth (11%) anticipate less satisfactory behavior.

"Do you think the people of West Berlin would withstand another blockade better, just the same as or worse than last time?"

Better	30%
Worse	11
Just the same	53
Qualified answer	2
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

West Berlin's current reserves - both material and psychological - are mainly adduced as reasons for anticipation that Berliners will react even better to another blockade than they did to the first one.

In contrast, the pessimistic fraction feel that Berliners will not be able to withstand such difficulties this time either because they have become too accustomed to comfort (6%) or because they lack sufficient economic reserves (3%).

Reasons Why Berliners Expect to Withstand
Another Blockade Better than Last

Berlin is well-stocked - people are better fed:

More time has elapsed since the end of the war, people are better fed now; Berlin is much better prepared now for a blockade, having provisions, I mean - in addition, people have better clothing and houses have for the most part been fixed up to keep out the cold in winter time; because we are better fed now, we can hold out longer on little food; at that time we were starved, now we are physically more fit to bear hardships; now we've got lots of coal and food supplies in store, at that time there was just nothing, they had to get everything over here; Berliners are quite "stuffed" now, while at that time they were in very poor shape; etc.

19%

Experiences gained in last blockade will help:

They got wise to a few things through the last blockade; as because of the last blockade they got a couple of things done, the power station West, storage of provisions; things are arranged quite differently now, people have had experience and they remember; etc.

10

Berlin is confident that the West will render help, just as they did during the first blockade:

The learned in the course of the last blockade that they are not being let down; because ever since the last blockade the West gave increasing support to Berlin, this proves that the free world sympathizes with Berlin; etc.

2

Berliners are ready to face hardships:

We are in good shape now, we are able to face it if the going is getting tough again, besides we are so mad at the Russians, we'll stand firm; because people would put up with restrictions, even if they wouldn't like it, they are ready to stick it out, if necessary; etc..

2
33%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

Reasons Why Berliners Expect They Will not Withstand
Another Blockade as Well as the Last

People are now used to leading a comfortable life
and cannot cope with a situation like that again:

The last blockade was during the post-war years
and the population was used to hardships -
today, however, we are spoiled and would feel
it much more severely; because we don't have
enough food stuffs here to feed them all the
way they are used to eating now; they could
not go hungry once more, they simply could
not take it; etc.

6%

Berlin's economic situation would deteriorate:

Berlin's economy would take a sharp turn to the
worse, the number of the unemployed would increase,
people would become rebellious; people are en-
bittered because of the unemployment, the price
increases, and because the financial promises are
not being kept; economically speaking, we've
suffered bad set-backs; etc.

3

Others:

Because the influence of the East has increased,
the propaganda of the democracies is too weak
compared with the East; the number of inhabitants
in Berlin has increased by the many refugees from
the East, supplying all of them with the necessities
of life would therefore be very difficult - the
rations would be even smaller than the last time;
etc.

 $\frac{2}{11\%}$

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

III. REACTIONS TO THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENTS

Many West Berliners, as already indicated, recognize the connection between the signing of the contractual agreements and increased Communist pressure on their city. In this section, their views on the peace contract are explored in more detail with particular reference to what they think is Berlin's role in the contractual relationship.

West Berliners, it will be noted, are generally favorably disposed to the agreement, many of them apparently on the mistaken assumption that their city is included in it. This misconception is not unrelated to their will to resist Russian aggression.

ONLY ABOUT A THIRD ARE THAT BERLIN IS NOT A PARTY TO THE CONTRACTUALS ...

While awareness of the contractual agreement is very widespread in West Berlin - 85 per cent have heard or read of it - misconception or uncertainty about Berlin's place in the treaty is the prevailing situation.

"Have you heard or read about the contractual agreement (Generalvertrag) between West Germany and the Western powers?"

Yes	85%
No	15
	<u>100%</u>

"In your opinion, does West Berlin get the same rights as West Germany through the contractual agreement (Generalvertrag) or not?" (Asked of those aware of the agreement.)

Same rights	30%
Not the same rights	36
No opinion	19
	<u>85%</u>

... Moreover, among those who are correctly informed that West Berlin is not included in the agreement about half (16% of the total public) assert that it would be better for the Western sectors if they were included. Thus, in sum, almost half of the population (46%) either believe that their city is a party of the contractuals or that it should be.

"Would it be better or worse for West Berlin if it were included in the contractual agreement (Generalvertrag)?" (Asked of those saying Berlin is not included.)

Better	16%
Worse	14
Unchanged	1
No opinion	5
	<u>36%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

... Typical arguments of Berliners who recommend inclusion of their city in the contractual agreement are thus:

Berlin's economic situation would be improved because "... the question of unemployment would be solved - now Berlin is isolated. With the help of the treaty we'd have a much better chance to do business with West Germany and the Western countries." (6%).

Berlin would be more secure because "it would increase the feeling of solidarity in case of war - we need that assurance today as a psychological back-stop." (5%)

Berlin would really belong to West Germany and enjoy all the advantages granted West Germany by the contract. (5%)

Arguments advanced by the 14 per cent opposed to West Berlin's inclusion in the contractuals stress the fear that this would only intensify Communist pressure on Berlin (8%), increase the danger of war (3%), or depress further the Berlin economy (2%).

PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE BERLIN INCLUDED IN THE CONTRACT SHOW MORE WILL TO RESIST AGGRESSION ...

Analysis of related attitudes of the 30 per cent who err in thinking West Berlin is to obtain the same contractual rights as West Germany is quite revealing. As the following cross-tabulations demonstrate, persons with this misconception more frequently than others exhibit both a collective will to resist possible future Soviet aggression and confidence that the West will defend Berlin. Conversely, those aware that West Berlin is not a full partner in the agreement more frequently reveal negative attitudes, though among them also the majority sentiment is for active resistance.

If the East Tries to Take Berlin
the West Will

	Defend Berlin	Will not
In the contractuals:		
Berlin enjoys same rights as West Germany	90%	10%...100%
Does not	73	27

If the East Tries to Take Berlin
West Berliners Should

	Do nothing	Armed, will side with West	Undecided
In the contractuals:			
Berlin enjoys same rights as West Germany	24%	74%	2%...100%
Does not	36	59	5

R E S T R I C T E D

RATIFICATION RECOMMENDED BY A MAJORITY ...

Bundestag acceptance of the contractual agreement is recommended by a majority of 57 per cent. Half are aware that the agreement must be ratified by the West German parliament before it becomes effective.

"Do you know if the contractual agreement (Generalvertrag) came into effect on being signed by Federal Chancellor Adenauer or is it not yet effective?"

Came into effect	11%
Not yet effective	50
No opinion	<u>24</u>
	85%

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject it?"

Accept it	57%
Reject it	18
No opinion	<u>25</u>
	100%

BUT APPROVAL OF CONTRACT HIGHEST AMONG THOSE WHO SAY BERLIN IS A PARTY TO IT ..

Approval of the contractual agreement is also closely related to opinion on West Berlin's part in it. Those who mistakenly believe that West Berlin is included in the contract are considerably more inclined to recommend its ratification than are those who know the Western sectors are not a party to the agreement.

Bundestag Should:

In the contractual agreement, West Berlin:	Accept contract	Not accept	Undecided
Enjoys same rights as West Germany	85%	5%	10%...100%
Does not	58	31	11

Further indication that the tendency to approve the peace contract derives at least in part from a misconception regarding West Berlin's role in it is seen in the arguments advanced by supporters of the ratification of the document. The frequent use of "we" and "us" is common to most of the comments. For example, in the largest single category of comments - the contract will increase security (21%) - typical statements are: "We must participate in the defense of the West as protection against Russia"; "I think we can keep the Russians at a distance if we join in the defense community"; and, "It would be better because of the Russians, we must push them back, there is no other way out." (Italics added)

* Prior to the query on acceptance the 85 per cent aware of the contractual were informed as follows: "The Bundestag has yet to vote on the contractual agreement." Then, the 15 per cent who knew nothing of the agreement were told of the signing of the contract, and then asked their opinions on whether it should be accepted. Replies to both queries are incorporated in the table.

"Why should the Bundestag accept it?" (Asked of those who answered "accept it" to previous question.)

Because security would be increased:

Because my opinion is that it is all right if we establish a strong army so that Russia doesn't dare to attack us; it would be better because of the Russians, we must push them back, there is no other way out, and, finally, the contractual agreement guarantees us security; we reject the Bolshevik system and, therefore, need security and an army for protection; we must be guaranteed security so that the Russians are afraid of us; we must participate in the defense of the West as protection against Russia; I think that we can keep the Russians at a distance if we join in the defense community because the Russians are afraid of it; etc.

21%

Because alliance and cooperation with the West is necessary:

Because it is essential that West Germany is fitted into the European defense system so that Germany won't be used as a mere pawn in the hands of the Russians; because we want to cooperate with the West - if we reject the contractual agreement, we'll please the Russians; we must be backed by the West now, we won't come out of the jam without help; because we would get military support, and a European union might be accomplished; etc.

11

Because independence and equality would be more easily realized:

The situation will improve because more freedom will be granted to us; because we need independence; something must be done, we were handicapped up till now, now we are a partner who can promote our own interests; because it means the first step on the road towards independence; because we will achieve equality; etc.

9

Because there would be a chance to improve economic conditions:

We would reach a higher standard of living because we would earn more money; the number of unemployed would be reduced by the contribution to the European defense, we would have a better life then; I presume that conditions in West Berlin would improve too, more orders etc; because the economy of West Berlin would profit by it, we would be more closely linked to Western Germany; etc.

8

General answers, expressing belief in progress and improvement:

Because I think that the general situation will improve - I don't know it exactly, I just believe that an improvement will come about; etc.

5

Because Germany has no choice - would be the lesser evil:

Because we don't want to associate with the East; there is no other possibility, otherwise the status quo would be permanent; if we say "no" they will turn their back on us; etc.

3

Because there would be a better chance of ultimate unification:

Reunification might be achieved by it; only a union with the big powers might make reunification possible; etc.

1

Others:

Because compulsory service would teach our young people something good, they wouldn't become so badly demoralized; etc.

3
61%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

No doubt some West Berliners in their comments as reported above use the personal pronoun in the generic sense; but many, as the cross-comparisons previously detailed indicate, are using it in the personal sense, out of their mistaken view that they are included in the provisions of the contract.

Some of the same confusion is apparent in the comments of those opposing the contract, although, it will be recalled, that opposition to ratification tends to center among people who know West Berlin is not included in it. Comments of those recommending rejection are as follows.

"Why should the Bundestag reject it?" (Asked of those who answered "reject it" to initial question.)

The Western powers want to exploit us for their own ends, we won't get equal rights:

After having made mistakes, the Americans want the Germans to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them; because the contractual agreement doesn't bring the freedom and equality promised us, the longer we hesitate we more advantages for us will come out of it, therefore, we should first reject it; it is not the right thing for us, in spite of it we won't have a say, the Allies will stay here, though; etc.

6%

I am against rearmament:

Because it means an army, and I can't sympathize with this idea; our men were in the army long enough, my husband was a PW in Russia for three years, he came back in 1948, an invalid, he is fed up; etc.

3

To come to an agreement with the East and reunification will become more difficult:

We must have a united Germany before tackling such a problem; Berlin needs its surrounding country that it lost - I myself came from the East and I'm very much interested in unification; if we accept it, we lose all chance to achieve unification because the Potsdam agreement prohibits rearmament, and Russia will never put up with this breach of contract; etc.

3

Increased danger of war:

In order not to increase danger of war, the Russians would resent the raising of a West German army; because if there are soldiers once more, war might easily be brought on, and I dislike the idea; etc.

2

Others:

We don't buy a pig in a poke, one can't agree to an unknown thing; because the French work out their own policy regarding the Saar issues; because I consider it a danger for Berlin, Berlin will be forgotten; etc.

2.
16%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

IMPLICATION ...

Clearly there is considerable misunderstanding at the present time as to the precise status of West Berlin in the contractual agreement. Such a state of affairs cannot be considered very surprising in view of the complexity of the agreement and the recency of its public release. But what provides some cause for perturbation is the corollary finding - that persons who err in thinking their city is a party to the contract manifest more widely than the correctly informed, approval of Western policy and readiness to defend Berlin to the last ditch. The suggestion is present that when such persons - who are far from few - find out the correct state of affairs, morale will weaken, unless convincing arguments can be brought to their attention to explain the difference in treatment for West Berlin.

IV. EVALUATIONS OF WEST GERMAN AND WESTERN POWER EFFORTS TO HELP BERLIN

West Berliners as indicated in the foregoing pages generally associate themselves and the future fate of their city closely with the Western powers, in whom they have extremely high confidence regarding their future defense. Turning to current support by specific western groups, however, reactions are somewhat mixed. Particularly is there skepticism regarding West German assistance; nor does France fare too well in the estimation of West Berliners.

MANY SAY PRESENT RELATIONS WITH WEST GERMANY ARE NOT GOOD ...

The view that present relations between West Berlin and West Germany are bad balances almost exactly the view that they are good. If the rather equivocal judgment of "fair" is considered as being on the non-favorable side, half of the West Berlin public are not satisfied with present relations with residents of the Republic.

"How, do you believe, are the present relations between West Germany and West Berlin: are they very good, good, bad or very bad?"

Very good	2%
Good	29
Fair	23
Bad	27
Very bad	2
No opinion	17
	<u>100%</u>

WEST GERMANS' ALLEGED FAILURE TO KEEP PROMISES AND INADEQUATE AID ARE CITED AS REASONS ...

The alleged failure of West Germany to keep its promises to help Berlin and the inadequacy of its economic aid are the two leading reasons (each receives 12 per cent mention) assigned by those who appraise relations as currently bad. These people say, for example, that the West Germans "... are all the time promising to help us, but they don't stick to their promises, that's why there is tension between us." Others assert, "It's a question of money and all that - they are doing very little. They consider the risks too great, they don't like the idea of placing orders with us."

A few ascribe strained relations to the reluctance of the CDU government to grant help to the Socialist government in West Berlin (2%) or to German resistance to help a city which is already in the Russian grip (1%).

MAJORITY CONSIDERS BONN GOVERNMENT'S AID TO BERLIN INADEQUATE ...

In view of the stress on West Germany's alleged failure to help Berlin sufficiently, it is not surprising to discover that the majority (58%) regards the Bonn government's aid to Berlin as inadequate - largely, judging from comments of respondents, for the reason that Bonn has failed to place orders in Berlin or give other material help. A comparison with earlier figures given below shows, dissatisfaction with the Republic's help is on the increase.

"And do you think the West German Federal government is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

	Dec '51	June '52
Doing everything possible	45%	37%
Could do more	50	58
No opinion	5	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

BUT BETTER RELATIONS ANTICIPATED BY A PREPONDERANCE ...

Only one in ten Berliners anticipate a deterioration in relations between Berlin and citizens of the Republic. The majority are more optimistic, forecasting an improvement in the future.

"And do you believe that by and large relations between West Germany and West Berlin will, in the near future get (even) better or get (even) worse? (For what reasons would relations get better or get worse?)"

Get better	57%
Get worse	10
Remain the same	12
No opinion	21
	<u>100%</u>

The basis of optimism is largely centered in two arguments. The first, advanced by 27 per cent, voices confidence that West Germans will keep their promise to help Berlin. Typical comments of this group are:

"West German firms will place more orders in Berlin;"

"I hear that there is a steady flow of work orders and other support for Berlin, consequently I think that relations will get better;"

"West Germany will support Berlin even more - I heard it on the radio."

The second reason (22%) for forecasting improved relations rests on confidence that help against the Russian threat will be forthcoming:

"The threats from the East will cause the West to give us more help in the future;"

"Slowly but surely the West comes to realize that we are a bulwark of West Germany too, so they will give more help to Berlin than before."

A few argue that Lord Mayor Router's influence will be decisive (4%), or that the contractual agreement will mean more help (1%), or that defense needs will result in more orders for Berlin manufacturers (1%).

MAJORITY JUDGES WESTERN POWERS DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE ...

In contrast to dominant dissatisfaction with the current aid the Federal Republic is giving West Berlin, the majority (65%) commends the assistance now being rendered by the Western powers. Little change in this regard has apparently been engendered by the current war of nerves. Not only has there been no real change in attitudes since December, but the emphasis of those who are dissatisfied, according to their comments on the matter, is almost entirely on the failure of the West to help Berlin's manufacturers and businessmen with more orders.

"Do you think the Western powers are doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could they do more?"

	Dec '51	June '52
Doing everything possible	62%	65%
Could do more	35	31
No opinion	3	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

AMERICAN AND BRITISH HANDLING OF BERLIN SITUATION COMMENDED ...

Turning from the Western powers in general to specific members of the Big Three, the Americans and the British both receive equally high commendation for their handling of the present Berlin situation.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the Americans (the British) are handling the present Berlin situation?"*

	Americans	British
Satisfied	63%	60%
Dissatisfied	20	15
Partly-partly	8	5
Undecided	9	20
	100%	100%

CRITICS CHARGE LACK OF FIRMLINESS ...

Criticisms similar in vein are levelled at both the Americans and British by the groups who assert that their handling of Berlin affairs is less than adequate. Lack of firmness and failure to persevere are largely charged against both countries, though the former criticism is more frequently levelled against the United States, whereas the latter comes up frequently against the British, particularly regarding their action on the Berlin radio station. Comments regarding both countries follow.

"What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those who said they are dissatisfied or partly dissatisfied with the way the Americans are handling the present Berlin situation.)

The Americans should show a firmer attitude dealing with the Russians:

They don't show a firm enough attitude towards the Russians, they put up with too much from the Russians; they are always on the defensive, they put up with too much from the Russians; they are too slow, dealing with the Russians, they should put down their foot more quickly and more often; that they don't do anything, in spite of the Russians being so impudent; they put up with too much from the Russians; they are too slack and don't tackle things energetically, they don't show the Russians enough fight; employ more severe measures against the Russians, they are too bold, they let the Russians get away with too much; because they put up with too much, that's typical for a democracy, they should employ more radical means, I'm thinking of Steinstuecken (a Berlin suburb) - they should take up arms to chase the Russians out of Steinstuecken, for it was proven in the past that the Russians can give in; etc.

24%

The Americans should see to it that Berlin gets economic support:

They could do something to reduce the number of unemployed, they could give a boost to the building trade; they should provide even more work; they made a lot of promises, prices, however are rising and unemployment is spreading; etc.

2

Others:

The Americans should see to it that West Berlin is incorporated into the Federal government as a Federal state and that it is recognised as the nation's capital; the mistakes the Allies made can never be made up - I don't care to say more; division of the country and dual currencies drive us into another war, they want to use us as cannon fodder; etc.

2
28%

* The same question with different names substituted was asked regarding both the British and the Americans.

R E S T R I C T E D

"What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those who said they are dissatisfied or partly dissatisfied with the way the British are handling the present Berlin situation.)

The British are too slack dealing with the Russians, they are not active enough:

That they don't take the initiative, they only get going if the Russians push them; they are overly slacker than the Americans, they are even more yielding; they are too undecided; too yielding, the only good thing they did was cutting off the radio station (Funkhaus); they are slack just as the Americans are, the radio station affair, though, was pretty good; they should be more aggressive, generally; etc.

10%

The occupation of the radio station was just a half-hearted measure, they shouldn't have released it again:

That they released the radio station after so short a period; that they didn't handle the radio station affair more energetically, they should have ordered everybody out by 12 o'clock, just as did the Russians; I'm thinking of the radio station, they shouldn't have returned it to the Russians, they are much too mild; the taking over of the radio station is a half-hearted affair - they should have kicked them out, they are even slacker than the Americans are; etc.

8

The British don't support our economy, they are egoistical:

It's the same as with the Americans, their main concern is to provide work and to sell their goods; they don't help as much as the Americans do, they are afraid of competition on the part of Berliners; they come here and stuff themselves, they don't help us in any way, they are in favor of isolationism; they conclude treaties with the Russians again, if they would show more solidarity with the others, the Russians might give in; with the same things, they could give a boost to the building trade and could do something to reduce the number of unemployed; etc.

2

Others:

That they don't do more about the situation, about present conditions at the border, you only get the news in snatches; that they don't sit down at the conference table to discuss a peace treaty; etc.

$$\frac{2}{22\%}$$

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

HALF ARE NOT PREPARED TO JUDGE FRENCH ACTIONS ...

As to French actions in the current Berlin situation, half (52%) are not prepared to render judgment. Among those who do have an opinion in the matter, commendation exceeds criticism by a ratio of three to one.

The tone of the criticism of French handling of Berlin affairs differs in one regard from that of the Americans and British. The French are criticized not so much for what they may have done or failed to do in the present situation, but on the basis of traditional hostility between the two peoples.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the French are handling the present Berlin situation?"

Satisfied	35%
Dissatisfied	11
Partly-partly	2
Undecided	<u>52</u>
	100%

"What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those who answered "dissatisfied" or "partly-partly" to previous question.)

General adverse comments on the French:

They don't trust us Germans - they avoid making concessions; they still hate us, you can gather that from their actions; the French are opposed to Berlin's inclusion as a state into the Federal Republic, that comes from their still being our arch-enemies; they do nothing, only take everything out of Germany; they don't help, they drive a wedge between us and them; the French behaved pretty badly in regard to dishantling, etc.; they show no manners in the underground and in the French Sector - bad behavior toward others, they order people to get up, and so on; the French are so irascible dealing with the German population - I saw how they pulled an old man's cap off his head, simply because he did not salute them; the French fish pretty much in troubled waters, they probably don't know with whom to side - probably with that side where they expect the most advantages; etc.

7%

They have too yielding an attitude towards the Russians:

Like the Americans they are too slack, they are not very active; they are too slack and let the Russians take everything away from them; in case of that plane incident, they should have insisted on an apology and on restitution of the damage; they should have been more active in the case of the taking over of the cemetery in Frohnau - they should not have negotiated so long a time since it was Western territory involved a fact that could be ascertained on the maps; etc.

5

No opinion/No answer:1
13%

R E S T R I C T E D

V. EVALUATIONS OF CURRENT WEST BERLIN MORALE

West Berliners have become so accustomed to living on the edge of danger and are so cognizant and deservedly proud of their reputation for high morale in crisis situations, that the element of prestige undoubtedly enters into their judgments of their reactions to present and future situations. Whether or not this distorts the reality of the situation is open to question, however, since pride is a basic factor in good morale. Therefore, if West Berliners out of considerations of prestige tend to speak more bravely for the record than they actually feel, this in itself suggests good morale, rather than the contrary. With this in mind, the present state of mind of the West Berlin public, as measured by five indices, appears to be relatively unaffected by the current Communist war of nerves.

FEWER SAY PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE WORSENEDED ...

The intensified pressure on Berlin does not appear to have had any adverse influence, as yet, on West Berliners' sense of well-being as reflected in their estimates of the way their personal affairs are going. In fact, as compared with an assessment made in December 1951, when the Berlin front was relatively quiescent, fewer say they personally are worse off than a year ago. Correspondingly, the number saying they are at least as well off as formerly has increased.

"If you look back to your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?"

	Dec '51	June '52
Better today	34%	35%
Just as good	22	29
Worse today	36	26
Just as bad	8	10
	100%	100%

THE TREND REGARDING THE BERLIN MOOD REMAINS UNCHANGED ...

Similarly, events of the last few months have not apparently contributed to changing Berliners' estimates of the collective frame of mind of residents of that city. Broadly considered, opinions continue to divide fairly evenly between the current mood to be good or bad. Proportionately, no more see a deterioration in mood now than did so in December, though this remains the largest single category of replies.

"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: is it better than a year ago, or worse, or just the same? (Just as good - just as bad?)"

	Dec '51	June '52
Better today	15%	17%
Just as good	32	31
Worse today	42	39
Just as bad	3	6
Undecided	8	7
	100%	100%

R E S T R I C T E D

BUT MORE EMPHASIS IS GIVEN TO THE PRESSURE CAMPAIGN AS A FACTOR ...

However, people who see a worsening in the general state of mind of West Berliners are now much more inclined to ascribe it to political factors, that is, to Cold War considerations, than was the case six months ago. This may be seen in the following summary table, listing reasons for believing the mood to have deteriorated.

"Why is the mood today worse than a year ago?"

	Dec '51	June '52
Deterioration in political situation (fear of Russians, of war, of blockade; declining confidence in West)	10%	21%
Deterioration in economic situation (high prices, unemployment, high taxes, lack of credit)	34	23
Generally bad situation	$\frac{3}{47}\%$	$\frac{1}{45}\%$

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

... Typical comments of those who cite consequences of the Soviet pressure campaign as contributing to deteriorated morale are as follows:

"The Russians are making trouble for people again, people are disgruntled because the others don't do anything about it."

"Because of the political situation, nobody knows what's going on."

"West Germany resents the idea of helping Berlin - the people dislike the idea even more than the government."

"Berlin can see that the West is very reluctant about helping Berlin, that we are all alone and won't meet with understanding on the part of West Germany."

"Everybody wonders if nothing can be done to improve our present situation - the Western powers should take counter-measures and should take the initiative from the Russians."

"Because tensions are so serious, political tensions in regard to the Russians, the Russians are still here."

"Because the political future of Berlin is uncertain."

"Because the Russians are all around the city and they threaten to start another war - it's just as it was during the Hitler regime, they talk about peace and mean war."

"I am somewhat disturbed by the present situation, because war will never mean a solution of problems, this was proven by the last war - you never can tell what this might lead to - there doesn't seem to be a definite aim in sight."

"They are afraid of another war, they say they have stood so much, they don't want to live through another war."

R E S T R I C T E D

... Those who judge an improvement in the mood of the West Berlin public interpret recent developments quite differently from their more pessimistic townsmen. Two arguments cited with relative frequency are: confidence in the Western powers has increased (6%); and economic conditions have improved (6%).

"In what respect is the mood today better than a year ago?" (Asked of those who answered "better today" in initial question.)

Confidence in the West has increased:

Progress has been made in the foreign policy field - something has been done about the German problem at last, the people have the feeling that things are getting better because Berlin is better taken care of now; the Western powers take Berlin's side to a greater extent than they did a year ago, they aren't so indifferent any longer, this was demonstrated when the British occupied the radio station; people rely on the Allies as America and England have Germany's well-being in mind, they want to establish balance of power in Europe; people's opinion is that division of East and West will end this year, everything will get better than; etc.

6%

Economic and social situation have improved:

Many firms got credits enabling them to continue work - that gives fresh encouragement; conditions are improving, many new buildings are going up, people can afford things and they earn more money; everything is nice here, more and more can be bought; people have got more money to spend, that stimulates the economy, it benefits everybody; because we are always getting a little ahead, every year shows more progress; etc.

6

People are generally more optimistic:

Everybody hopes that things will get better - there is no point in just sitting back and lamenting, everybody must contribute his part so that life goes on from day to day - we are more used to this kind of life; a year ago the struggle for existence was harder, many people were more spiteful than now; now people have more strength to resist, they hope that there will be change for the better; etc.

3

The contractual agreement (Generalvertrag) creates optimism:

Because the contractual agreement is a beacon of Germany's future - we are recognized by the West, they cannot ignore us, something is done now, at last; etc.

1

Others:

People started resenting the Eastern system, they realize that it can't go on like this, their opinion and their attitude became more definitive; people have become more or less immune against political tensions; etc.

1
17%

R E S T R I C T E D

AS MANY NOW AS FORMERLY PREFER TO REMAIN IN BERLIN ...

On a third index of the current Berlin mood - preference for remaining in or leaving the city - the current tension has also had no apparent adverse effect. A large majority continues to vote for remaining. Offered a more favorable alternative - a job and housing in West Germany - somewhat more indicate a preference for leaving the city, though half even under such circumstances would wish to remain in Berlin.

"Would you leave Berlin for good, if you had the opportunity?"

	<u>Oct'48</u>	<u>May'49</u>	<u>Aug'49</u>	<u>Apr'50</u>	<u>Dec'51</u>	<u>June'52</u>
Yes	30%	17%	23%	27%	23%	25%
No	<u>70</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>75</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"If you or the head of the family were offered work and housing in West Germany, would you then leave West Berlin?" (Asked of those who said they would not leave Berlin in initial question.)

Combined with: "Would you leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?"

	<u>Dec '51</u>	<u>June '52</u>
Yes	23%	25%
Yes, if job	13	16
Qualified answers (yes)	10	9
No (under no condition)	53	49
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100%	100%

AND A PREPONDERANCE WOULD INVEST MONEY IN BERLIN ...

Since, as already indicated, considerations of prestige very probably enter into direct queries regarding West Berlin morale, indirect measures were also utilized. The approach was to ascertain how Berliners would spend a large windfall should they obtain one, the assumption being that a decision to invest such gains in property or durable goods rather than for luxuries would be an indication of good morale.

Morale measured thus also appears high. Not only is the decision overwhelming to use such hypothetical gains for lasting purposes, but the majority would invest the gains in Berlin, not in West Germany. In the following tables replies are categorized as to 1) the specific uses for which the money would be spent; 2) type and place of investment; and 3) practical vs. luxury spending.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Supposing you were to win 50,000 Marks, what would you do with it? (What else?) (Where?)"

Replies Categorized by Specific Uses

Start a business, expand a business, vocational training, expand knowledge;	39%
Buy necessary things, especially clothes, linen, etc.;	35
Save, invest in shares, bonds, mortgages, secure investments, valuables;	33
Renovate, rebuild a house, or furnish or re-furnish house or apartment;	28
Real estate, buy a house;	25
Assist family and relatives;	19
Travel;	13
Take it easy;	10
Contribute to poor and public institutions;	8
Pay debts;	5
Do something to improve health;	3
Others: buy car; marry; I expect a baby;	6
	<u>224%*</u>

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Replies Categorized by Type and Place of Investments

Respondents who want to use their winnings for investments in Berlin	61%
Respondents who want to use their winnings for investments in Western Germany	16
Vague as to whether to be used in West Germany or Berlin	<u>23</u>
	<u>100%</u>

Replies Categorized by Practical vs. Luxury Spending

Use for practical durable items	78%
Use for luxuries	2
People who mention both	<u>20</u>
	<u>100%</u>

THE BASIC ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS OF THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE

I. General Views on
Socialism, Capitalism, and Communism

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REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

The present report is the first in a series emanating from a survey designed to provide background guidance for American policy in Germany, particularly for MSA information activities. Initially focused on are the basic economic views of the West German population on capitalism, socialism, and communism as an economic philosophy. A second report will present West German thinking on the value and role of trade unions in the German economy, including a consideration of labor-management relations and the question of co-determination. The final report will narrow down to specificities of awareness and reactions to MAS aid, and the extent of public receptivity to the productivity program.

The present findings acquire particular current pertinence in the light of the formal program just released by the Socialist party (SPD). This program, which is expected to serve as the SPD's platform for the 1953 parliamentary elections, reiterates demands for socialization of Germany's basic industries, and for workers' co-determination in the management of industry and business.

Results are based upon a survey conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff between April 7th and 25th, 1952, employing a 1,200 case representative probability sample of West Germany and a 300 case sample of West Berlin. As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

It is well to understand in advance that the economic queries posed in the present survey are rather too complex for some elements of the general public. For that reason "no opinion" will be generally high. Such a state of affairs in no wise diminishes the importance of making the present survey, however, since obviously the public opinion that will count on these issues are the sentiments of those who are capable of making judgments.

SUMMARY

Views On Socialism

Favorable orientations toward socialism clearly preponderate in West Germany as does also the judgment that socialism will grow stronger in the future.

But what the German people appear largely to be approving under the name of socialism, are simply social welfare practices and economic policies that are clearly not intrinsically limited to a socialist economy.

On the definitive issue of socialization of industry, most express the opinion that the worker would not be better off if industry were socialized, and the preponderant stand is opposition to socialization even if only confined to heavy industries.

Accompanying comments make it evident that few Germans would trust the government to fairly or efficiently manage a socialized enterprise and an appreciable body of opinion see the Russian economy as exposing the inadequacy of socialism.

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R E S T R I C T E D

Views On Capitalism

Favorable orientations toward what West Germans understand by socialism appear to be matched by unfavorable orientations toward what they understand by capitalism.

Evident in accompanying comments is that many West Germans have acquired distinctly negative attitudes toward capitalism as a concept, and see it as a system which brings profits to the few at the expense of the many.

Whatever negative conditionings West Germans have acquired to the term capitalism do not automatically apply to their conceptions of the American economic system, however.

The majority have no label to offer for the American economic system, and though the single most frequent characterization among those with opinions is a capitalist system, not everybody described the American economy in such terms.

But reactions to the American economic system - when no mention is made of the term capitalism - are still preponderantly cool to adverse among West Germans with opinions in the matter, though a substantial minority show a favorable attitude.

Views On Communism

Most West Germans with opinions in the matter hold socialism and communism to be fundamentally different, though as many as approximately one in five (17%) judge them to be about the same.

Judgments of difference revolve mainly about the theme that communism carries with it pressure and totalitarianism, while with socialism freedom is unimpaired - or at least less constrained.

Whatever the similarities or differences between socialism and communism, the large majority see no good whatsoever in the communist philosophy - even political considerations aside.

However, approximately as many as one in five take the view that apart from political considerations there is some good in communism.

FAVORABLE ORIENTATIONS PREDOMINATE ...

Favorable orientations toward socialism clearly preponderate in West Germany (and in West Berlin), with the largest proportion of those possessing opinions in the matter indicating that they would like to see the introduction of more socialistic ideas into the German economy. That this apparent espousal of socialism does not mean what it appears to mean, however, will shortly become evident.

"Would you like it if our economy would use more socialistic ideas (Sozialistische Ideen) or fewer socialistic ideas than is the case already?"

	WEST GERMANY (1172)	British Zone (606)	US Zone (428)	French Zone (138)	Berlin (300)
More	38%	36%	41%	36%	50%
Fewer	9	10	10	4	11
Remain as is	16	20	11	15	19
No opinion	37	34	38	45	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The judgment also predominates that socialism is the wave of the future in Germany, with arguments principally revolving around the theme that socialism offers a better deal for the people.

"Would you say that in the future socialism (Sozialismus) will grow stronger or weaker in Western Germany?"

Stronger	35%	35%	37%	33%	46%
Weaker	9	9	8	10	21
Neither/nor	13	15	10	9	13
No opinion	43	41	45	48	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Reasons For Saying Socialism Will Grow Stronger

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
People, especially workers, will be better off if socialism gets stronger:					

Because then everybody could improve his lot; the people will see in it a way to get ahead; you can see something is being done for people, at present socialism is not yet so strong because we lost the war; if nothing goes wrong with the economy, socialistic ideas can be adopted, more funds can be allotted to be used for work procurement programs and accident prevention; with socialism all will have work and that's what everybody is eager to have; a job; etc.

7% 7% 7% 7% 10%

Greater efforts will have to be made to deal justly with the problems of the workers:

Because Western Germany is a purely industrial country and the worker will assert his rights; because the majority of workers and employees are dissatisfied; otherwise workers would be grossly exploited; because I think there is going to be a boom, and the workers will demand their rights; because the man in the street will show little enthusiasm about an economic policy that has no room for social problems; as jobs are found for unemployed, socialism is going to get stronger; because the workers know that otherwise they'll get a bad deal; etc.

7 7 7 5 11

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R E S T R I C T E D

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WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
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More people are going to join the Socialist Party:

Because the workers' parties will continue to grow; the influence of the SPD will get stronger, people are dissatisfied with the present government; many people think the SPD should be given a chance to show what's in it; I think the SPD will get more votes, thus socialism is going to get stronger, too; if elections were held, the SPD would probably come out on top in Western Germany; etc.

5%	4%	4%	7%	6%
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Economic and political developments tending towards socialism cannot be halted:

Political trends lead in this direction; because the general trends head that way; because that's a modern idea, suitable to the 20th century; because the present course in politics cannot be pursued over a long period of time; etc.

5	5	5	4	7
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The influence of the trade unions will increase:

Because trade unions are in favor of socialism, they want to bridge social contrasts; experience shows that with the assistance of the trade unions workers have made ever increasing demands, a slow but steady process and this trend will continue; the trade unions are making quite an effort, therefore socialism will get stronger; through exerting pressure the trade unions are going to have their demands increasingly met; etc.

3	4	3	3	2
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As a counter-balance to the East, socialism in Western Germany will get stronger:

Because it has to grow stronger as a counter-balance to the East, to the non-socialist dictatorship; because we are fed up with communism; etc.

1	1	2	1	3
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

People aren't so dumb any more as to accept so much from the clergy as up till now; people just hope things will work out that way; because you hear a lot about it; because I feel things are calming down. The war impressions are fading, the individual will count once more; I guess many people got wiser through the last war. The younger generation will reject pro-militarist nationalist parties; etc.

5	5	7	4	6
3	3	2	2	4
36%	36%	37%	33%	49%

No opinion/No answer:

© Some respondents gave more than one answer

R E S T R I C T E D

The few who foresee a weakening of socialism in Western Germany argue in the following vein:

Reason Given For Foreseeing A Weakening Of Socialism

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Socialists are losing influence, people are dissatisfied with them:

Because the socialists have their interests in mind and do not think of the laborers; because the influence of the SPD loses more and more ground; because many people are not satisfied with socialism, they promise and talk much, but do nothing; etc.

2%	3%	1%	2%	5%
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The present politics will not allow socialism to get stronger:

As long as we have the present system socialism cannot grow strong, the champions of socialism follows a wrong policy; because Mr. Adenauer will not want this and I believe that he can stay in office; if our policy will be carried out as it is now, socialism will grow weaker; because national tendencies will increase by eventually building up a strong nation and thus socialism will necessarily lose ground; etc.

2	2	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

The present economic system will be stronger than socialism:

Because the capitalistic system will gain ground, this will result from American influence; because capitalism will be predominant, for money rules the world; because the economy in Western Germany is prospering, for this reason labor in Germany is more content; if the laborer is satisfied on account of good wages, he is not inclined to look toward the "left", at all events not the German worker; because employers stick more together than laborers; etc.

1	1	1	3	7
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Others:

Because the liberal side cannot learn to be socialistic enough, they thereby defy the other extreme; due to the whole reconstruction, on account of rising prices, public expenses, the imports i.e. coal which is ex- and imported again whereby it gets so expensive, and for this reason no money is available for social purposes; that is a result of the war, everybody lost everything and wants to replace the loss now; etc.

3	2	4	2	4
1	1	8	10	1
9%	9%	8%	10%	21%

No opinion/ No answer:

R E S T R I C T E D

BUT PRECISELY WHAT ARE GERMANS APPROVING? ...

That German approval of socialism is far from an uncomplicated matter, and calls for care in generalization, becomes initially evident from the accompanying recommendations that were proffered as to exactly what socialistic ideas the German economy would do well to utilize. It is patent from the listing below that few of the comments have anything to do with socialism per se, i.e. collective ownership of the means of production. What the German people appear largely to be approving under the name of socialism, are simply social welfare practices and economic policies that are in no sense intrinsically limited to a socialist economy.

"Would you like it if our economy would use more socialistic ideas or fewer socialistic ideas than is the case already?"

IF "More":

"What socialistic ideas should our economy use?"

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Improvement of old-age pensions, illness funds and social insurance, health service:

More support for people entitled to draw social relief, send sick and old people to recreation centers; improve the services rendered by the illness fund, secure old-age pensions, extend the services of the illness funds. reduce the limit of the old-age insurance, get subsidies from the industry to supplement sickness benefits; uniform old-age insurance with fixed and equal pensions, uniform health insurance controlled by the government; old-age insurance, to keep our old people from becoming beggars; higher pensions, improved social security; relief funds for the laborers; better health service for the old and unemployed; increase of sickness benefits for the laborers, - this system has been introduced in some plants, but not in all of them; higher social insurance benefits; payment of annuities and pensions, pensions for the dependents of a deceased employee of a firm; etc.

9% 9% 10% 10% 17%

Improvement of living standard and social services:

Better social services for the laborers and employees, for instance: showers, recreation rooms, gardens and the like for the staff and their dependents; improvement of living conditions of the laborers; improve the social conditions of the laborers generally; better social services for the personnel of the plants; in regard to the attitude towards the employees concerning social matters, i.e., that materially speaking, the social services be improved and extended in favor of the employees; etc.

9 8 11 10 15

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R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Pay increase and price controls:

Salaries and wages must be raised, using the system of mass production of consumption goods, price increases ought to be prevented; price control should be exercised to keep people from doing as they please; prices should be stabilized and adjusted to the income; those ideas that guarantee us a really good income, so money will circulate among the people, we all will profit thereby; etc.

5%	4%	6%	4%	4%
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The right of co-determination and profit-sharing:

The right of co-determination, for instance, and profit-sharing, that is the least; management should care more about the opinion of the workers, for instance by practicing co-determination; dividends should be paid to the laborers; the laborers should share in the profits of the plant; why should employers have such big profits? - they should be distributed more evenly; etc.

5	5	5	3	8
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House-construction:

Stress the importance of house-building; housing construction should be advocated a lot more, there should be house-building programs in favor of the man in the street, - too much is being done in comparison with the people in the West who were bombed out, something ought to be done about that; etc.

4	3	4	4	4
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Removal of class distinctions, promotion of the socialist idea:

That you think of the simple workers, too, and not only selfishly of yourself; attitude of the employers towards the employees, i.e., have regard for the individual as such - there are still cases where something like slavery exists; equal compensation of brain work and manual work - there are gross differences between brain-workers and manual workers, that is not in accordance with the socialistic idea and should consequently be changed; promote the idea of fellowship among all employees so nobody will turn up his nose about a fellow who happens to perform a lower type of work; etc.

2	2	1	1	4
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Right to a job, guarantee of living wage, procurement of work:

The right to a job for everybody and a living wage; try to bring about job security; protection from unemployment; guarantee of a living wage for everybody; procurement of work; etc.

1	2	1	1	6
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Socialization and planned economy:

The bigger plants should be socialized, so the capital is equally distributed; socialization of the big plants; introduce stricter controls in the economy; etc.

1	1	1	1	2
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Others:

The laborers should show more solidarity, there are always some who work for lower wages; freedom of the individual; to prepare the ground for negotiations, for too many cooks spoil the broth; liberal socialistic economy; etc.

3	3	4	3	4
<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>
48%	46%	51%	46%	71%

No opinion/ No answer:

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

SOCIALIZATION PREPONDERANTLY DISAPPROVED ...

Follow-up inquiries reveal clearly that the preponderant German approval of what they understand by socialism is distinctly not an approval of a socialized economy. A majority of 56 per cent, it may be seen initially below, express the judgment that the worker would not be better off if industry were socialized.

"Do you believe that the worker would be better off if industry would be socialized?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes	16%	15%	18%	11%	23%
No	56	55	56	60	67
No opinion	28	30	26	29	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Secondly, when questioned directly, the West German populace manifest preponderant disapproval of industrial socialization - even if only confined to heavy industries.

"Are you for or against the socialization of heavy industry, i.e., the coal mines and the iron- and steel industry?"

IF "For it":

"Should all industry be socialized?"

All industry	8%	9%	7%	5%	8%
Heavy only	19	16	24	20	40
No industry	42	46	37	45	38
No opinion	31	29	32	30	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Trend indication available for the US Zone and West Berlin suggest that negative attitudes toward socialization have continued to rise somewhat from the big upsurge, between 1947 and 1950. In West Berlin, however, there is some indication - not conclusively beyond chance with the limited number of cases involved - that approval of socialization, of heavy industry particularly, has gained somewhat from its earlier fall.

"Do you believe that the worker would be better off if industry would be socialized?"

	US ZONE			BERLIN		
	Oct 47/	May 50/	April 52	Oct 47/	May 50/	April 52
	(2995)	(1481)	(428)	(500)	(254)	(300)
Yes	30%	23%	18%	36%	19%	23%
No	41	54	56	50	69	67
No opinion	29	23	26	14	12	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Are you for or against the socialization of heavy industry; i.e. the coal mines and the iron- and steel industry?"

"Should all industry be socialized?" (Asked of those who answered "For it" in previous question).

All industry	15%	10%	7%	22%	11%	8%
Heavy only	34	28	24	35	29	40
No industry	24	37	37	29	47	38
No opinion	27	25	32	14	13	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

REASONS ADVANCED WHY SOCIALIZATION WOULD NOT IMPROVE WORKERS' LOT ...

Reasons brought forward by the preponderance voicing the thesis that socialization of industry would not benefit the worker, add up to a stinging disavowal of definitive socialistic precepts - as distinguished from the collection of social welfare ideas that Germans widely understand by the term socialism. It is evident that few Germans trust the government to fairly or efficiently manage a nationalized enterprise and an appreciable body of opinion see the Russian economy as showing up the failure of socialization.

"Do you believe that the worker would be better off if industry would be socialized?"

IF "No":

"Why would the worker then not be better off?"

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

The government reaps the profits, the worker gets lower wages:

Because profits would mainly go to the government; the government would reap the profits; because nobody would be able to check what becomes of the profits, in private industry you usually get a better picture of what's going on; because the government just takes, it considers its own interests only; because then the workers wouldn't be paid justly for the work they do; because the government would pay even lower wages than private businessmen; in state-controlled plants lower wages are being paid than in private firms; the government would exploit the worker even more, without paying him better wages; he has to work for his living, if he works for the government he doesn't gain anything by it; etc.

14% 13% 13% 21% 20%

Developments in the East (Russia) clearly illustrate failures and disadvantages of socialization:

Everything would be uniform, just as under the Russian system; conditions here would be just as they are in Russia; Russia is an example as to how things go for the worker; all I can say is, just think of the Eastern zone, that should suffice, that should make things quite clear; in my opinion things should then come close to conditions existing under the Soviet economic system, and that would mean no improvement for the worker; because the worker isn't well off in Russia either; because the worker just has to toil, he'll have nothing beyond a bare existence in Russia, they kept little for themselves, they had to turn in most of their stuff; then we could go to Russia as well, the worker is just a number, we would be under pressure all the time; etc.

11 11 12 10 17

The worker would be a tool in the hands of the government, he would have no rights:

His whole life would be directed by those at the top, he would lack the simplest human rights; then we would have even fewer rights than today, they would be more or less slaves; because he'll have to do the work that others cut out for him; you're not your own master, the authorities, they put you under pressure; as an individual the worker doesn't count any more; then they would be even more powerless, they would have an even

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R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

lesser chance to have their demands met, they would just be slaves at the mercy of the government; in that case the worker would have no chance any more to have his demands met, as a government employee he has to take what's being given to him; etc.

10%	11%	11%	7%	12%
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There would be no private initiative (competition), red tape and mismanagement would be the results:

There would be no initiative in private business any more; a private firm has more freedom of action; because private initiative would be lacking; the economy would not prosper, as initiative would be lacking, this would have its repercussions on the workers; socialization means more red tape, slower decisions; in a socialized economy you never can tell how the government is going to manage things, in private industry there is a chance to realize improvements for the workers through competition; because all depends on the output, and I'm sure output figures would go down; they would manage things according to some rigid plan, workers would be listless, they wouldn't be better off; a state-controlled industry would become more and more an official-ridden affair, there would be more officials for whose upkeep we have to pay than workers; because a bureaucracy would come into existence, which will abuse its power, and which doesn't care whether a plant works at a profit and would squander the taxpayer's money; because there would be no competition; etc.

8	9	7	7	11
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The government cares less about the welfare of the worker than a private businessman:

The government never looks as well after the interests of the workers as a responsible businessman who is very much concerned about his employees going about their jobs cheerfully; management would take little interest in the problems of the workers; because the government cannot pay too much attention to individual plants; because there will be no personal relationship between worker and employer any more; because the government cannot look after the interests of the individual so well as a private businessman; etc.

3	4	3	2	4
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Socialization is disadvantageous (general):

The individual doesn't gain anything by socialization; the state is insatiable; state capitalism in its pure form is to be rejected just like private capitalism in its pure form; because state capitalism is just as bad as capitalism; things will go down the hill, he will get into quite a mess; only one person can be in the lead, many cooks spoil the broth; etc.

3	3	3	4	2
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

The government would not be able to pay much attention to work expansion programs; whatever the system, the worker will fare badly; I think we should leave things as they are. We know what we have now, however not how things would turn out; etc.

4	3	4	5	2
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/ No answer:

4	3	4	5	2
57%	57%	57%	60%	70%

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

minority who see benefits for the worker in socialized industry argue in the following vein:

"Do you believe that the worker would be better off if industry would be socialized?"

IF "Yes":

"Why would the worker then be better off?"

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Just wages - wage increases - sharing in profits

Because the government would distribute the wages justly; the state would fix wages then; the employers would not be able to fix wages arbitrarily, just as they please; then the employers have no say in fixing wages and the worker will be paid according to a wage scale; wages could be increased as duties and taxes to be paid by the state-controlled plants are lower than those to be paid by private industry; etc.

7% 7% 6% 7% 10%

Secure jobs - less unemployed:

Then there would be more job opportunities, the worker would never be out of a job; because he would be sure to have a steady job; then he would have security to some extent, for you can trust the state as an employer, they won't go bankrupt; he would have security to some extent, he would be paid less, however; he would be sure to get his pay, he could count on his job and his wages, he would not be dependent on private interests; there wouldn't be so many unemployed; etc.

4 4 7 1 6

Improved social conditions:

Every worker would get a pension; because they would be better provided for in old age; it's more favorable regarding taxes; in case of sickness the government would be more apt to do something, to support the worker; you could rely on the state to see to the interests of the worker, whereas private businessmen have little consideration for their employees; etc.

3 4 3 2 4

Others:

Then capitalists won't be able to treat the worker just as they please, in that case the state would further social interests, thus the state will prosper, too; there would be a better distribution of work; etc.

3	2	3	2	4
1	1	1	1	1
18%	18%	20%	13%	25%

No opinion/ No answer:

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINION ...

"Socialistic ideas" and possibly "socialism" also are clearly concepts which tend to elicit more favorable than unfavorable emotional connotations in West German. In population group breakdowns the largest portion recommending fewer socialistic ideas in the German economy is 28 per cent among respondents of FDP political persuasion. And even in this heavily free-enterprise group 34 per cent express themselves in favor of more socialistic ideas.

In all German groups with the lone exception of farmers, the feeling that socialism (as Germans define it) is destined to become stronger in Germany's future, tends to preponderate over the feeling that socialism will become weaker or remain at its present strength.

In no grouping examined, including most significantly followers of the SPD (who are formally committed to such a program), does the opinion that workers would be better off with industry socialized exceed one in four.

Finally in no grouping examined, including both SPD political adherents and trade union members, does support for socialization of industry - even on a partial basis - reliably exceed opposition to such a course.

R E S T R I C T E D

03633

R E S T R I C T E D

"Would you like it if our economy would use more socialistic ideas or fewer socialistic ideas than is the case already?"

	More	Fewer	Remain as is	No opinion	No. of cases *
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	50%	13%	18%	19%...100%	548
Women	28	6	14	52	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	37	8	14	41	962
Beyond elementary	43	16	24	17	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	32	9	13	46	233
150 - 299 DM	38	7	13	42	415
300 - 399 DM	44	7	19	30	258
400 DM and more	43	13	23	21	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	35	8	15	42	156
25 - 34 years	41	5	17	37	225
35 - 44 years	40	10	15	35	253
45 - 54 years	48	7	14	31	240
55 years and over	27	14	19	40	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	67	3	10	20	301
CDU/CSU	29	10	23	38	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	34	28	20	18	76
No party	31	10	18	41	262
Don't know	17	7	14	62	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	44	10	26	20	50
Businessmen	32	16	26	26	139
White-collar workers	49	8	18	25	154
Skilled laborers	50	7	12	31	266
Semi-skilled laborers	38	6	13	43	148
Farmers	15	17	13	55	123
Unemployed	52	7	10	31	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	36	6	16	42	526
Protestants	37	12	16	35	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	39	9	17	35	934
Expellees, Refugees	33	8	15	44	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member myself	65	9	13	13	222
Yes, family member	36	5	16	43	205
No	31	10	17	42	739

* Results are to be interpreted with caution in population groupings for which the number of cases are limited. Tabulations for some minor occupational elements have been omitted as based upon too few cases to warrant presentation.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Would you say that in the future socialism will grow stronger or weaker in Western Germany?"

	Stronger	Weaker	Neither/nor	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	46%	13%	16%	25%...100%	548
Women	26	4	10	60	624
Education:					
Elementary school	31	8	12	49	962
Beyond elementary	55	12	14	19	208
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	27	8	10	55	233
150 - 299 DM	30	9	12	49	415
300 - 399 DM	41	7	14	38	258
400 DM and more	49	11	15	25	216
Age:					
Up to 24 years	36	10	11	43	156
25 - 34 years	36	10	12	42	225
35 - 44 years	35	9	12	44	253
45 - 54 years	40	8	14	38	240
55 years and over	31	8	14	47	291
Party Preference:					
SPD	56	7	13	24	301
CDU/CSU	32	8	15	45	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	25	5	16	76
No party	24	10	13	53	262
Don't know	18	3	11	68	216
Occupation:					
Professionals	48	10	16	26	50
Businessmen	41	14	14	31	139
White-collar workers	47	10	16	27	154
Skilled laborers	38	10	13	39	266
Semi-skilled laborers	30	10	11	49	148
Farmers	18	5	14	63	123
Unemployed	43	10	10	37	42
Religion:					
Catholics	34	6	12	48	526
Protestants	35	11	13	41	585
Origin:					
Natives	35	10	13	42	934
Expellees, Refugees	35	5	10	50	236
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member myself	51	14	15	20	222
Yes, family member	29	4	13	54	205
No	32	9	12	47	739

R E S T R I C T E D

"Do you believe that the worker would be better off if industry would be socialized?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	20%	66%	14%...100%	548
Women	12	48	40	624
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	17	51	32	962
Beyond elementary	13	76	11	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	18	43	39	233
150 - 299 DM	15	55	30	415
300 - 399 DM	17	61	22	258
400 DM and more	16	68	16	216
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	15	58	27	156
25 - 34 years	16	63	21	225
35 - 44 years	20	54	26	233
45 - 54 years	13	58	29	240
55 years and over	14	51	35	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	25	60	15	301
CDU/CSU	10	60	30	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	8	85	7	76
No party	12	56	32	262
Don't know	11	40	49	216
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	22	64	14	50
Businessmen	8	75	17	139
White-collar workers	15	64	21	154
Skilled laborers	20	58	22	266
Semi-skilled laborers	23	48	29	148
Farmers	7	56	37	123
Unemployed	26	43	31	42
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	14	56	30	526
Protestants	16	56	28	585
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	16	57	27	934
Expellees, Refugees	17	53	30	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member myself	29	61	10	222
Yes, family member	16	47	37	205
No	12	57	31	739

R E S T R I C T E D

"Are you for or against the socialization of heavy industry,
i.e., the coal mines and the iron- and steel industry?"

IF "For it":

"Should all industry be socialized?"

	All industry	Heavy in- dustry only	No industry	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	10%	27%	50%	13%...100%	548
Women	6	13	36	45	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	8	17	41	34	962
Beyond elementary	5	30	50	15	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	9	15	36	40	233
150 - 299 DM	9	18	38	35	415
300 - 399 DM	8	20	48	24	258
400 DM and more	7	25	51	17	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	6	18	45	31	156
25 - 34 years	8	20	45	27	225
35 - 44 years	12	20	40	28	253
45 - 54 years	7	20	40	33	240
55 years and over	7	17	42	34	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	13	29	42	16	301
CDU/CSU	3	20	51	26	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	3	17	64	16	76
No party	8	15	40	37	262
Don't know	4	11	29	56	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	12	24	42	22	50
Businessmen	4	19	55	22	139
White-collar workers	3	27	46	24	154
Skilled laborers	12	20	39	29	266
Semi-skilled laborers	11	19	36	34	148
Farmers	2	11	47	40	123
Unemployed	10	24	38	28	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	6	18	45	31	526
Protestants	9	20	40	31	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	8	18	45	29	934
Expellees, Refugees	8	24	34	34	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member myself	15	31	41	13	222
Yes, family member	8	16	36	40	205
No	6	16	45	33	739

RESTRICTED

II. VIEWS ON CAPITALISM

UNFAVORABLE ORIENTATIONS PREDOMINATE ...

Favorable orientations toward what West Germans understand by "socialistic ideas" appear to be matched by unfavorable orientations toward what they understand by "capitalistic ideas". Only in Berlin do more than a bare one in ten recommend the introduction of more such ideas into the German economy.

"Would you like if more capitalistic or fewer capitalistic ideas (Kapitalistische Ideen) would be used in our economy than is the case already?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
More	7%	9%	7%	2%	23%
Fewer	39	40	37	38	34
Remain as is	15	17	11	14	21
No opinion	39	34	45	46	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is evident in the supporting comments advanced for recommending fewer capitalistic ideas that Germans have acquired distinctly negative attitudes toward capitalism as a concept, and see it as a system which brings profit to the few at the expense of the many.

Reasons Given Why Fewer Capitalistic Ideas Should Be Used

WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
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Capitalism is disadvantageous for the people, especially for the workers:

Capital always remains in the same hands, and the laborers will in any case be the loser; because capital never takes care of the workers; then the workers and employees will be worse off; because the system is not good: the capitalists get all the profits and those who actually do the work don't know how to make ends meet; because the capitalists only care for themselves and very little for the workers; the capitalists only think of their own money-bags, they force up the prices to increase their capital; because the capitalists shuffle the money only into their own money-bags, the workers should get a share of these profits; that would strengthen only one group, the big industrialists; the small businessman wants to exist, too, he will always be overshadowed by the capitalists; because that is better for us workers; etc.

23% 24% 22% 24% 18%

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Capitalism means exploitation of the workers:

To avoid our being degraded to the state of bondage; to prevent the exploitation of the workers and so the capitalists don't encroach upon the rights of workers any further - and so the wage tariffs are not reduced; because that would not be good for us workers, that is only a system of exploitation; because capital always aims at the exploitation of the people; because the capitalists are only vampires and don't do anything for the workers; capital is the people's undoing; otherwise the man in the street would be even more suppressed; etc.

7%	6%	6%	10%	6%
----	----	----	-----	----

Capitalism means war, the same would happen as in 1933:

Capital caused the war, we have experienced that in 1933; nothing good will come of it, it will lead to another war, this was illustrated by the big industrialists of the last war; capitalism is the system of an anonymous dictatorship and besides that, it represents a steady danger of war (for instance, because of raw material areas); later on the same thing will happen as in 1933; they always aim at war, because that means profits for them; the capitalist ideas lead to a war, capitalism started rampant at once; well, we have seen what happened, this was the reason for the war; etc.

1	1	1	-	3
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

Capitalism is a question of money only and we are a poor people; because otherwise we adjust our economy to much to the American pattern; because the bulk of the population and the mass of businessmen are no capitalists; we should be more concerned about human values than about profits; capitalism and socialism are slogans, in practice both could supplement each other very favorably - at present we probably must devote ourselves more to the socialist ideas, many socialist rights exist on paper only (leave, for instance); etc.

No opinion/ No answers:

6	6	6	4	5
<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>
39%	40%	37%	38%	35%

The few who recommend more capitalistic ideas for Germany commented in the following vein:

Reasons Given For Recommending More Capitalistic Ideas

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
<u>Capital is a prerequisite for a sound economy:</u> Because capital is the back-bone of an economy - by promoting capitalist ideas, the capital would circulate more thoroughly and thereby our economy would take an upward trend; the capitalists should invest their money in our economy and let it circulate, they should build fewer villas - their money would help to increase the output of our economy; raise loans abroad - it always was a mistake the Germans made that we did not borrow money from America; etc.	1%	1%	2%	1%	4%
<u>Form big combines - out of smaller companies:</u> Create bigger firms by fusing the smaller industrial installations; big combines; joint-stock companies; large companies instead of smaller ones by fusing them; introduce the syndicate system - get the workers their share by founding a limited company or association; etc.	1	1	1	1	3
<u>Establish new jobs by building new factories and firms:</u> The more capitalists we have, the more jobs will be available; private industry should be promoted, private capitalism should be allowed to build more factories because then there will be more work; if more factories are built, then more people will find a job; etc.	1	1	1	-	2
<u>Answers favoring the capitalist ideas in general:</u> Well, I just favor capitalism; before the war we used the capitalist system to a greater extent and we were better off; I only know that a country without capitalist ideas simply cannot exist; I like capitalism, money is necessary - the workers should stay modest and there must be the rich people, too; capitalism is a good thing in any case for it yields greater profits than socialism; etc.	1	1	*	-	2
<u>Good wages and a decent standard of living:</u> Ensure better wages for the workers to make a decent standard of living possible; change the working conditions to ensure a decent standard of living; all those ideas would help the man in the street, too, and would not only make the rich even richer; under the capitalist system we all can live decently and we all can have jobs; etc.	1	1	*	1	1
<u>Liberal economy, free competition for all:</u> Private initiative, liberty of action for all manufacturers who employ people; absolute economic liberty of the individual and sound competition to enable the qualified to get ahead; etc.	*	*	1	-	3
<u>Others:</u> Capitalism should also be used for social purposes; everyone who works must be paid accordingly, but only those who work should earn money; construction of houses; spend more money in research work; etc.	1 2 5%	1 3 9%	1 1 7%	- * 3%	3 6 24%
<u>No opinion/ No answer:</u>					

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

WHAT DO GERMANS LABEL THE AMERICAN ECONOMY? ...

Asked to label the present American economic system, the majority of West Germans could come up with no answer at all. Among those advancing characterizations, though the single most frequent label was a capitalist system, not everyone described the American economy in such terms. So whatever negative conditionings West Germans have acquired to the term capitalism in no sense automatically apply to their conceptions (or lack of conceptions) of the American economic system.

"What would you call America's present economic system?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
<u>Capitalist economic system:</u>					
Capitalist economic system; in the US capitalism controls everything; monopoly-capitalism; capitalist system, they want to lead; purely capitalist; private capitalist economy; etc.	17%	18%	16%	16%	19%
<u>Liberal economy:</u>					
Liberal economic system; economy placing no controls on management; liberal private economy; policy aiming at a liberal economy; democratic economy; etc.	7	8	7	6	18
<u>Economy of trusts and combines:</u>					
They have big combines; a trust-economy; big combines that control everything more and more; they have private industrial combines; etc.	4	3	4	9	3
<u>Armament economy:</u>					
Armament economy; war economy, but trying to operate on normal (peacetime) economic basis; etc.	1	1	1	7	7
<u>Others:</u>					
Everything is under the control of the almighty "UNO", even though armament is under way; controlled economy under an extensive, too extensive government influence; mercantile; a system turning men into machines; very realistic and comfortable; mostly directed by the American trade unions; socialist economy; etc.	10	10	11	6	10
<u>No opinion/ No answer:</u>	61	60	61	66	50
	100%	100%	100%	103%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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REACTIONS TO AMERICAN ECONOMIC SYSTEM ...

But reactions to the American economic system - when no mention is made of the term capitalism - are still preponderantly cool to adverse among West Germans with opinions in the matter, though a substantial minority manifest a favorable attitude.

"Would you like it if our economic system would be more like or less like the American economic system?" :

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
More like the American system	22%	24%	22%	14%	39%
Less like the American system	14	12	17	17	18
Remain as is	22	23	19	24	18
No opinion	42	41	42	45	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Respondents who would welcome the German economy being more like the American system are thinking largely, their comments reveal, of either more efficient working methods or of particular social benefits enjoyed by workers in America.

Reasons Given For Favoring German Economic System More Like American

WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
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Increase in production by assembly-line methods, rationalization and better organization:

More assembly-line work, rationalization, increase in production and increase in exports; by adopting the whole working process which is more modern and operates faster; by increase in production; more machines should be used so that the workers could be spared; more bulk articles should be produced so that prices would go down; we should organize things more efficiently and use machines more widely so that the working process gets more modern; speed up production; money can be earned easier over there, organization is better; etc.

6%	6%	7%	4%	10%
----	----	----	----	-----

In the social field - in order to make life easier:

Social services for the workers should be extended; it has turned out well; the morale of the workers improved, they get dividends, a system already introduced by Siemens in Germany; in order to enable the Germans, too, to lead a better life. The Germans toil all day, the American enjoy life; the relationship between employer and employee is better and more unconstrained; everybody in Germany should be offered the possibility of working in any trade, and nobody should be forced to do the work he was trained for. Here, too, wages should be fixed according to the output of the individual worker, no matter how long the person is already doing any particular work; etc.

4	4	3	5	6
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R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
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Economy should be more liberal:

Liberalize the economy to a greater extent;
as to the complete independence of the economy;
it should be more independent and set up more
democratically; more liberal, those who come
from another place are, nevertheless allowed
to take up work; etc.

2%	3%	2%	2%	9%
----	----	----	----	----

Industry should join in big industrial combines:

Large concerns would boost the German economy;
Industry should build big concerns; more plants
should join in big industrial combines; etc.

2	1	2	1	2
---	---	---	---	---

We should adopt the useful methods and take advantage of experiences of the Americans:

We should cooperate with the Americans; can't
express it, but the Americans are well off,
let's do like them; one should take advantage
of experiences of the Americans; I only learned
favorable things about the economy of America,
therefore, I presume its methods are good for
us, too; etc.

1	1	1	-	3
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

Adopt the capitalist economic system; because
America and Germany have the same ends in mind
which only can be attained by a common economic
system; in all respects, as to housing con-
struction, prefabricated houses; etc.

3	4	3	1	4
5	6	5	1	6
23%	25%	23%	14%	40%

No opinion/ No answer:

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINION ...

Population group breakdowns reveal that the absence of favorable orientations towards what Germans understand by "capitalist ideas" obtains across the board. Even among the strongly free-enterprise FDP, support for more capitalist ideas in the German economy achieves no more than the order of one in five.

In no population group does support for having the German economic system more like the America, reliably preponderate over the total of cool and adverse responses - i.e. those who wish the German system to remain as is, or would prefer it to be less like the American.

It is worth additionally noting, however, that (1) German youth (18 - 24) are distinctly more favorable toward emulating the American economic system than are their elders and (2) the respondents of SPD political persuasion do not appear to be any less favorable toward the American economic system than CDU and FDP sympathizers.

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

"Would you like it if more capitalistic or fewer capitalistic ideas would be used in our economy than is the case already?"

	More	Fewer	Remain as is	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	8%	50%	21%	21%...100%	548
Women	7	29	9	55	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	6	38	12	44	962
Beyond elementary	13	46	25	16	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	9	28	11	52	233
150 - 299 DM	6	38	11	45	415
300 - 399 DM	7	50	16	27	258
400 DM and more	7	44	24	25	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	7	38	11	44	156
25 - 34 years	8	41	17	34	225
35 - 44 years	6	46	12	36	253
45 - 54 years	5	44	15	36	240
55 years and over	10	27	17	46	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	7	60	13	20	301
CDU/CSU	9	36	17	38	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	16	41	21	22	76
No party	6	35	15	44	262
Don't know	4	15	11	70	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	10	44	28	18	50
Businessmen	9	36	20	35	139
White-collar workers	8	48	25	19	154
Skilled laborers	6	52	8	34	266
Semi-skilled laborers	4	36	14	46	148
Farmers	10	21	15	54	123
Unemployed	9	41	17	33	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	8	38	11	43	526
Protestants	7	39	16	38	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	8	40	14	38	934
Expellees, Refugees	7	34	16	43	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member myself	9	62	14	15	222
Yes, family member	3	42	8	47	205
No	8	31	17	44	739

R E S T R I C T E D

"Would you like it if our economic system would be more like or less like the American economic system?"

	More like the American system	Less like the American system	Should remain as is	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	26%	21%	25%	28%...100%	548
Women	19	8	19	54	624
Education:					
Elementary school	22	12	21	45	962
Beyond elementary	25	25	25	25	208
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	19	11	17	53	233
150 - 299 DM	22	11	22	45	415
300 - 399 DM	24	18	24	34	258
400 DM and more	27	21	24	28	216
Age:					
Up to 24 years	33	13	17	37	156
25 - 34 years	24	9	29	38	225
35 - 44 years	23	14	20	43	253
45 - 54 years	23	17	20	40	240
55 years and over	14	16	23	47	291
Party Preference:					
SPD	31	21	21	27	301
CDU/CSU	20	12	27	41	241
FDP/LDP/ DVP/BDV	29	20	26	25	76
No party	19	12	24	45	262
Don't know	12	6	14	68	216
Occupation:					
Professionals	20	26	26	28	50
Businessmen	24	20	25	31	139
White-collar workers	26	18	28	28	154
Skilled laborers	32	12	19	37	266
Semi-skilled laborers	17	15	21	47	148
Farmers	16	9	24	51	123
Unemployed	26	14	12	48	42
Religion:					
Catholics	24	11	23	42	526
Protestants	20	16	21	43	585
Origin:					
Natives	22	15	23	40	934
Expellees, Refugees	24	11	17	48	236
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member myself	32	23	19	26	222
Yes, family member	28	10	16	46	205
No	18	13	24	45	739

III. VIEWS ON COMMUNISM

MOST SEE AS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FROM SOCIALISM ...

With the preponderantly favorable German reactions to socialism - though not to socialization of industry - it becomes of considerable moment to assay the extent of favorable reactions to a communist economic philosophy that may exist on the theory that it is a type of socialism.

The returns in this area indicate first, that most West Germans with opinions in the matter hold socialism and communism to be fundamentally different. Almost one in five (17%), however, judge them to be about the same.

"Do you believe that socialism and communism are about the same or are they, in your opinion, fundamentally different?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
About the same	17%	17%	19%	14%	22%
Fundamentally different	55	55	56	51	69
No opinion	28	28	25	35	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The arguments of those who see a fundamental difference revolve around the theme that communism carries with it pressure and totalitarianism, while with socialism there is freedom.

Reasons Given Why Socialism Differs From Communism

WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
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Communism stands for pressure, totalitarianism; socialism does not:

Socialism doesn't mean totalitarianism, you can express your opinion freely; under the communist system your life is directed, there is nothing but pressure, and no freedom; under the socialist system complete freedom of the individual is guaranteed, communism takes socialism as camouflage, actually it is a dictatorship; communism is a system that knows only coercion, which doesn't know any freedom; under communism the individual is a slave to the state, under socialism, however, democratic methods are employed, there is no coercion; communism means totalitarianism methods and restriction of freedom, socialism is against such tactics; communism means outright dictatorship, no other form of government is possible, while socialism doesn't go so far; communism - dictatorial methods, socialism - people are free, equal; communism is more radical, is in favor of using force; a Communist says: what's mine is yours, and that's a totalitarian principle, while under socialism everybody has a chance; communism is more radical, it doesn't aim at reconciliation, it just wants to grab; under socialism the freedom of the individual is guaranteed; communism is radical, does not know consideration, the only things that counts are the aims of the party; etc.

20% 20% 19% 19% 28%

(Cont'd on next page)

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page):

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Socialism aims at improving the lot of the people, communism is destructive:

Socialism wants to improve that which already exists, while communism wants to destroy everything first; communism aims more at destroying things; socialism knows when to stop in the equalizing process; it is not destructive in its tendencies; in my opinion socialism is something positive, while communism has a bad reputation; socialism wants to achieve positive things, communism means lies and deception; socialism wants to get the best deal for the worker, while communism just fills the pockets of the functionaries; etc.

8%	8%	8%	8%	13%
----	----	----	----	-----

Under socialism people have more freedom than under communism (implication of differences of degree):

Communism means all out pressure, while under socialism people retain certain rights; socialism isn't that radical; socialism doesn't exert such pressure on people as does communism; it doesn't aim at controlling everything; communism is much more radical, socialism goes about things in a different manner; socialism doesn't aim at dominating everything; socialism is somewhat more moderate, is not as totalitarian as communism; etc.

7	7	6	8	13
---	---	---	---	----

Communism means all out socialization - socialism just partial socialization:

Under communism all plants are socialized; communism aims at socializing everything, even private property. That's not the aim of socialism, however; all industries are socialized in the Eastern zone, that's communist practice. In a socialist state that's not done to such an extent; communism aims at socializing and standardizing everything, while under socialism people are left their property; communism wants to control the whole economy, while socialism protects private property; socialism is superior, they recognize private property; the socialists don't aim at dispossessing; etc.

6	5	7	6	9
---	---	---	---	---

Socialism forms the basis for communism:

Socialism is the first step to communism; the ideologies are similar, in reality, however, they clash; communism means coercion, in this direction socialism may yet develop; etc.

*	-	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

Communism attacks religion, not so socialism:

That's quite plain, the churches are supporting socialism, they reject communism, however; under socialism the churches are left alone; communists are more opposed to religion; they differ on church issues, communism is against the churches, socialism isn't that radical; etc.

1	1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

Wages and working conditions are different; Under socialism efficiency and education are recognized, not so under communism; communism pretends to further socialism, that's just phony, however; etc.

No opinion/ No answer:

7	7	8	6	7
9	9	9	4	5
50%	57%	59%	53%	77%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

AND MOST SEE NO GOOD IN COMMUNISM WHATSOEVER ...

Whatever the similarities or differences between socialism and communism, the large majority in West Germany (65%) see no good whatsoever in the communist philosophy - even political considerations aside. However, it will be noted below that, with no opinion factored out, as many as approximately one in five remain who feel that apart from political considerations there is some good in communism.

"Apart from all political considerations, what do you think is good about communism?"

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

There is nothing good about communism:

In the course of two years I got to know what communism really means, all I can say is I consider it a thing inspired by the devil; I am opposed to communism in principle, I think there is nothing good about it, all it means is enslaving people; there is nothing good about it, I reject communism; nothing, all is bad about it; I consider communism to be bad; I'm quite sure communism is bad for us; there is nothing good about the system of (applied) communism; up till now nothing seems to be good to me; there is not a single good point; nothing, I don't want to hear anything about it; nothing at all; I don't consider anything to be good about communism; I consider communism to be wrong whatever way you look at it, it only breeds lazy people, who live and thrive on the work of others; it's impossible to equalize people as they differ individually. Up till now I didn't notice anything good about communism; etc.

65% 67% 59% 66% 69%

Doctrines aiming at improving the lot of the worker:

That communism advocates that a large part of the production goes to the workers and employees, that everybody gets his share of the production, that he is guaranteed a share in profits; that the capitalist forces don't get so much to the fore; communism wants to provide work and a living for all workers; true communism aims at bettering the lot of the worker, that he can lead a comfortable life; it means that the workers have a say in matters, too, the worker is respected as an individual, and his interests are looked after, the worker is always considered first; that it aims at improving living conditions for the man in the street; bettering the lot of the workers; that communism mainly opposes the big industrialists, that it keeps a strict eye on employers; etc.

4 3 3 6 6

Communist theories are good, but in practice bad:

The theory in itself may not be so bad, applied however, things are bad; there may be something in the idea, but in practice things look different; if it were more moderate and less violent, then there might be something in its ideas; it's difficult to get the right angle on things at present. The theory is good, but if it's realized it's no good any more; the ideology that's all; etc.

3 4 3 1 4

(Cont'd on next page)

- 26 -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Equal rights for all:

In the early stages of communism the basic idea was: "All people should be equal!"; if communism were realized according to its true meaning people would form one big community, it doesn't work that way in communist dominated countries, however; the idea of fellow-ship. If it were realized, that is; I consider the basic ideas to be all right, that is, that the individual citizen, even if he is a high government official, has no special privileges, that everybody without exception, has the welfare of the community in mind; the principle of considering all races to be equal; etc.

3% 2% 5% 4% 4%

It's initiative, stream-lined organization and disciplined leadership:

The initiative it develops, communism alone is consistent; communists never give up trying to gain ground, they make much more propaganda than any of the other parties; the disciplined leadership, through this discipline they can easily carry out concentrated programs; that people can be forced to work under certain circumstances; that they make use of all means available, no angle is being neglected; etc.

2 2 2 1 2

Communism sponsors socialist principles:

Communism actively promotes part of the social program, such as old-age pensions, pensions, etc.; that there are no different types of pensions, that all people get equal pensions; much is being done for the worker. Social services, such as paid leave tours, and sending children to recreation centers; the socialization program is justified, it seems, however, that communism is going too far in this direction; the socialist ideas are not bad on the whole, to what extent they can be realized, I couldn't tell; etc.

1 1 1 - 2

Socialization:

Because under communist rule all industries are being socialized; the ideas of Karl Marx, Luxemburg and others are being realized; socialization of heavy industries; that they socialize private firms, thus they get more out of them, people-owned industries have their good points, too; socialization of industries; etc.

1 * 1 - 1

Others:

The part of the opposition, if there is no other party to act as opposition; that communists show solidarity among themselves, otherwise I don't think much of communism; that they are against war and militarisation; etc.

No opinion/ No answer:

4	4	4	1	3
19	18	22	21	9
102%	101%	102%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINION ...

That socialism is fundamentally different from communism is the preponderant opinion among all population segments. Appreciable proportions in some groups, however, rising to almost a third among the FDP adherents, express the judgment that the two doctrines are about the same.

That there is no good whatsoever in communism, even disregarding its political characteristics, is the predominant opinion - usually by distinct majorities - among all population groupings (see page following). The tendency is, however, for the more educated and informed population elements - the men, the better schooled, and the better paid, to more often judge that communism has some good elements.

"Do you believe that socialism and communism are about the same or are they, in your opinion, fundamentally different?"

	About the same	Fundamentally different	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	22%	63%	15%...100%	548
Women	13	48	39	624
Education:				
Elementary school	16	53	31	962
Beyond elementary	23	65	12	208
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	17	47	36	233
150 - 299 DM	14	55	31	415
300 - 399 DM	18	60	22	258
400 DM and more	22	64	14	216
Age:				
Up to 24 years	13	58	29	156
25 - 34 years	21	52	27	225
35 - 44 years	15	60	25	253
45 - 54 years	20	54	26	240
55 years and over	15	54	31	291
Party Preference:				
SPD	13	75	12	301
CDU/CSU	18	55	27	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	31	59	10	76
No party	16	51	33	262
Don't know	13	34	53	216
Occupation:				
Professionals	14	66	20	50
Businessmen	24	60	16	139
White-collar workers	19	65	16	154
Skilled laborers	17	59	24	266
Semi-skilled laborers	13	49	38	148
Farmers	22	43	35	123
Unemployed	19	57	24	42
Religion:				
Catholics	17	53	30	526
Protestants	16	57	27	585
Origin:				
Natives	18	55	27	934
Expellees, Refugees	14	54	32	236
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member myself	14	72	14	222
Yes, family member	15	53	32	205
No	18	51	31	739

R E S T R I C T E D

"Apart from all political considerations, what do you think is good about communism?"

	Nothing good	Something good	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	62%	23%	15%...100%	548
Women	66	10	24	624
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	66	12	22	962
Beyond elementary	56	33	11	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	68	11	21	233
150 - 299 DM	63	14	23	415
300 - 399	68	17	15	258
400 DM and more	57	27	16	216
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	59	20	21	156
25 - 34 years	63	21	16	225
35 - 44 years	66	16	18	253
45 - 54 years	58	19	23	240
55 years and over	71	9	20	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	63	22	15	301
CDU/CSU	69	14	17	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	71	22	7	76
No party	59	15	26	262
Don't know	64	7	29	216
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	40	38	22	50
Businessmen	66	20	14	139
White-collar workers	67	23	10	154
Skilled laborers	62	17	21	266
Semi-skilled laborers	65	14	21	148
Farmers	70	3	27	123
Unemployed	62	21	17	42
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	68	13	19	526
Protestants	63	17	20	585
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	62	17	21	934
Expellees, Refugees	72	15	13	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member myself	60	25	15	222
Yes, family member	61	11	28	205
No	66	15	19	739

THE BASIC ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS OF THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE**II. The Status of Trade Unions and the
Question of Co-Determination**

Report No. 148

Series No. 2

August 7, 1952

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

The present report is the second in a series emanating from a survey designed to provide background guidance for American policy in Germany, particularly for MSA information activities.

The findings are of particular relevance in view of the recent falling out between the German Trade Union Association (DGB) and the Adenauer government over Bundestag treatment of the Shop Organization Law. Added pertinence derives from the newly released formal program of the Socialist party (SPD) which is expected to serve as the party platform for the 1953 parliamentary elections. This program, among other things, reiterates demands for workers' co-determination in the management of industry and business.

Results are based upon a survey conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff between April 7th and 25th, 1952, employing a 1,200 case representative probability sample of West Germany and a 300 case sample of West Berlin. As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung n.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

It is well to understand in advance that the economic queries posed in the present survey are rather too complex for some elements of the general public. For that reason "no opinion" will be generally high. Such a state of affairs in no wise diminishes the importance of making the present survey, however, since obviously the public opinion that will count on these issues are the sentiments of those who are capable of making judgments.

SUMMARY EXCERPTS

Public Appraisal of West German Trade Unions

The viewpoint strongly preponderates in West Germany that trade unions are a good influence. Only one in five among those with opinions express the view that trade unions exert a bad influence on the West German economy.

On the more specific question of union effectiveness in improving the living conditions of West German workers, favorable judgments also predominate with 55 per cent of the West German population judging that the West German trade unions do "much" in this respect.

However favorably inclined West Germans may be toward union activity in general, the clearly preponderant view is that unions should not have the right to strike, even on such a direct economic issue as higher wages for employees.

Trend figures available for the US zone and West Berlin tend to suggest, however, that opposition to use of the strike - at least for higher wages - has diminished over the past three years.

Support for the right to strike is distinctly greater among German youth than among their elders, and in this group - as is the case for no others examined - outweighs the opinion that strikes are wrong.

- I -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Do Germans Believe The US Supports German Trade Unions?

Though opinions divide on whether the United States prefers to see trade unions occupy a strong or weak position in West Germany, the larger proportion express the opinion that America wants to see the trade unions weak. Only in West Berlin does the contrary opinion predominate.

If it is American policy to encourage the growth of strong trade unions in West Germany, not only has there been a failure to convince, but also a failure to inform - as attested to by a figure of almost half the West German population who could offer no answer to the question.

Most of the accompanying comments of those who see the US as desiring weak trade unions in Germany reflect adverse orientations toward America - thus adding to the evidence from prior reports that anti-Americanism in West Germany cannot be safely assumed to characterize less than a quarter of the population.

The Question Of Co-Determination

German public opinion on the co-determination issue appears to be a) preponderant approval of labor having a say in the decisions of plant management, and b) preponderant disapproval of labor having as much to say as management in the making of such decisions.

This current picture accords closely with results obtained in March 1951, despite the use of somewhat differently formulated inquiries.

German Conceptions Of The US Attitude Toward Co-Determination

The prevailing view among the half of the West German population who express an opinion in the matter, is that the US prefers not to see co-determination put into effect in West Germany.

Supporting reasons advanced in the present connections are more often than not anti-American in tone.

- II -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

I. PUBLIC APPRAISAL OF WEST GERMAN TRADE UNIONS

A GOOD OR A BAD INFLUENCE ...

The strongly preponderant opinion in West Germany is that trade unions are a good influence. Only one in five among those with opinions express the view that trade unions exert a bad influence on the West German economy.

"Do you think that the trade unions generally exercise a good or a bad influence on our economy? (Very good or good influence?) (Bad or very bad influence?)"

	WEST GERMANY (1172)	British Zone (606)	US Zone (428)	French Zone (138)	Berlin (300)
Very good influence	7%	8%	7%	5%	3%
Good influence	45	47	43	42	54
Bad influence	12	11	14	8	17
Very bad influence	1	1	*	1	2
No opinion	35	33	36	44	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than one half of one per cent.

Relatively few however, it will be noted above, will go so far as to say that trade unions are a very good influence. Conversely only a negligible one per cent argue that their influence is very bad.

The arguments advanced for favorable appraisal of trade union influence, while focusing on varying considerations, revolve mainly around benefits to the workers.

Reasons Given for Saying Trade Unions Exercise a Good or Very Good Influence

Improve the economy and standard of living:

They look after the interests of the workers, they do a lot for them and that reflects on the economy of our country; I think that through the organization of the workers economic conditions are influenced favorably; the workers are more content when they know that their interests are being looked after properly, if the worker is content, economic conditions improve; if the interests of the working classes are safeguarded, purchasing power increases, more goods can be produced and sold; the trade unions represent the majority of people, they see to it that the living standard is improved, the more goods the worker is able to buy, the more goods have to be produced; they see to it that every worker has a job and gets paid, thus economic conditions are improved; through them a certain order is being maintained in the economic sphere - through uniting all working people; by their trying to find work for all workers, thus the economy gets a boost, for if the worker earns money, trade and commerce thrive; it is the task of the trade unions to see to it that the working people are satisfied, if they are, it's easier to manage the economy; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Berlin Z.
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13% 17% 8% 13% 20%

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Advocate fair wages, social services, good working conditions, etc.:

They see to it that things go smoothly and that demands for wage increases are met; because they fought for the rights of the workers, for wages, leave, etc.; they try to improve working conditions for the workers, to get higher wages and more agreeable working conditions; they get social services introduced by which the workers profit - they see to it that the government gives the worker a fair deal; especially in regard to social services benefiting the workers; if a worker is discharged in a big firm, the trade union association sees to it that he can stay on - thus there aren't as many unemployed, for the keep of which the government and the working people have to pay; if the workers stick together the management is forced to keep the firm at its full strength, thus they make sure that the firms do not reduce the number of employees; they accomplish quite a number of things, for example, if a member is ill, they pay sickness benefits, for workers going on leave there are recreation centers; standard wages, if the trade unions did not exist management probably would not be so cooperative regarding leave, through arbitration they help prevent strikes; if the government people bungle the job, they set up a howl; the trade unions help to improve the housing situation, the trade unions protect the rights of the workers; etc.

10% 8% 13% 7% 10%

Support the cause of the workers and look after their interests:

Because they defend the rights of the workers; through their influence on the workers; they are on the side of the workers; they do everything in their power to help the workers; because they aid the workers; that they help the cause of the workers; much is being done for the workers, that's very important, without the trade unions we would not have achieved so much; because the trade unions do everything to make life as pleasant as possible for workers and employees; etc

9 9 10 6 7

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Help to settle differences between management and labor:

They try to bring about friendly relations between management and labor; the trade unions use their influence to settle any issue arising between management and labor, that's very important for the economy; the trade unions see to it that relations between management and labor remain fairly friendly, that peace is kept on labor issues; they take the side of the worker on any issue, if he doesn't get along with the boss, etc.; considering given conditions, they try to reconcile different point of views - differences that keep cropping up between management and labor; they act as mediators and settle differences between workers and directors; by trying to ease the tension between management and labor; etc.

9% 10% 7% 15% 14%

Protect workers against exploitation by management:

Help for the worker if he is being abused; the employer does not risk going too far, they are aware of the power of the trade unions; without the trade unions we could be too easily be exploited, I can't think of anything else; that the management cannot do as they please, they cannot exploit labor; they protect the worker against exploitation on the part of the big firms; to prevent the employer from exploiting the worker even more; because the workers would be exploited even more, if trade unions did not exist; etc.

6 6 7 4 3

Others:

Because they seriously tried not to let the leftists get the upper-hand, but actually fought against their influence; because everybody is interested in the welfare of the country, West Germany; because people become industrious and work towards an aim; everybody goes too far, people just can't keep within bounds; I don't know what to say to this, there are no strikes and I think that's a favorable symptom; I guess that's so, otherwise our government would not tolerate the trade unions; they fight war and that's all right; if they would exert a bad influence, they would harm their own cause; because they fight rearmament; because the trade unions improve conditions through their relations with the trade unions of other countries; they want the worker to share profits, through co-determination; etc.

4 3 5 3 4

No opinion/ No answer:

4	5	3	2	4
55%	58%	53%	50%	62%

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ne minority who see trade unions as having an adverse impact on the West German economy argue in the following vein:

Reasons Given for Saying Trade Unions Exercise a Bad or Very Bad Influence

WEST	Mr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Interfere in the relationship between employer and employee:

They interfere too much in the problems of the employer, and judge the things from the employee's standpoint - the interests of the employer are not taken into consideration at all; they arouse bad feeling against the employers; it would be better to get employers and employees to join in one organization, cooperation as it is now is bad between these groups; because they often disturb the good understanding between employer and employees; etc.

2% 2% 3% 1% 3%

Harm the economy by their exaggerated demands:

They make exaggerated demands which our recovering economy can't stand; because the constant clamor for higher wages is bad; the trade unions' efforts to realize even higher wages for the workers is nonsense, the initiative for construction is hindered by them, that means that one of the key industries is neglected; the trade unions don't use the proper methods to achieve more rights for the workers, higher wages cause higher costs of production, and consequently the consumption goods get more expensive, and our products will become difficult to be sold on the world market; the workers want to earn much money, and they have the trade unions claim higher wages for them; etc.

2 2 2 1 3

Keep their own interest in view at the cost of the workers:

Because they always take care of themselves first rather than of the workers; they rob us, have a good time, but don't do anything for us; they only stir up the workers, and take the money out of their pockets; the trade union officials have often lost all sense of proportion, they are selfish and have not the interests of the community in mind; they work for themselves and their own purse to an ever increasing degree; etc.

2 2 2 1 3

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Strive too much for power:

Because they want to influence politics by their dictatorial power; the trade unions do only that what suits their purposes, they don't take the interests of the economy into consideration; they only pursue their own aims, first of all they want to gain a powerful position for themselves, the workers' welfare comes second; I think that their demands are excessive as far as the right of co-determination is concerned, these demands will empower them to carry every point through by strikes without considering whether it will turn out good or bad for the economy, the trade unions are only interested in holding a powerful position; the free development of the economy is hindered by them; the right of co-determination is to bring the industry under the control of the state, similar to collectivism in the East; etc.

2%	1%	3%	2%	3%
----	----	----	----	----

Strikes paralyse the economy:

Strikes cause losses in production which is detrimental to industry; the numerous strikes which nearly stop industry; people don't want to strike, but the trade unions stir them up, etc.

1	1	2	1	3
---	---	---	---	---

The trade unions are not firm enough with the government:

They are too slack, they don't carry their point through; they are not energetic enough, and let the government use our taxes for representation purposes; the trade unions are linked to the government, but they should be independent and do nothing other than stand up for the rights of the workers; etc.

1	1	1	-	1
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

They neglect agriculture; security against dismissal is not always useful; there can't be two masters in one firm, my opinion is that the trade unions are unnecessary; the trade unions only abuse the government, they should pay more attention to the employer-employee relationship; because the industry doesn't want to have much to do with the trade unions, they only want to help the workers, and there is no other means than presenting demands to the industry; the social services of the trade unions make life too easy, nobody wants to work any longer, the morale of the people gets lower; they do not enough for the workers who are not members of the trade unions, I learned it from my brothers; etc.

3	2	2	3	5
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

*	1	*	-	*
13%	12%	15%	9%	21%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

EFFECTIVENESS IN PROMOTING WORKERS' INTEREST ...

On the more specific question of union effectiveness in improving the living conditions of West German workers, favorable judgments again preponderate with 55 per cent of the West German population judging that West German trade unions do "much" rather than little in this respect. Sixteen per cent voiced a contrary view and a fractional 3 per cent argued that the trade unions generally accomplish "nothing at all" in improving rank and file living conditions.

"Do you have the impression that the trade unions in Western Germany generally do much or little for the improvement of living conditions of workers and employees?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Much	55%	54%	55%	58%	55%
Little	16	19	14	9	24
Nothing at all	3	4	3	2	6
No opinion	26	23	28	31	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Though favorable evaluations of the effectiveness of union activities predominate also in West Berlin, it should not be overlooked that unfavorable judgments of union success in improving the workers' standard of living are more frequent in that area than in West Germany generally. Such an outcome is not surprising in view of the general difficulties of West Berlin living under current political conditions.

The most frequent contentions of those who judge trade union effectiveness to be minor, is that trade union leaders work only for their own profit, or that trade unions lack the power to assert themselves against the opposition of employers, the government or the occupying powers.

"Why in your opinion, do the trade unions not do more for the improvement of living conditions of workers and employees?"
(Asked of those who answered "little" or "nothing at all" to previous question.)

WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
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Trade union leaders work only for their own profit:

Because those gentlemen are feathering their own nests only, they don't care for the workers; the trade unions don't have the right people in leading jobs, those at the top accept bribes; the present representatives only work for their own profit, they feel they don't belong to the working class any more; those pot-bellied guys are usually quite slack and why, because they are well off; because they think too much of themselves; in case of strikes the benefits they pay are too low, thus the worker is being cheated out of his trade union dues; because there are little results, they don't further the cause of the workers, they only solicit members who pay, because the trade union officials are incompetent; etc.

6% 7% 6% 1% 7%

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST
GERMANYDr.
Z.US
Z.Fr.
Z.

[REDACTED]

Trade unions lack the power to assert themselves against the opposition of employers, government and occupation powers:

They can't compete with the employers' organization; because they can't, as the employers are more powerful; because the employers' organizations are stronger; because the trade unions have no say in matters - the employers do what they please; they just talk a lot, they dazzle the workers with promises which can't be realized; they can't do anything, they don't have the means at their disposal; at present nobody is quite free to do as he pleases, because the British and the Americans exert certain controls; because the government exerts a certain pressure on them, they are completely under orders, they may perhaps want to introduce improvements, they can't, however, because they are not allowed to, the only way that's open to them is to negotiate; etc.

5% 6% 3% 4% 8%

Trade union funds are inadequate:

They probably lack the funds; they can't do it themselves, because their funds are too limited; because they don't have the money; because improvements for the workers are brought about only through strikes, and strikes are a very costly affair; because they can't, there is no money with which to subsidize cooperative stores, recreation centers, etc.; they had to start from scratch after the currency reform had taken place, no funds of the DAF (sort of trade union existing during the Nazi regime) were transferred, only furniture was handed over; etc.

1 1 1 - 4

Number of members relatively small:

Because not the whole labor force is organized, only about 40% of the working population is organized; only a small number of workers and employees belong to the trade unions, thus they are jeopardizing their own cause; because trade union membership is not too large in West Germany, maybe the people don't recognize its positive sides yet; because they are not in a position to do so, the number of workers belonging to the trade unions is too small; etc.

1 2 1 - 2

(cont'd on next page)

- 7 -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Z.

Rise in wages results in economic strain:

If a rise in wages is really brought about, then prices will rise, too, this process might go on for ever then; because they try to bring about wage increases, but then prices rising, too, you can't call that a success; they have no chance, they would have a chance only if the economic situation would be such as to justify wage increases; etc.

1%	1%	1%	-	1%
----	----	----	---	----

Trade unions spend too much money for administrative purposes:

They spend too much money on their administration; because large sums of money are spent on the administration; there are too many people on the pay roll; there are too many paid officials, who are being paid high salaries, the money for which has to be raised by the trade union members; etc.

1	1	*	1	-
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

The reason for it is the situation of Berlin and the many unemployed - in Berlin trade unions meddle too much in politics, SPD influence is too strong - they concern themselves with party politics; they don't want to get at cross-purposes with the manufacturers, because the worker has no backbone, he doesn't know solidarity, if the director favors him with just a smile he turns against his colleagues; the reason for this is the decline of the country, there are only our man power and patents, etc. left, they took away everything else, thus it is difficult to raise the living standard; they are doing their utmost; because they are not radical enough; if a worker doesn't belong to the trade union they don't help him, it's the same with those who have been members for a short period only; the trade unions have little influence on living conditions, they are mainly concerned with labor disputes, regarding wages, etc. - in such cases they help people all the way, otherwise they have little influence; either they are not in a position to do anything, or they don't want to; etc.

4	5	3	4	8
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/ No answer:

$\frac{2}{21\%}$	$\frac{2}{25\%}$	$\frac{3}{18\%}$	$\frac{1}{11\%}$	$\frac{2}{32\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

However favorable West Germans may be toward union activity in general, the clearly preponderant view is that they should not have the right to strike even on such a direct economic issue as higher wages for employees.

"Would you consider it basically right or wrong if the trade unions called a strike to enforce higher wages for the employees?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Right	29%	31%	29%	22%	39%
Wrong	56	54	58	57	58
No opinion	15	15	13	21	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Trend figures available for the US Zone and West Berlin tend to suggest, however, that opposition to use of the strike - at least for higher wages - has diminished over the past three years.

	US Zone		Berlin	
	Feb '49 (1500)	Apr '52 (1172)	Feb '49 (262)	Apr '52 (300)
Right	24%	31%	24%	39%
Wrong	68	54	72	58
No opinion	8	15	4	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The accompanying comments of those opposing strikes for higher wages reveal that some are only questioning the value of strikes for this particular purpose, rather than opposing strikes per se. Even with this group factored out, however, the clearly preponderant opinion - for the various reasons that are advanced below - is that strikes are basically wrong.

Reasons Advanced for Saying Strikes for Higher Wages Are Wrong

WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
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Wage increases result in rising prices:

Because then prices will rise again, that's all, wage increases are useless, the prices should go down; strikes always result in prices chasing wages, even if the living standard of the worker is raised for the moment, it won't last; that is no use, it doesn't get the workers anywhere, if they get higher wages, the prices go on rising as they did up till now; if wages are rising, the living index is going up, too, prices will go on chasing wages; through a strike the worker harms his own cause - as I told you, it's useless to raise wages, as long as prices keep rising, too; etc.

13% 12% 14% 16% 11%

It means a loss to the people and the economy:

A strike is too costly an affair, the whole economy is affected; because, for one thing, in the case of strikes orders cannot be executed on time and the production is crippled, and because through strikes production and the economy as a whole suffer a downward trend; because the nation suffers through strikes; because it means a serious set-back to production, especially in impoverished Germany; because through a strike the man in the street only loses, he doesn't gain by it; through strikes the economy is dislocated, distress and economic strain are thus aggravated; because a strike means a severe set-back to the economy as a whole; because the economy as a whole suffers such a set-back, that the loss in the economic sphere cannot be compensated by minor gains on the part of the strikers; etc.

11 10 12 7 18

(cont'd on next page)

It means a financial loss to the workers:

A strike results only in losses for the worker; because a strike means a set-back for the employee only, he suffers financial losses; there are too few jobs, as it is, they can't achieve anything through such measures; because in case of strikes no wages are paid, thus the worker is left empty-handed, he doesn't gain anything through strikes; for the workers don't get any compensation for loss of pay; because the costs involved have to be borne by the employee, he is always the loser; etc.

11% 13% 8% 9% 13%

Settling of issues through negotiations is preferable:

A compromise is better - a strike doesn't get you anywhere, often they don't achieve much, they only waste time; because things aren't improved that way; often you achieve more through talking things over in a friendly way; a friendly approach brings better results; such disputes should be settled through talking things over calmly; to show understanding for each other's point of view is a much better approach; etc.

10 10 10 12 10

Strikes are useless:

Because it doesn't get you anywhere; things are not improved through a strike; a strike has never resulted in anything positive; they don't achieve anything; etc.

8 8 9 9 4

To strike means to employ pressure - it results in unrest and chaos:

In times of economic strain such as at present, when money is scarce, such acts of violence should be avoided; I am against any kind of violence on principle; in such cases people are apt to go too far, people get spiteful, quarrelsome, strike leads to discord, that's all; there should be order, through illegal strikes workers only harm their own cause; etc.

5 6 3 4 8

Wages are adequate - employers can't pay higher wages:

The workers are quite well paid, it's the middle class people who get the worst deal; the employers are unable to pay higher wages; the employers can't pay higher wages, where should the money come from?; because the employers can't pay higher wages, they, too, are under pressure from those at the top; etc.

2 1 3 4 3

Others:

Because the present East-West situation is a draw-back - the people in the East could stab us in the back, for instance, if the bakers here would go on strike, the people would shop in the East, if they can't get anything here, then the East would have outsmarted us; I'm against strikes, as strikes are successful only if the majority of workers go along, that's, however, not the case here; it never leads to anything much, the management takes it out on the workers at some later date; there are too many splinter groups, which don't go along if a strike is called, therefore I'm against strikes; etc.

4 3 5 2 4

No opinion/No answer:
 $\frac{4}{64\%}$ $\frac{3}{63\%}$ $\frac{5}{63\%}$ $\frac{2}{63\%}$ $\frac{4}{71\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINIONS ...

Among the more significant indications emanating from population group comparisons on the issues thus far raised are the following:

In no grouping examined does more than a third label trade unions a bad influence on the West German economy. Approval of trade union influence appear to be at its maximum among West German youth (18-24), with older groups more often expressing no opinion. Interesting also is the fact that only 17 per cent among trade union members themselves would go so far as to say that trade unions are a very good influence - thus tending to suggest that in various ways present day West German trade unions fall somewhat short of the ideals of their membership.

As to the effectiveness of trade unions, the opinion preponderates across the board that they do much rather than little for the improvement of workers' living conditions. Even the unemployed and the lowest income respondents concur in the prevailing favorable view, though in the latter case the extent of approval is less than for any other important population grouping.

In regard to the right to strike for higher wages, possibly the most significant indication that emerges from group comparisons is that support for the right to strike is distinctly greater among West German youth (18-24) than among their elders. Indeed in this group as in no other population grouping examined, espousal of the right to strike outweighs the opinion that strikes are wrong. Youth differ in this respect even from the trade union members themselves as a group, among whom 52 per cent express the opinion that a strike for higher wages is basically wrong.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Do you think that the trade unions generally exercise a good or a bad influence on our economy? (Very good or good influence?) (Bad or very bad influence?)

	Very good influence	Good influence	Bad influence	Very bad influence	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	9%	48%	19%	1%	23%	548
Women	6	42	6	*	46	624
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	7	44	10	1	38	962
Beyond elementary	6	51	19	1	23	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 149 DM	7	36	9	*	48	233
150 - 299 DM	7	49	10	*	34	415
300 - 399 DM	9	49	14	*	28	258
400 DM and more	5	47	17	2	29	216
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 24 years	4	57	10	-	29	156
25 - 34 years	7	51	15	*	27	225
35 - 44 years	10	45	11	-	34	253
45 - 54 years	8	43	10	1	38	240
55 years and over	6	36	13	1	44	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	15	60	8	*	17	301
CDU/CSU	7	47	12	*	34	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	3	42	29	3	23	76
No party	5	34	13	2	46	262
Don't know	2	35	8	-	55	216
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	4	50	14	2	30	50
Businessmen	4	36	22	3	35	139
White-collar workers	12	49	14	-	25	154
Skilled laborers	8	58	10	1	23	266
Semi-skilled laborers	11	45	6	-	38	148
Farmers	2	24	19	-	55	123
Unemployed	10	52	7	-	31	42
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	9	41	11	1	38	526
Protestants	6	48	11	1	34	585
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	7	45	13	1	34	934
Expellees, Refugees	9	43	8	-	40	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member myself	17	58	9	-	16	222
Yes, family member	9	57	6	1	27	205
No	4	38	14	1	43	739

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Do you have the impression that the trade unions in Western Germany generally do much or little for the improvement of living conditions of workers and employees?"

	Much	Little	Nothing at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	61%	20%	4%	15%...100%	548
Women	50	13	3	34	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	53	15	4	28	962
Beyond elementary	62	21	2	15	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	44	14	7	35	233
150 - 299 DM	58	13	2	27	415
300 - 399 DM	58	22	2	18	258
400 DM and more	62	18	5	15	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	62	16	-	22	156
25 - 34 years	55	23	3	19	225
35 - 44 years	55	15	5	25	253
45 - 54 years	55	16	3	26	240
55 years and over	51	12	4	33	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	67	20	4	9	301
CDU/CSU	61	10	2	27	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	63	19	5	13	76
No party	41	21	4	34	262
Don't know	44	10	2	44	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	72	12	6	10	50
Businessmen	52	21	5	22	139
White-collar workers	60	19	1	20	154
Skilled laborers	58	19	3	20	266
Semi-skilled laborers	51	20	3	26	148
Farmers	50	9	2	39	123
Unemployed	55	19	5	21	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	55	16	3	26	526
Protestants	55	15	3	27	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	56	16	3	25	934
Expellees, Refugees	52	17	2	29	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member myself	67	21	4	8	222
Yes, family member	63	19	2	16	205
No	49	14	4	33	739

R E S T R I C T E D

"Would you consider it basically right or wrong if the trade unions called a strike to enforce higher wages for the employees?"

	Right	Wrong	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	33%	61%	6%...100%	548
Women	25	51	24	624
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	30	53	17	962
Beyond elementary	26	67	7	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	27	51	22	233
150 - 299 DM	31	52	17	415
300 - 399 DM	32	58	10	258
400 DM and more	27	67	6	216
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	51	36	13	156
25 - 34 years	37	53	10	225
35 - 44 years	24	63	13	253
45 - 54 years	25	58	17	240
55 years and over	19	61	20	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	42	53	5	301
CDU/CSU	24	64	12	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	22	77	1	76
No party	22	61	17	262
Don't know	22	42	36	216
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	30	64	6	50
Businessmen	20	71	9	139
White-collar workers	31	60	9	154
Skilled laborers	35	52	13	266
Semi-skilled laborers	34	49	17	148
Farmers	20	57	23	123
Unemployed	36	57	7	42
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	30	55	15	526
Protestants	27	57	16	585
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	29	57	14	934
Expellees, Refugees	29	52	19	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member myself	44	52	4	222
Yes, family member	33	51	16	205
No	24	58	18	739

R E S T R I C T E D

II. DO GERMANS BELIEVE THE U.S. SUPPORTS GERMAN TRADE UNIONS?

AMERICA'S PREFERENCE IN GERMAN EYES ...

Though opinions divide on whether the United States prefers to see trade unions occupy a strong or weak position in West Germany, the larger proportion express the belief that America wants to see the trade unions weak. Only in West Berlin does the contrary opinion predominate.

"Do you believe that America prefers to see the trade unions occupy a strong or a weak position in Western Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Strong position	21%	23%	22%	14%	52%
Weak position	28	27	29	26	19
It makes no difference to America	5	6	4	5	3
No opinion	46	44	45	55	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

If it is American policy to encourage the growth of strong trade unions in West Germany, not only has there been a failure to convince, but also a failure to inform - as attested to by the figure of almost half the West German population who could offer no answer to the question.

Most of the accompanying comments of those who see America as desiring weak trade unions in Germany reflect adverse orientations toward America. Such a finding adds to indications from prior reports * that anti-Americanism in West Germany cannot be safely assumed to characterize less than a quarter of the population.

Reasons Advanced for Saying U.S. Prefers Weak Trade Unions in West Germany

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
<u>Strong trade unions mean a danger to the American influence in Germany:</u>					
Because we are too much dependent on the occupation powers, too much influence of the workmen would diminish the influence of the occupation powers; it is possible that America fears for her position in Germany if the workers form too strong a front; weak trade unions need not be taken into consideration by America; because the trade unions support the German interests, and that annoys the Americans; because the Americans don't care for us, they don't want a powerful Germany; the Americans don't want organizations whatsoever in Germany - powerful trade unions are against America's interests; etc.		7%	8%	8%	4% 5%

(cont'd on next page)

* See particularly report No. 130, Series No. 2, dated March 31, 1952, entitled - WEST GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION FOLLOWING THE FORMAL BUNDESTAG DEBATE, II. Current Support and Resistance and Some of the Factors Related Thereto.

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Strong trade unions would hinder American exploitation of our economy:

America's aim to dominate West Germany economically can only be achieved if the trade unions are weak; the Americans want to exploit us, and the trade unions try to prevent it; because they could treat us even worse than they have done up to now - we are the defeated and they want to exploit us to the utmost; for economic reasons, because strong trade unions have too much influence on trade and commerce; that America can get more specialists from us, strong trade unions wouldn't tolerate this; because they want to invest their money here, in case the workers get the upper hand, the employers won't have a say any longer; etc.

6%	6%	4%	8%	3%
----	----	----	----	----

America is a capitalist country and therefore opposes organizations formed by employees:

Because America is all out for capitalism; because America is a country of capitalism; because America, as a representative of capitalism, rejects socialization; because capitalism and trade unions are opposed to each other; because America is mainly capitalist; American high finance doesn't like trade unions; trade unions favor the workers, and the capitalists don't like this; I can't imagine that capitalism will allow a rival force to exist; etc.

6	6	7	6	4
---	---	---	---	---

Workers who are not organized are easier to lead:

It is more convenient for the Americans if no organization is backing the workers because they are easier to control then; because it is easier for them to keep an eye on the workers; because the working class might grow too powerful; etc.

3	2	3	4	1
---	---	---	---	---

Private industry opposes trade unions:

America is a country of free enterprise, and, generally, businessmen oppose trade unions; American liberalism naturally doesn't incline very much to the trade union system; because the Americans encourage free enterprise; because they feel the trade unions to be a danger to private initiative; etc.

1	1	1	1	3
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

America wants to prevent the trade unions from spreading Communist ideas:

Because they presume the trade unions to be Communist; in order to prevent Communist ideas to be spread too much; because the trade unions are associations of employees, more or less infected by Communist ideas, and that doesn't suit America; strong trade unions would present a state within the state, furthermore, they would threaten the aims of America's foreign policy because many of the officials of the trade unions are Communists; etc.

1%	*	1%	1%	*
----	---	----	----	---

Others:

Social conditions are less favorable in America than they are over here - the Americans want the same low level in Germany, therefore they fear the influence of the trade unions; because the Americans want to realize the aims of the CDU, and the majority of the CDU politicians are employers or, at least, pursue CDU aims; because the Americans know that our trade unions are of no use; America doesn't need trade unions which stand up for the rights of the workers, America is a wealthy nation which is able to pay high wages; they are well aware that our trade unions are directed by political parties, and this they presume to be bad; etc.

3	3	3	2	3
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{28\%}$	$\frac{1}{27\%}$	$\frac{2}{29\%}$	$\frac{*}{26\%}$	$\frac{-}{19\%}$
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* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

Those who judged America's desire to be strong trade unions in West Germany reasoned along the following lines:

Reasons Advanced for Saying U. S. Prefers Strong Trade Unions in West Germany

WEST GERMANY	Dr. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
-----------------	-----------	----------	-----------	--------

Comparison with American trade unions - the U.S. has strong trade unions, too:

Because in America the trade unions are strong, too; because the trade unions occupy a strong position in their own country, too; because over there they are also big and strong; they want the same thing for us as they have in America - strong trade unions; because America itself also has powerful trade unions and thinks it best for Germany to have the same; the Americans have had good results with their trade unions themselves; etc.

6% 7% 6% 1% 16%

Economic and political advantages:

Because it would help to increase our output, we are indebted to America and would be able to meet our obligations much better that way; it would be for the benefit of the Americans just as well, if the trade unions back the laborers thus achieving an improvement of our economic situation - everything will turn to the better and consequently the Americans also profit; I assume that the Americans support the German trade unions to get the German laborer to side with America; because they need not address the individual any longer this way, but simply direct their demands at the labor unions - laborers will follow orders more easily; etc.

4 2 5 6 7

Cooperation of German and American trade unions with the aim of creating friendship between both people:

In order to advance cooperation with the American trade unions; to make an even closer cooperation with the American trade unions possible; because the trade unions serve the idea of world friendship; the American and the German trade unions would cooperate; America and Germany would get on better terms with each other - because America wants to be just; because the trade unions bring people together and will not let the individual think of himself only, in a selfish manner - that's why I think that America wants to see strong trade unions here; to cement the friendship between our two nations; etc.

2 3 1 1 5

(cont'd on next page)

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

More rights for and improving of the standard of living of the laborers:

Because then the workers would get their rights and that is what America absolutely wants to have done; America also wants to see the German laborer on a higher standard of living; they would like more power given to the laborers; because the trade unions have always backed up the laborers; because in America the trade unions are organizations fighting for the well-being of the workers; so the trade unions cooperate in the rebuilding and raising of the standard of living; etc.

2%	2%	1%	1%	7%
----	----	----	----	----

Strengthening of democracy:

For democratic reasons, to strengthen and promote the democratic ideology; because the trade unions represent the democratic idea best; because that conforms to the democratic conception; everybody is to have his rights in a democracy and be granted the essentials of life; etc.

2	2	2	-	6
---	---	---	---	---

Counter-weight against Communism:

They do not want Communism to win more influence here; because the laborers will have leadership and will not turn Communist; because with strong trade unions the laborers will not become Communists; because it represents a power against the East bloc; so the social structure of our country is preserved, then the Communist influence on our laborers would become weaker; partly as a counter-weight against Communism; etc.

2	2	2	1	4
---	---	---	---	---

Promoting cooperation between labor and management and thereby achieving a smoother functioning of our economy:

Because everything originally comes from the trade unions - because America is interested in establishing good cooperation between labor and management; so there is agreement between management and labor, that's what America wants; they know that if we have the support of the trade unions, we can get along alone; if all are organized in the trade unions, everything operates more smoothly - more possibilities for discussions, that is the same in America; work performance is better and smoother; the result would be a smoother functioning in our economy if the trade unions have a strong position; etc.

1	1	2	1	6
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Others:

Strong trade unions would support the Jews more, as it is in the U.S., too, for the most American trade unions are headed by Jews; well, because they help everywhere; I talked about this subject with Americans who spoke good German - they stated it was not good that Germany was not organized in strong trade unions; they have the capitalist system in America and everybody knows what their attitude is towards the trade unions; etc.

2	2	2	3	2
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion:

$\frac{1}{22\%}$	$\frac{2}{23\%}$	$\frac{2}{23\%}$	$\frac{-}{14\%}$	$\frac{3}{56\%}$
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• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINIONS ...

Population group comparisons reveal that ignorance of where the U.S. stands on German trade unions is high even among the typically more alert and informed population elements - the men, the better schooled and the better paid. Among those volunteering answers the indication is that opinions divide pretty much across the board as to whether America would prefer to have trade unions occupying a strong or weak position in Western Germany.

"Do you believe that America prefers to see the trade unions occupy a strong or a weak position in Western Germany?"

	Strong position	Weak position	It makes no difference to America	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	28%	39%	5%	28%...100%	548
Women	16	17	5	62	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20	26	5	49	962
Beyond elementary	31	33	6	30	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	18	21	7	54	233
150 - 299 DM	18	27	4	51	415
300 - 399 DM	23	33	4	40	258
400 DM and more	33	32	7	28	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	28	28	6	38	156
25 - 34 years	28	25	3	44	225
35 - 44 years	21	30	7	42	253
45 - 54 years	18	29	5	48	240
55 years and over	16	27	5	52	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	29	36	6	29	301
CDU/CSU	23	24	7	46	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	35	38	3	24	76
No party	17	25	4	54	262
Don't know	12	15	5	68	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	36	28	6	30	50
Businessmen	25	34	6	35	139
White-collar workers	31	31	5	33	154
Skilled laborers	24	29	4	43	266
Semi-skilled laborers	18	30	5	47	148
Farmers	10	24	2	64	123
Unemployed	38	12	2	48	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	21	27	5	47	526
Protestants	21	27	5	47	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	21	29	6	44	934
Expellees, Refugees	24	21	3	52	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member myself	31	36	6	27	222
Yes, family member	26	20	5	49	205
No	17	27	5	51	739

III. THE QUESTION OF CO-DETERMINATION

CO-DETERMINATION YES - BUT NO EQUAL SAY ...

Put briefly, the basic facts of German public opinion on the co-determination issue in West Germany appear to be the following:

- (1) Preponderant approval of labor having a say in the decisions of plant management.
- (2) Preponderant disapproval of labor having as much to say as management in the making of such decisions.

Such would seem to be the import of the returns to the two questions below.

"Are you generally for or against the right of co-determination (i.e., that workers and employees are to share in the decisions of the plant's management)?"

If "For it":

"Should labor have just as much to say about the operation of the plant as management or should it not have just as much to say?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
For it and equal voice	26%	28%	25%	20%	20%
For but lesser voice	37	38	35	42	45
Against co-determination	15	15	17	12	20
No opinion	22	19	23	26	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The current picture of West German public opinion on the co-determination issue accords closely with results obtained in March 1951, despite the use of somewhat differently formulated inquiries. Then, too, it will be noted in the tabulations reproduced below, approval of co-determination outweighed disapproval - but only to the extent of a lesser say for labor as compared to the employer in making plant decisions. In West Berlin however, to the extent that the inquiries can be considered comparable, favorable attitudes toward co-determination would appear to have fallen off somewhat over the past year.

"The workers of various industries have demanded the right of co-determination. Should, in your opinion, the workers be granted this right or not?" (Asked of those who priorly indicated familiarity with the co-determination issue.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Granted	46%	51%	40%	44%	50%
Not granted	10	12	8	7	11
No opinion	5	6	5	3	3
	<u>61%</u>	<u>69%</u>	<u>53%</u>	<u>54%</u>	<u>64%</u>

(March 7-15, 1951)

The workers of a plant should be represented in the management and their influence should be just as great as that of the employers in all questions

39% 39% 37% 44% 49%

There are many important questions in the plant which can only be decided by the employer and therefore the workers should not have just as much to say about management as the employer

50 50 51 43 51

No opinion

11 11 12 11 -
100% 100% 100% 100% 100%

REASONS ADVANCED FOR QUESTIONING VALUE OF CO-DETERMINATION ...

Reasons advanced both for opposing giving labor an equal say with management in plant decisions, and giving labor any say at all, revolved around similar arguments - that too many cooks spoil the broth, that labor lacks the ability or training necessary to plant management, that the employers bear the risk and responsibility as owners, so should make the decisions, and other considerations that may be noted below:

Reasons Advanced Why Labor Should Not Have as Much to Say as Management in Plant Decisions

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Where too many have a say, confusion and quarrels will be the result, somebody must lead:

Many heads, many minds - there must be one person who is in charge, otherwise confusion will ensue - they might have a say but authority must lie in one hand only; there must be one boss, if everybody has a say, things will go wrong; that is impossible, there must be one person who gives the orders; every firm must have a person in a leading position who gives the orders and this can be the owner only; because only one person can direct a firm; if everybody wants to give orders, there will be a mess; one shouldn't forget that it is the boss who provides the employees with work, consequently he must be able to manage things; the boss must be in control; the boss must lead; there will be only disagreement and quarreling because in the end the boss will insist on his right of possession; there would be too great a confusion and no union could be reached; the more authority the workers get, the bigger the confusion; if everybody has the same right, quarrels are unavoidable; etc.

12%	14%	9%	12%	12%
-----	-----	----	-----	-----

Because labor lacks the ability necessary for the management of a big firm:

The worker can't look further than from the lathe to the garden gate - he is not able to understand much about management; they can't decide what is important for the firm and what not; the workers are unable to perceive the organizational problems of a firm because they lack the necessary training; because they lack the general ability and the sense of responsibility, it would mean the same as to let the nurse do the surgeon's work; because the workers neither can decide what is necessary for the production and the plant, nor judge the situation of the market; the workers have a different stand to look at plant management than those who've got experience and power of discernment - the workers may make proposals, but they are unable to decide whether something can be carried through or not because they lack the all-round view; the workers have not the same ability as academically trained men and directors; unfortunately, the workers haven't attained yet sufficient knowledge in economic matters; etc.

10	9	11	8	15
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(cont'd on next page)

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Because it is the employer who owns the firm, he possesses the money, and provides the jobs:

The boss owns the firm, therefore he should be in charge; because the employer is the person that counts most, and it is his money that is invested in the firm; the employer is the man who owns the firm, must have more rights than the employee; the employer must have more rights because he provides the jobs; the workers are in the employer's pay, therefore he must have more rights; etc.

8%	6%	10%	11%	10%
----	----	-----	-----	-----

Because the greater responsibility rests with the employer:

The employer has greater responsibility, therefore a differentiation between him and the worker is necessary; the responsibility for the firm rests with the employer; there must be a difference between the owner and his workers because his responsibility is greater; because the employer takes the main responsibility; more rights must be left to the employer because the greater responsibility rests with him; because the main responsibility rests with the employer; etc.

6	6	6	8	8
---	---	---	---	---

In order to ensure respect between labor and employer:

There must exist a limit between employer and employee, a certain respect is necessary; no difference between boss and workmen - that means going too far; the employees must show respect to the employer, otherwise the firm doesn't function right; etc.

2	2	2	4	4
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

The director doesn't work for his own profit only, but cares for his firm and his workers, the workers have only their own interests in mind; the employer won't agree to something that the workers want, and this would enlarge the gap between them; this would come close to socialization, or, at least to an encroachment on private property, these are consequences which I reject sharply; etc.

2	2	2	3	2
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{*}{40\%}$	$\frac{1}{40\%}$	$\frac{*}{40\%}$	$\frac{-}{46\%}$	$\frac{-}{51\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Reasons Advanced for Opposing Labor Having any Say in
Management Decisions

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Too many cooks spoil the broth:

The laborers will never come up with unanimous suggestions, everybody will pull to a different side and that will harm operations; because the result would be two bosses and too many cooks spoil the broth; where would that lead us if everybody thinks he's got something to say, then nobody will work any more; it would create disharmony; because it is the best set-up if the operations are headed by one boss; the authoritarian principle must be followed; there can be only one master; because everybody will have a different opinion; because the employer has the right to determine, since he is the boss; nothing good will come of it, if the workers have something to say, because everyone will feel called upon to put in his word; etc.

6% 7% 6% 4% 5%

Labor lacks the general understanding and ability for plant management:

A laborer may be very good at his trade, but he cannot have the general understanding (for the overall picture) of the management director; because the laborers have no practical knowledge of economic affairs and business routine; because the single worker understands too little about it, he simply repeats what he hears; because labor usually has but a vague idea about economic requirements; because the mass of workers doesn't have the ability to exercise co-determination; because the laborer does not have sufficient power of discernment; the workers should not interfere with the affairs of the manager - really, there are things a laborer does not understand; workers would never be able to grasp fast changing situations; because labor is not able to look out for the advantages of the firm; there will be several who have no idea about the whole thing and still want to have a say and that should be prevented; etc.

4 3 6 5 7

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Is the owners, employers bear the risk and responsibility:

Because the owners have the responsibility and have risked their money; if I invest my capital and take the risk, I deny everybody else the right of co-determination, because I bear the risk alone, too; if I were a businessman and risked my money, I would allow nobody to interfere; that's the right of the employer only who owns the firm; he who owns the shop also heads it; the worker has no right to that, he cannot determine the use of somebody else's money; if someone built up a shop, he alone should have the right of determination, otherwise, the shop cannot be considered his property; that is not the laborer's business, he is paid by the owner; I wouldn't allow anybody else to interfere either; one should not disturb the manager unnecessarily in his ideas - he has built up the firm himself and alone; in a democracy the owner must be free in his decisions, the shop is his property; that's all I need: to let the worker decide about my money - almost Russian conditions; etc.

4% 3% 4% 4% 6%

It would bind the employer and lead to a workers' dictatorship:

Because the owner would not be free in his decisions any more; because it would only lead to a dictatorship by the workers which would harm our industry; because this might bring about a dictatorship by the trade unions; etc.

1 2 - - 1

Others:

The worker easily starts to make excessive demands; workers and employees would demand wage increases and although the firm might do very good business, it would not be able to stand these demands continuously; only technically trained personnel should have the right of co-determination and not all the fools who don't understand anything about the subject at all; we never had that before, I can see no positive result in that; I am not distrustful, not toward my employer either - I rely on my salary, without requesting co-determination; etc.

$\frac{1}{16\%}$ $\frac{1}{16\%}$ $\frac{1}{17\%}$ $\frac{1}{14\%}$ $\frac{3}{22\%}$

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINIONS ...

In no group examined - not even SPD political adherents, or trade union members - does the viewpoint preponderate that labor should be allowed just as much say as management in the operation of a plant. On the other hand, it is equally true, that in no group examined - not even FDP political adherents, or businessmen as a group - does the viewpoint preponderate that labor should have no say whatever in the decisions of plant management. Something in between is apparently the solution that West Germans espouse regardless of their varying statuses and affiliations.

"Are you generally for or against the right of co-determination, (i.e., the workers and employees are to share in the decisions of the plant's management)?"

"Should labor have just as much to say about the operation of the plant as management or should it not have just as much to say?" (Asked of those who mentioned "For it" in previous question.)

	For it just as much to say	For it not as much to say	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	28%	42%	19%	11%...100%	548
Women	25	33	12	30	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	27	35	14	24	962
Beyond elementary	20	46	24	10	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	25	32	12	31	233
150 - 299 DM	29	35	12	24	415
300 - 399 DM	29	40	17	14	258
400 DM and more	22	46	23	9	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	35	38	10	17	156
25 - 34 years	27	42	18	13	225
35 - 44 years	25	38	15	22	253
45 - 54 years	29	40	12	19	240
55 years and over	20	30	20	30	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	40	41	10	9	301
CDU/CSU	25	39	17	19	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	10	38	43	9	76
No party	20	38	16	26	262
Don't know	19	27	12	42	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	20	46	18	16	50
Businessmen	18	35	33	14	139
White-collar workers	20	49	16	15	154
Skilled laborers	38	38	11	13	266
Semi-skilled laborers	32	36	9	23	148
Farmers	9	33	23	35	123
Unemployed	38	43	5	14	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	25	38	13	24	526
Protestants	26	37	16	21	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	26	37	17	20	934
Expellees, Refugees	27	37	10	26	236
<u>Trade Union Memberships:</u>					
Yes, member myself	43	41	8	8	222
Yes, family member	38	37	5	20	205
No	18	36	21	25	739

R E S T R I C T E D

IV. GERMAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD CO-DETERMINATION

The preponderant view among the half of the West German population who express an opinion on the present matter, is that the United States prefers not to see co-determination put into effect in West Germany. Only in West Berlin does an equal proportion judge the contrary to be the case.

"And do you believe that America would prefer to see the right of co-determination in Western Germany put into effect or not put into effect?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Put into effect	15%	16%	15%	14%	38%
Not put into effect	28	28	32	19	30
Makes no difference to America	7	8	5	4	3
No opinion	50	48	48	63	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The preponderance arguing the U.S. would not like to see co-determination put into effect in West Germany cited reasons predominantly anti-American in tone as can be ascertained below.

Reasons Advanced for Believing the U.S. Would Not Like to See Co-Determination in West Germany

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.	Berlin
<u>Because industrial co-determination cannot be fitted into the American economic system:</u>					
Because America is a capitalist country and is against such a development; because America is favoring the capitalist system only; because America favors capitalism, they wouldn't like it if the man in the street would have a say in industrial management, that wouldn't go well together; because then the big capitalists would be among themselves; because America favors a liberal economic system and for that reason it is opposed to industrial co-determination; because they encourage private initiative; because America sets more store by the initiative of management; etc.	7%	6%	9%	5%	9%

Because America fears labor getting too strong or learning too much:

Because they are afraid the workers might get too powerful; in order to prevent labor from getting too strong; because there are a lot of industrialists in America who don't want people to check on every move they are making -if rearmament will start once more, the workers might notice what's going on, and the Americans, too, don't want this to happen; the workers would turn down delivery of goods to foreign countries, if he would have a voice in management; because thus labor's position is weakened, that is to say, labor is not able to raise its voice quite so strongly on political issues; it would lead to the workers having more rights than duties, and nothing good will come out of that; because thus labor will be kept from doing something to prevent rearmament; etc.

6 7 7 2 3

(cont'd on next page)

Because without industrial co-determination
America can manage us more easily:

The Americans would stand a better chance to have their views accepted here if labor doesn't present a solid front; because otherwise it would be more difficult to exert its influence; in that case we wouldn't be under American control to such an extent any more, Americans could not decide things single-handedly any more, they would have to consider our views, too; because thus Americans retain a stronger influence on our economy; because thus the U.S. exerts a greater influence here; they still are our enemies - in that case they would get less out of Germany - as things are now they still make considerable profit out of us; if industrial co-determination were put into effect, they couldn't do so much ordering about any more; etc.

5% 5% 7% 4% 3%

There is no such practice in America, therefore they don't want to see it introduced here; they want to keep American workers from making the same demands:

They are afraid that this system might have its effect on the American workers, who might make similar demands; they wouldn't like that; it's obvious they are against it, as they didn't introduce it in their own country; they don't use this system in America, either; because, as far as I know, there is no right of co-determination in their country; if industrial co-determination would be realized in Germany, it wouldn't be long before the American trade unions would want to have it introduced in their country, too; in America the worker hasn't much say in matters, either, over there the money-bags are managing the economy, they want things to be the same in this country; etc.

3 3 3 2 5

Because America fears for its investments:

Because they would consider their investments in this country not to be safe any more; because they invested a lot of capital in this country which they might lose; only if experts have a voice in management will a plant function smoothly - that's how Americans want things to be run, in order to get the money they invested back some day; etc.

1 1 2 2

Because America prefers to deal with management:

They come to an understanding more easily dealing with management; because they prefer to deal with management; because Americans are skilful diplomats, they deal rather with big organizations than with small groups, including the management of minor industrial plants; etc.

1 1 1 1 *

Others:

Many heads, many different ideas, no concentrated effort would be possible; would be established by the KPD; people in the U.S. wouldn't like it; an industrial plant wouldn't yield such high profits if management were not solely responsible for operations; etc.

3 3 3 2 7

No opinion/No answer:

2/29% 3/29% 2/32% 1/19% 2/31%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one per cent. 28 -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Though in the bulk of instances the minority who felt that the U.S. would welcome co-determination in West Germany advance pro-American, or at least neutral arguments for their stand, a number here too adduce anti-American considerations to support their view.

Reasons Advanced for Believing the U.S. Would Like to See Co-Determination in West Germany

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

Because Americans use this system, too:

Because this system was introduced in the States, too, and they saw that it worked; because they use this system, too; because in the U.S. co-determination was put into effect in certain branches of industry - coal-Lewis has a deciding voice in such matters; because it's the same in America, I guess; because the same practice is used in the States; because in America, as far as I know, workers and employees have the right of co-determination; etc.

3% 2% 3% 1% 10%

In order to keep Germany weak:

Then we won't be able to get on our feet again either economically or financially, America would like it if German workers would quarrel among themselves - if we would agree among ourselves, we would get too powerful, we would sell more goods than the Americans, they sure don't like that; America counts on there being a big blow-up sooner or later, that's what they want, they want to keep us under their thumb; then we would start fighting among ourselves; there would be a lot of arguments going back and forth, and the Americans would be the ones to profit from such a state of affairs; because there is no such thing in the States, the Americans know that nothing good will come of this system, and that's just what they want in our case; etc.

2 3 1 2 2

Because America hopes thereby to strengthen democracy and weaken Communism:

Because America is convinced that trade unions, as representatives of the workers, provide the best safe-guard for democracy; thus Communism would be eliminated; because we would come closer to a true democracy; that's what democracy means, everybody is entitled to have a say in matters; because up till now people still let themselves be bossed by those in authority, maybe they would succeed in democratizing us some more by introducing this system; in order to prevent another dictatorship being set up here; in order to keep from joining the Communist camp; etc.

2 2 2 2 4

(cont'd on next page).

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST	Dr.	US	Fr.	Berlin
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	

In order to promote workers' welfare and industrial harmony:

The Yanks want the workers here to be content; America is interested in introducing the right of co-determination as it helps to prevent labor troubles; it would mean friendly cooperation with management, thus production losses through possible strikes would be avoided; in order to raise the standard of living and to take steps against a possible exploitation of employees; because they want labor-management relations to remain amiable; then we would have greater security, we'd have a secure job, better chances for advancement and would be able to fend for ourselves; etc.

2% 2% 1% 1% 9%

Because America counts on advantages for itself:

America is under the illusion that its influence would increase, the workers would prove more pliable to carry out America's plans; if America favors this system, it will get the workers, who don't want a war anyway, on its side; etc.

1 1 2 1 1

Because co-determination stands for justice and order:

Because America advocates the principle that every human being in the world has rights; because it would ensure more orderly conditions; as they go on helping us so generously, I guess they are interested in keeping the economy functioning smoothly; etc.

1 1 * 2 4

Others:

America keeps an open mind on this problem; because it introduced the right of co-determination itself in Germany; because they think that it's a favorable development; because it will cause a change in German mentality, the individual German will have to give more consideration to the whole, the community, he won't grab things just for himself so much any more; America advocates equality for women, women could help in many ways to stimulate the economy; etc.

3 4 3 2 5

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{16\%}$ $\frac{2}{17\%}$ $\frac{3}{15\%}$ $\frac{3}{14\%}$ $\frac{3}{38\%}$

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINIONS ...

The belief that the U.S. would prefer to see co-determination put into effect in West Germany clearly trails the contrary view among most population groupings, and among none does it rise to reliably preponderant status.

"And do you believe that America would prefer to see the right of co-determination in Western Germany put into effect or not put into effect?"

	Put into effect	Not put into effect	It makes no difference to America	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	18%	44%	7%	31%..100%	548
Women	14	14	6	66	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	14	25	7	54	962
Beyond elementary	22	44	7	27	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	13	20	9	58	233
150 - 299 DM	12	27	7	54	415
300 - 399 DM	19	30	5	46	258
400 DM and more	21	40	7	32	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	22	28	9	41	156
25 - 34 years	19	28	3	50	225
35 - 44 years	13	30	7	50	253
45 - 54 years	13	32	7	48	240
55 years and over	14	25	7	54	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SED	21	38	8	33	301
CDU/CSU	17	26	6	51	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	19	50	9	22	76
No party	13	23	6	58	262
Don't know	9	13	4	74	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	22	40	10	28	50
Businessmen	17	38	5	40	139
White-collar workers	17	36	10	37	154
Skilled laborers	19	32	6	43	266
Semi-skilled laborers	10	28	5	57	148
Farmers	12	20	3	65	123
Unemployed	24	19	5	52	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	15	26	5	54	526
Protestants	16	28	9	47	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	15	30	7	48	934
Expellees, Refugees	15	23	8	54	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member myself	16	46	10	28	222
Yes, family member	20	19	6	55	205
No	14	25	6	55	739

A NOTE ON RECEPTIVITY AND RESISTANCE TO INTRODUCING
AMERICAN WORKING METHODS INTO GERMAN INDUSTRY

Report No. 149

Series No. 2

August 8, 1952

R E F E R E N C E
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OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

A major MSA objective in Western Europe has been to increase workers' productivity in the interests of making it possible to have both guns and butter. A good part of the program has revolved around an attempt to introduce more efficient American working methods to replace less efficient methods widely in use. The present brief note sketches in the kind of resistances and receptivities likely to be encountered by such a program in Western Germany.

The results derive from some specific sidelights from a general survey of the basic economic orientations of the West German people. The survey was conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff between April 7th and 25th, 1952, and employed a 1,200 case representative probability sample of West Germany and a 300 case sample of West Berlin.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

SUMMARY EXCERPTS

That any attempt to introduce American working methods to increase productivity in West Germany would fall on less than fertile soil is indicated first by the fact that as many as cite America hold that it is Germany which uses the best working methods in the world.

Moreover, follow-up inquiries reveal that a) not everybody who holds that America uses the best working methods, feels that such methods should be introduced into West German industry, and b) among those who do, not everyone feels that such innovations would be of any great importance.

In the net, then, it develops that only 19 per cent in West Germany (26% in West Berlin) reveal any real receptivity to the productivity program by taking the position that it is important to introduce American working methods into German industry.

On the other hand, outright opposition is not very great either (17% in West Germany), with the problem hence labeled primarily one of lukewarm reactions and ignorance.

- I -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

I. RECEPTIVITY TO PRODUCTIVITY PROGRAM

RECEPTIVITY LIMITED IN WEST GERMANY ...

That West Germany is not entirely fertile soil for attempts to introduce American working methods, is evident from the finding below that as many as cite America hold that it is Germany which uses the best working methods of any country in the world. Only in West Berlin does the opinion predominate that America takes the palm.

"Which country in the world, in your opinion, uses the best working methods?"

	WEST GERMANY (1172)	British Zone (606)	US Zone (428)	French Zone (138)	Berlin (300)
Germany	38%	42%	33%	39%	33%
America	35	34	38	30	51
Others	3	3	3	3	4
No opinion	24	21	26	28	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Moreover, follow-up inquiries reveal, not everybody (particularly in West Berlin) who holds that America uses the best working methods, feels that such methods should be introduced into West German industry. And among those who do, not everyone feels that such innovations are of any great importance.

"Are there any American working methods which our industry in Western Germany should try to introduce?"

Yes, there are	31%	32%	31%	23%	39%
No, there are not	17	20	15	12	20
No opinion	52	48	54	65	41
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF "Yes":

"Do you consider it very important, important or not so important that our industry should try to introduce American working methods in Western Germany?"

Very important	7%	8%	6%	2%	9%
Important	12	12	12	9	17
Not so important	10	10	11	9	10
No opinion	2	2	2	3	3
	31%	32%	31%	23%	39%

In the net it develops, then, that only 19 per cent in West Germany (26% in West Berlin) reveal any real receptivity to the productivity program by taking the position that it is important to introduce American working methods into German industry. On the other hand outright opposition is not very great either (17% in West Germany), with the problem primarily one of lukewarm reactions and ignorance.

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS FOR RESISTANCE TO AMERICAN WORKING METHODS ...

The most frequent lines of argument advanced by respondents who oppose introduction of American working methods in West Germany, and those who though not opposing judge it is not very important to do so,* are that Germany does not need American methods, or that American working methods are unsuited to German conditions.

Reasons Given For Being Adverse Or Lukewarm Toward Introducing
American Working Methods In German Industry

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Germany does not need American working methods:

We are intelligent and capable enough, we need not learn anything, our industry in the course of its development has worked out the best methods and needs no foreign suggestions; the experiences during the last war have shown that we are able to perform wonders, if necessary, with our own working methods, they cannot be better some place else; we Germans have learned so much ourselves that we need nothing from other countries; because on our part, we can meet the highest requirements; German scientists were hired to work in America, that shows that we have made better progress in all fields than the Americans; oh, we cannot learn anything from them!; etc.

10% 12% 10% 7% 9%

American working methods are not suitable for Germany:

Because the mentality of the American differs from ours, working methods are closely connected with the mentality of man; because these methods cannot be introduced here, for instance: it happens too frequently that there is a shortage of material, so that the assembly-line system and the like won't pay off, and this is the case everywhere here; because one cannot blindly adopt a method, improvements must be suggested by own personnel, for they are the ones who know best; their methods are not suitable for us, we are not so much like the Americans, our methods are our very own and cannot be changed just like that, although I like the Americans as individuals, their way (to look at things) cannot be transplanted to us; we have different conditions here as compared to the States, technics has not progressed in Germany as much as in the US, consequently it would only be an incomplete affair; Germany cannot afford it, we are poor and cannot produce everything by using machines only; etc.

6 5 7 3 8

(Cont'd on next page)

* Answers of both groups were included in a common table because of an almost identical pattern of responses.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Mechanization schematizes thinking - would lower the working morale of the German laborers:

We Germans should be more concerned with the needs of the individual than with thinking of advantages and profits as in the US; over there they have quite a different conception of work, all they care for is the Dollar, we should not do that here, the Germans would then lose too many of their other qualities like skill, knack, efficiency; by overspecializing the assembly-line system, work becomes too schematic, thereby eliminating individual thinking during work; laborers will become machines themselves if there is only assembly-line production; etc.

3%	3%	2%	5%	3%
----	----	----	----	----

Mechanization would increase the number of unemployed:

Because American industry is based on mechanization and their methods would, if employed in German industry which is geared to manual labor, increase unemployment; on the basis of the present working conditions the introduction of the assembly-line system would mean an increase in unemployment; oh, they are too fast, machines replace human labor and we will all lose our jobs; we cannot use assembly-lines and the like, then there would be even more unemployed; because there is so much unemployment already, through mechanization the worker is replaced without having the promised advantages, only in case of war American working methods are advantageous for us; etc.

2	3	2	2	6
---	---	---	---	---

Production based on American system would increase quantity at the expense of quality:

Because the American working method is based too much on the system of the assembly-line, assembly-line work is not so clean-cut and accurate; we Germans favor quality, the Americans quantity; America is for speed while we work more accurately; we have always managed in Germany, using too many machines means decrease in quality; etc.

1	2	*	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

American working methods exploit the laborers:

Because our own working methods are better, the American piece-work system means too heavy a strain for the German laborer; because our workers should not be exploited any more as is the case already; are we to work even more?; etc.

1	1	1	1	2
---	---	---	---	---

There are no better American working methods:

I see no difference between the American and the German working methods; they don't have any better ones; etc.

1	*	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

Others:

That would be an experiment and our present economic situation is not exactly suitable for experiments; because capital would receive all the profits while the working people get nothing, if everything is rationalized the laborer himself will get no part of the profit; etc.

No opinion/ No answer:

3	3	3	2	2
2	1	1	1	*
29%	30%	27%	23%	32%

* Less than one half of one per cent..

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

SUGGESTED UTILIZATIONS ...

The fraction of the population who indicated that they feel it to be important to try to introduce American working methods into German industry advanced specific suggestions along the following lines:

Suggested Utilizations By Respondents Who Feel It Important to Introduce American Working Methods Into German Industry

WEST	Br.	US	Fr.	
GERMANY	Z.	Z.	Z.	Berlin

Mechanization:

Simplification by wider use of machines; large-scale mechanization; mechanization of agricultural work; mechanization of all hard work, e.g. digging, lifting; as to road-making I think of the big machines for levelling ground, mechanization generally; the mining industry and agriculture should be completely mechanized as it was done in America; the methods used for shoe production, making of shoes is done at lower costs in America because they have more modern machinery over there; the new textile machinery; I don't know much about it, but the punching system should be introduced on a large scale; stop watch system; the work of the housewife should be made easier, production of household facilities should be americanized (washing machines, etc.), machines should do most of the work, men should be spared; more useful machines to facilitate work, I mean that they've got better machines over there which we might use as well; introduce more machines so that men don't have to toil so hard; greater efficiency by use of machines, German thoroughness means a handicap, we should be less thorough; etc.

7% 6% 6% 5% 5%

Mass production and assembly-line methods:

Assembly-line methods because we want to be a modern state, able to compete. We cannot restrict ourselves to manual work; the assembly-line method, i.e. more work done by machines and not so much by hand; assembly-line work is more efficient, more mechanical work; simplify working processes in mass production, wider use of mechanical energy, then however, there will be the problem of placing surplus labor; mass production will reduce prices; wider use of assembly-line processes, greater standardization of industrial products; etc.

5 6 5 3 9

Rationalization:

American rationalization methods, efficient planning; the planning of the work, dividing the work up into specialized fields; methods by which much can be done with little manpower and without great costs; I learned that they work fast over there, I don't know by what means, we should try to get moving, too; improvement of the working process, for instance, establishment of standard system in the graphic industry that would mean a considerable reduction of costs; simplification of the arithmetical system, general rationalization; time-and-motion studies is an excellent American method; etc.

2 2 1 2 4

(Cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST Br. US Fr.
GERMANY Z. Z. Z. Berlin

Other working methods which might be introduced:

Use of atomic power for economic purposes; from the motor-car industry: iron-castings and spraying, from agriculture: fruit-growing and cattle-breeding; the excellent preserves' industry for feeding the population and for facilitating the household work; introduce the practical American methods of cooking, remedies and devices for the treatment of diseases, as iron lungs and similar things, should be introduced here; etc.

3% 2% 3% 1% 1%

All methods which are useful:

I can't tell, but some things might be handled more efficiently in order to make more money; all methods which are useful to us; I can't name any methods, but I think there are some; I can't state details, but I'm quite sure that America has many methods which are better than ours, and which we should introduce; etc.

2 2 2 3 3

Better social conditions:

Forty-hour week, that would mean less unemployed; better working conditions; the American principle: to classify according to ability, even the officials; the better treatment of the worker, we are only used as implements over here; sharing in dividends, the chance to profit would increase the interest in increasing production; here the worker is more oppressed and the capitalists exploit him to a greater extent, in America more is done for the worker, wages are higher than over here, they work faster because they are better taken care of, they get more time off: etc.

1 2 1 1 3

Others:

Socialization of the whole industry; etc.

* * 1 1 2

No opinion/ No answer:

2 2 3 1 6
22% 24% 22% 17% 33%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

⊙ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINION ...

Population group comparisons reveal that among better schooled and higher income levels the judgment clearly preponderates that America rather than Germany uses the best working methods. This same direction of opinion is noticeable among younger respondents as contrasted with their elders, particularly among German youth (18 - 24).

But whatever the variations in opinion on American versus German working techniques, in no population group do more than a third indicate that they feel it to be important to try to introduce American methods into German industry. Outright opposition rises nowhere greater than a third either, however, with the majority of respondents in most groups divided between lukewarm reactions and no opinion. (See page following)

"Which country in the world, in your opinion, uses the best working methods?"

	Germany	America	Others	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	37%	44%	4%	15%...100%	548
Women	39	27	2	32	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	41	30	3	26	962
Beyond elementary	22	60	3	15	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	40	23	2	35	233
150 - 299 DM	40	32	3	25	415
300 - 399 DM	40	37	3	20	258
400 DM and more	30	53	5	12	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	27	54	3	16	156
25 - 34 years	32	45	4	19	225
35 - 44 years	43	30	2	25	253
45 - 54 years	41	33	2	24	240
55 years and over	43	23	4	30	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	40	40	5	15	301
CDU/CSU	39	38	2	21	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	30	57	1	12	76
No party	34	32	3	31	262
Don't know	42	21	*	37	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	30	56	6	8	50
Businessmen	30	44	4	22	139
White-collar workers	34	48	2	16	154
Skilled laborers	42	37	3	18	266
Seni-skilled laborers	41	26	3	30	148
Farmers	39	28	1	32	123
Unemployed	50	33	5	12	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	37	34	2	27	526
Protestants	40	36	2	22	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	38	36	3	23	934
Expellees, Refugees	38	31	2	29	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member myself	42	40	6	12	222
Yes, family member	42	29	1	28	205
No	36	36	2	26	739

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Are there any American working methods which our industry in Western Germany should try to introduce?"

IF "Yes":

"Do you consider it very important, important or not so important that our industry should try to introduce American working methods in Western Germany?"

	Yes, in- portant to very impor- tant	Yes, but not so important (or no opi- nion)	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	26%	16%	26%	32%...100%	548
Women	12	8	9	71	624
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	16	10	17	57	962
Beyond elementary	32	20	15	33	208
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	14	6	13	67	233
150,- 299 DM	15	10	21	54	415
300 - 399 DM	20	16	16	48	258
400 DM and more	28	17	19	36	216
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	24	12	13	51	156
25 - 34 years	20	11	20	49	225
35 - 44 years	17	12	20	51	253
45 - 54 years	22	15	17	46	240
55 years and over	14	10	14	62	291
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	24	13	23	40	301
CDU/CSU	20	11	15	54	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	28	24	18	30	76
No party	16	9	15	60	262
Don't know	8	8	14	70	216
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	20	24	22	34	50
Businessmen	26	14	19	41	139
White-collar workers	20	14	22	44	154
Skilled laborers	20	16	18	46	266
Seni-skilled laborers	11	9	22	58	148
Farmers	15	8	11	66	123
Unemployed	28	10	19	43	42
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	20	11	16	53	526
Protestants	17	12	17	54	585
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	19	12	17	52	934
Expellees, Refugees	16	9	18	57	236
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member myself	25	17	30	28	222
Yes, family member	13	6	15	66	205
No	18	11	14	57	739

THE KOREAN RECORD IN GERMAN EYES

And Some Comparisons With British,
French, Dutch and Italian Views.

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. MILITARY COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This survey on West German assessment of the Korean conflict was undertaken by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, at the request of the International Information Administration, in order to augment and afford comparisons with a four country study previously conducted for the Department by International Opinion Research Inc. (IPOR). The countries surveyed by IPOR were: Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Italy. Though the West German survey adopted as far as possible the questions used by IPOR, the scope of the inquiry was extended to provide a larger perspective for West German appraisal of current aspects of the Korean conflict.

The study, made throughout West Germany during late July, utilized a representative probability sample of 800 cases. As usual in RAS surveys, the interviewing was done by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

The IPOR study was made in June and embraced 500 cases in each of the countries surveyed.

HIGHLIGHTS

ON ITS RECORD IN KOREA, THE UN HAS ADDED LITTLE TO THE STATURE OF THE WEST AS A COUNTERFORCE TO COMMUNISM. This is the judgment that emerges on balance from a detailed assessment of the views of the West German people on events and developments in Korea. On matters of current controversy Germans tend to support the UN position rather than the Communists' claims and contentions. But on the general principle of intervention by the United Nations in Korea, the West German people are far from convinced as to its wisdom or to its effectiveness.

The failure of the UN to add to its prestige with reference to its showing in Korea is the more important from the American point of view in that many Germans when assessing the Korean situation refer to the United States rather than the United Nations, either because they are aware of the major contribution of the US in the Korean conflict or because they do not clearly distinguish between the UN and the US. Detailed findings are summarized as follows:

THE UN HAS MADE A POORER SHOWING IN KOREA THAN EXPECTED ... according to a preponderance of West Germans with opinions on the matter.

While 15 per cent say the UN forces in Korea did better than anticipated, 39 per cent declare they did worse. Many (37%) are undecided, and 9 per cent say UN did no better or worse than hoped for.

The disappointed group appears to believe that the UN, or rather the Americans, have suffered a military defeat in Korea assertedly because they were no match for or were outsmarted by the Communists (or Russia).

THE UN HAS NOT DEMONSTRATED ITS STRENGTH VIS-A-VIS COMMUNISM ... in the judgment of the preponderance of West Germans.

Whereas 28 per cent declare the world position of the UN with reference to Communism is stronger as a result of Korea, more assert either that its position is now definitely weaker (21%) or unchanged by Korean events (21%).

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R E S T R I C T E D

continue to say that it was the right course to follow.

A year ago, at the outset of armistice talks, 56 per cent declared **03635** was right in intervening. Now only 46 per cent hold this view. Conversely negative opinions have almost doubled (from 12 to 20%), though they remain in the minority.

The main arguments against intervention by the dissenting minority, which often strike an anti-American note, are that it was a Korean affair in which the UN - more particularly the Americans - should not have interfered but left it to the Koreans to settle.

AS AN EAST-WEST TENSION SPOT, KOREA IS RATED HIGH BY MANY WEST GERMANS ... most of whom are quite well-informed about current Korean issues and developments. Lending perspective to West German judgments on the UN role in Korea are these findings:

More than a third (36%) spontaneously cite Korea as a leading tension area. In this regard, Berlin, named by 31 per cent, is Korea's only close competitor in German eyes as a specific East-West trouble spot, though other areas in Germany are also frequently mentioned.

Three quarters indicate by their spontaneous comments that they are informed in greater or lesser detail about the issues in Korea.

More specifically, an equally large proportion are aware of the armistice negotiations; two thirds know that fighting has been going on during the truce talks; and four in ten know of the UN bombing of the North Korean power system.

UN BOMBING OF POWER PLANTS ... is approved by the preponderance of those informed about such air raids.

BUT GERMANS ARE OF TWO MINDS ON WHETHER CONTINUED MILITARY ACTION BY THE UN IS ADVISABLE.

As to the strategy the UN should use to bring about an armistice, West Germans divide almost equally between advocating a unilateral cease-fire on the part of the UN (39%) or stepped-up military action (36%).

WHERE COMPARISONS ARE POSSIBLE BETWEEN WEST GERMAN OPINIONS AND THOSE OF THE BRITISH, FRENCH, DUTCH AND ITALIANS ... generally similar reactions appear to be manifested toward current developments in Korea.

The weight of opinion in all countries is that while the UN is sincerely trying to reach an armistice, the Communists are not. Throughout the Italians and French tend to give the benefit of the doubt to the Communists more frequently than others.

But that the armistice negotiations will be successful is doubted by large proportions in all countries. In fact, in Germany, the Netherlands and Italy the tendency is to regard a decision by battle as the more likely outcome.

Opposition to extending the conflict beyond Korea should the truce talks fail predominates in all countries.

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R E S T R I C T E D

THE GERM WARFARE CHARGE ... against the UN by the Communists, of which fairly large segments in all countries are aware, is largely repudiated by the Germans, British and Dutch people. In Italy as many as a fifth accept the charge as true; and in France, though few definitely believe it, many are unprepared, at present, entirely to repudiate the allegation.

THE UN REFUSAL TO REPATRIATE UNWILLING PWs ... is strongly supported by the West German public. Though details of the controversy over exchange of prisoners are not widely known, both the informed minority and, when told of the basic issues at stake, the public as a whole give preponderant support to the UN stand. (Comparisons with reactions in other countries are impossible owing to different treatment and presentation of the findings).

THE COMMUNIST ACCUSATION THAT THE UN MALTREATS PRISONERS ... is also generally repudiated by the West Germans and other Europeans queried on the matter.

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

I. GENERAL WEST GERMAN APPRAISAL OF CURRENT KOREAN ISSUES

In order to place German views on specific Korean issues in perspective, it was thought essential as a preliminary step to determine whether Korea looms at all as a top-of-mind issue among West Germans, and what in fact they actually know about events and developments there. Their replies to these introductory queries are reported in this section.*

MANY WEST GERMAN RATE KOREA ABOVE GERMANY AS LEADING EAST-WEST TENSION AREA ...

Initially, in order to gain a spontaneous, unprompted rating of the Korean aspect of the East-West conflict, West Germans were asked to name the areas which in their opinion best exemplified arenas of that conflict. Despite their not unexpected emphasis on Germany as a tension area, more than a third (36%) mention Korea as a place where such tensions are most apparent. And as compared with references to specific East-West trouble spots within Germany, Korea's only close competitor is Berlin.

"If you consider East-West tensions throughout the world, at what place on the globe are these tensions most observable?"
(Where else?)

	West Germany
Korea	36%
Berlin	31
Zonal borders	20
Eastern Germany	12
Germany generally	12
Western Germany	8
Other places	12
No opinion	21
	152%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AND LARGE MAJORITY INFORMED ON KOREAN ISSUES ...

The second line of inquiry - specifically geared to Korea - aimed to find out what West Germans actually know about what is going on in Korea, more particularly, how many know, without any hint or suggestion, that truce talks are now in progress. (A subsidiary but no less important aim was to ascertain how many actually know of the Korea conflict, or indeed if there is such a place as Korea.)

Replies indicate that the large preponderance (74%) of the West German public has more or less detailed knowledge of the Korean situation, with a quarter actually specifying the truce negotiations as of primary importance at present.

* No comparisons are possible with other West European nations on these points since in the IPOR study such questions were not included.

R E S T R I C T E D

"And what is at present going on in Korea?" (How is the situation in Korea at present?)

West Germany

War, heavy fighting:

There is war in Korea; there is fighting; war between the UN and the Communists; a war has been going on for a long time; war between the UN and the Communists, Chinese and Russians; etc.

27%

Armistice talks, peace negotiations etc.:

Armistice talks without success; peace negotiations; there are peace talks going on but they haven't resulted in anything yet; preparations for truce talks; armistice talks have been conducted for quite some time; protracted peace negotiations, I mean the truce talks; etc.

26

No success - never ending ups and downs:

To and fro, no success for either side; there are always ups and downs over there; etc.

6

Heavy bombings:

The Americans are bombing important targets again; heavy air raids by the Allied air forces; air raids carried through by the Americans; ground fighting has come to a standstill, mainly air raids now; fighting without mercy, heavy air raids at present; etc.

6

"Training-ground" for the Eastern and Western powers:

There is the same kind of war as it was waged in Spain; each side is looking for the weak points of the other side, in this case, the Americans and Russians; new weapons are being tried there; experimental war in Korea, each side is testing its weapons, there is little action at the moment; etc.

3

Show-down between East and West:

Show-down of strength between East and West, each side would like to make its position safe; etc.

2

Raids on the power plants:

The Americans entered into another phase: they are raiding power plants to bring the matter to an end; power plants were bombed by the Americans, they met a strong anti-aircraft defence; etc.

1

Corn warfare - postilence:

Corn warfare; I read that there is postilence; etc.

*

Others:

Korea is supported by the Russians; the situation is unfavorable for the Russians - I don't know anything else; it's just a farce, the Russians only want to tie down the Yanks - I'm not interested in details about Korea; exchange of prisoners failed; racketeering - I mean the British and the Americans for whom war means business; etc.

8

No interest at all - do not care about politics:

I'm not interested in that, I neither read nor listen; I don't know because I don't care about such things; I couldn't care less; etc.

10

No opinion:

16
105%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PROTRACTED TRUCE TALKS ARE KNOWN TO MANY ...

Follow-up queries disclose that considerably more West Germans are aware that truce discussions are now going on than spontaneously mention the fact. Moreover, the preponderance of those so informed realize that the negotiations have been protracted, as the following findings demonstrate.

"Have you heard about the armistice talks in Korea?" (Asked of all who volunteered some information about the Korean situation but didn't cite the truce talks.)

	West Germany
Yes	49%
No	27
	76%

"Can you perhaps tell me how long these armistice talks have been going on?" (Asked of the 26% who initially mentioned them and of the 49% who said they knew of them when specifically queried on the point.)

Up to three months	2%
From four to 9 months	16
From ten to 14 months	39
More than 14 months	9
Don't know, no answer	9
	75%

II. VIEWS ON ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS

COMMUNISTS HELD STALLING IN TRUCE NEGOTIATIONS ...

The widespread speculation in many Western quarters that the Communists are prolonging the armistice discussions in order to build up their military strength for the renewal of the conflict, is widely subscribed to among the West Germans as well as the other people surveyed. Only in Italy and to a lesser extent in France is there more than marginal belief in the sincerity of the Communist negotiators.

"In your opinion, are the Communist representatives sincerely trying to reach an agreement with the UN in these peace talks, or do you think they are just stalling for time?"

	West				
	Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
Communist are sincere	6%	6%	7%	14%	20%
Communists are stalling	70	70	72	50	57
No opinion	24	24	21	36	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT THE SINCERITY OF UN NEGOTIATORS IS UPHOLD ...

In contrast to their skepticism vis-a-vis the Communists, the West Germans join with the British and Dutch in expressing preponderant confidence that the UN representatives at the armistice talks are actually trying to end hostilities (57%) rather than stalling for time (21%). Fewer French and Italians attribute sincerity to the UN in this regard. Indeed in Italy (where of course the Communist party is strong) opinions divide almost equally pro and con UN sincerity.

"In your opinion, are the UN representatives sincerely trying to reach an agreement with the Communists in these peace talks, or do you think they are just stalling for time?"

	West				
	Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
UN is sincere	57%	63%	53%	43%	43%
UN is stalling	21	19	27	26	38
No opinion	22	18	20	31	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

VERY FEW BELIEVE COMMUNISTS WANT PEACE ...

In a direct comparison of the aims of the two protagonists in the truce negotiations, the United Nations again gain the strong support of the West German people. Here too the division of German opinion is more clearly similar to that in Britain and the Netherlands than in France and Italy. In the latter country as many as a fifth say the Communists are relatively more desirous than the UN to make peace; in France, the very large proportion withholding judgments should probably be interpreted, at least in part, as unfavorable to the UN position.

"In your opinion, which side - the Communists or the UN - has been trying hardest to bring about peace?"

	West				
	Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
Communists	2%	2%	4%	8%	18%
UN	67	79	74	52	53
Both equally hard *	6	-	-	-	-
Neither - nor*	8	-	-	-	-
No opinion	17	19	22	40	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*These alternatives were not included in the IFOR survey.

BUT PREPONDERANCE DOUBTS SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF TRUCE TALKS ...

Despite the widespread acceptance of the sincerity of UN truce efforts, the weight of German opinion tends to be negative rather than affirmative on the possibility of a successful conclusion of the negotiations. In this regard, their views appear to be closer to those expressed by the Dutch and Italians than by the British and French, among whom about as many predict a peaceful solution as further fighting.

"Do you think the Korean war will eventually be ended by negotiation, or will the war continue until one side defeats the other in battle?"

	West				
	Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
End by negotiation	26%	37%	29%	30%	25%
End in battle	46	32	40	26	43
Other answers	8	3	8	6	8
No opinion	20	28	23	38	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EXTENSION OF CONFLICT OPPOSED ...

If as a result of a complete failure to reach an armistice, the United Nations should continue the Korean fighting, and especially if the area of conflict should be extended beyond Korea, the UN would probably find difficulty in convincing West Europeans of the wisdom of this course. Opposition to extending the conflict is the predominant opinion in all countries. Complete withdrawal of the UN from Korea is recommended by large minorities.

"If the peace talks should break down, which of these three courses do you think the UN should follow?"

	West				
	Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
Withdraw from Korea	34%	25%	20%	45%	31%
Continue the war only in Korea	28	40	40	22	31
Carry the war beyond Korea into China	12	13	20	8	18
No opinion	26	22	20	25	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

THE PRO AND CON OF WITHDRAWAL OR EXTENDING THE AREA OF CONFLICT ...

Proponents of UN withdrawal from Korea should the armistice negotiations fail apparently are generally fearful that if fighting continues there it will eventually lead to another world war.

On the other hand, advocates of extending the war into China appear not only to believe that it can be limited to this area, but that this is the time and place to end the Communist threat. Comments of both groups follow.

"Why are you of this opinion?" (Asked of those advocating withdraw from Korea.)

West Germany

The war has to stop in order to preserve world peace:

Peace is the most important of all things, to preserve it you even have to make sacrifices; then there is a better chance to bring about peace - that is really important; the wisest will give way, I mean, we all need peace badly; so we'll have order at long last, so the war will be ended; in order to end the war soon, there has to be an end some time, after all; then there will be order, the war will be ended, the wisest will give way; if the war would be carried beyond Korea, it would be bound to lead to another world war; because otherwise a world conflagration would result from it; etc.

19%

Fruitless bloodshed and sacrifice of human lives should stop:

In order to end this dreadful war in Korea and to avoid futile bloodshed; in order to stop bloodshed, if the war goes on it will only mean the loss of more lives, and nothing will come of it anyway; because of the many casualties; all nations are fed up with war, why then are there so many human lives sacrificed uselessly again and again; because otherwise many more people will be doomed to die; in order to put an end to this massacre at long last; etc.

6

The UN should not meddle with the affairs of Korea:

They should leave the Koreans alone, so that these can manage their affairs the way they want to; they should leave those wretched Koreans alone; they have no business there, North and South Koreans should fight it out among themselves; because they have no business there, the Koreans didn't go to America and didn't attack that country, either; etc.

4

It is useless to go on - nothing will come of it:

As things are now, they are not going to achieve much in Korea anyway; it's useless to continue the war, in case negotiations should break down, the war will not lead to positive results; whether they go on fighting or not, things won't improve; because nothing good will come of it if they go on; etc.

2

Others:

Because the Communists are more powerful; I guess, in that case the Communists would be more willing to cooperate; such a war is a costly affair, even if it is won, thus it can be regarded as lost anyway; because the Russians won't give in anyway; etc.

2

No opinion/No answer:

1
34%

RESTRICTED

"Why are you of this opinion?" (Asked of those advocating carrying war beyond Korea into China.)

West Germany

The war can be ended only by defeating the real enemy (China, Communism):

Because the war cannot be decided in Korea, Communism in China has to be eliminated, too; it can't be helped, China has to be smashed first, then there is a chance for negotiations to be concluded successfully; in order to strike effectively, at the heart and nerve centre of the most dangerous of enemies; to drive the Communists as far back as possible, until they are back to their holes where they came from, if you don't crush them, they'll never keep the peace; that there will be order at long last, the Russians won't pipe down until the others go about the business of exterminating them in earnest; etc.

6%

The war can be ended only by using all kinds of tactics, there is no alternative:

They should use all kinds of tactics to put a stop to the war; the war must stop at all costs, it will end only if the Americans, that is to say the UN, will employ all-out pressure, only in this case will the Russians give in, for they can't risk a full-fledged war, it might lead to a revolution; because there has to be a show-down between East and West, if it should take place down there, all the better for us; Communism has to be smashed in any case, it's better if the clash will occur in the East rather than in Europe; the Russians are in China, too, maybe we could most easily get at them down there; there is no other way to end the war; if there really is to be a chance for a final show-down; etc.

3

Others:

Then the Russians won't be free to show up in Europe any time; because fighting has been going on for such a long time - why should the UN give up Korea all of a sudden?; if there is a chance to get China to favor the capitalist system once more, that means our system, this chance has to be made use of; provided exports find military means are adequate, but under this condition only - otherwise continue the war in Korea; because things are bound to turn out that way, it's in the Bible and it's according to the Lord's will - he makes the world endure this trial; etc.

$$\frac{3}{12\%}$$

RESTRICTED

III. THE GERM WARFARE ISSUE

MANY HAVE HEARD THAT BACTERIAL WARFARE IS BEING USED IN KOREA ...

The Communist propaganda campaign charging the United Nations, and particularly the Americans, with using germ warfare in Korea has gained a relatively wide audience in West Germany, though overall awareness appears not as extensive as in the other countries surveyed. This is seen in the results to a line of inquiry first approaching the matter indirectly and then directly.

"As you know there are many terrible ways in which nations in a modern war can destroy their enemies. Have you heard or read that any of these unusual kinds of warfare have supposedly been used in Korea?"*

	West				
	Germany	England	Netherland	France	Italy
Yes, have supposedly been used	47%	43%	49%	62%	56%
No, neither heard nor read about it	$\frac{53}{100\%}$	$\frac{57}{100\%}$	$\frac{51}{100\%}$	$\frac{38}{100\%}$	$\frac{44}{100\%}$

"According to what you have heard or read: what kinds of warfare have supposedly been used in Korea?" (Asked of those saying new weapons used.)

	West				
	Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
Germ warfare	36%	18%	32%	50%	45%
Chemical warfare	4	7	1	6	5
Atomic warfare	3	7	2	4	2
Napalm	4	21	2	6	6
Other kinds	2	1	12	8	3
No opinion	$\frac{3}{52\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{54\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{49\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{74\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{61\%}$ **

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Have you heard or read that insects have supposedly been used in Korea to carry germs and disease to enemy troops?" (Asked of those not naming "germ warfare" above.)

	West				
	Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
Yes, heard of it	15%	43%	29%	19%	18%
No, not heard of it	48	38	30	25	28
No answer	$\frac{1}{64\%}$	$\frac{1}{82\%}$	$\frac{7}{66\%}$	$\frac{6}{50\%}$	$\frac{2}{55\%}$

* The phrasing of this and the following questions on germ warfare differs from that used by IPOR by the inclusion of the qualifying terms: "supposedly" and "is said." Without this qualification people who had heard or read of the germ warfare charge but did not believe it was true would find it difficult, if not impossible, to give a direct reply to the question.

AND BY THE UNITED NATIONS ...

The preponderance informed of the germ warfare issue are also aware that the United Nations are charged with using it.

"According to what you have heard or read: which side is said to have used this germ warfare?" (Asked of those aware of germ warfare allegation.)

	West Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
UN	42%	36%	33%	53%	45%
Communists	3	13	6	3	4
Both	2	3	2	3	4
Neither	*	2	13	2	6
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
	51%	61%	61%	69%	63%

BUT FEW BELIEVE THE ALLEGATION ...

But though the Communist germ warfare propaganda has succeeded in getting a fairly wide hearing, it has largely failed to convince, judging by West German reactions. The large preponderance of those who are aware not only that germ warfare is allegedly being used in Korea, but that the UN forces are supposedly the users, state that the allegation is false, as may be seen in this breakdown of replies, from West Germany.

"Do you believe these reports are true or false?" (Asked of those aware of germ warfare reports.)

Those saying the alleged user is:

	UN	Communists	Both
True	5%	2%	*
False	30	1	1
Undecided	<u>7</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
	42%	3%	2%

Only small fractions in the other countries, except Italy, accept as true the charge of bacteria warfare. A rigorous comparison with German reactions is, however, not possible since replies were not presented with reference to the side said to be using this type of warfare.

"Do you believe these reports are true or false?" (Asked of those respondents who answered they had heard or read about the use of germ warfare in Korea.)

	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
True	7%	6%	9%	21%
False	40	43	31	21
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>21</u>
	61%	61%	69%	63%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

IV. THE PRISONER OF WAR ISSUE

Since it was anticipated that the basic facts involved in the repatriation of Korean war prisoners would not be widely known among West Germans, a split inquiry approach was used. This was done in order to get the widest reading possible of reactions to this vital issue in the armistice negotiations. First, awareness of the problem was sounded out with a follow-up query on its details. Those who evidenced knowledge of the controversy were then asked their opinions on it. Second, all of those who either could not supply details or had initially been unaware of the matter were briefly informed and then given an opportunity to pass judgment on the pros and cons.*

CONTROVERSY OVER EXCHANGE OF PWs NOT WELL KNOWN ...

As anticipated, relatively few West Germans (22%) have much understanding of the details of the issue at stake in regard to the exchange of Korean prisoners of war, though half (53%) claim to have heard about it.

"One of the principal points of disagreement between the UN and the Communists concerns the exchange of prisoners. Have you heard or read anything about this? (Can you give me details about these points of disagreement?)"

	West Germany
Yes - and can supply details	22%
Yes - cannot supply details	31
No, neither heard nor read anything	<u>47</u>
	100%

* No comparisons are possible here with the IPOR findings: first, because IPOR did not follow the procedure of asking the total public for judgments on the issue; and second, because it is not possible from the IPOR presentation to determine just what portion of the public was queried beyond the initial question.

BUT UN STAND APPROVED ...

The UN refusal to repatriate prisoners who do not wish to return to Communist dominated North Korea is almost unanimously approved by the informed minority.

... Preponderant support for the UN stand is also given by the remainder of the West German public after they have been told what the problem is.

"Do you think the UN is right in its stand, or do you think the Communists are right in their stand?" (Asked of those who know details of the controversy.)

	West Germany
UN right	20%
Communists right	1
Both right	1
Neither right	-
	<u>22%</u>

Explanatory statement given to the 78% not informed of details of the controversy:

"The Communists take the stand that all prisoners in the hands of the UN should be turned over to the Communists, regardless of whether they want to return or not.

"The UN take the stand that all of the prisoners who want to return can do so, but that no prisoner should be turned over to the Communists against his will." *

"Do you think that the UN is right in its stand, or do you think the Communists are right in their stand?"

	West Germany
UN right	57%
Communists right	3
Both right	.3
Neither right	1
Undecided	<u>14</u>
	78%

IN SUM ... 77 per cent of the West German public support the refusal of the UN to repatriate unwilling prisoners of war.

* The explanatory note read to uninformed respondents also served as the interviewers' guide in checking the accuracy of replies volunteered by the aware group.

UN SHOULD MAINTAIN ITS STAND ...

Moreover, supporters of the UN stand are predominantly of the opinion that the Western negotiators should maintain this position even at the cost of continuing the Korean conflict.

"Do you think the UN should hold to this position even if it means the truce talks break down and war goes on?" (Asked of those saying "UN" or "both" right.)

West Germany

Hold to position	
Among those initially aware of UN stand	14%
Among those informed about UN stand	35
Abandon position	
Among those initially aware of UN stand	4
Among those informed about UN stand	13
Undecided	15 81%

UN TREATMENT OF WAR PRISONERS ...

Somewhat fewer in West Germany than in the other countries polled have heard any reports on the UN's treatment of prisoners of war. But like other West Europeans, the Germans who have heard something about the issue show little evidence of swallowing the Red line that these prisoners are being maltreated.

"Have you heard or read anything recently about prisoners of war in UN camps?" (What?) *

	West Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
Yes	39%	66%	63%	48%	54%
No	61	33	31	39	35
No answer	1	6	13	11	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you feel that the UN treats its prisoners of war too well, not well enough, or just about as it should?"

	West Germany	England	Netherlands	France	Italy
Too well	8%	17%	14%	7%	8%
Not well enough	5	1	7	4	9
Just about as it should	19	35	31	21	24
No opinion	7 39%	13 66%	11 63%	16 48%	13 54%

* Many of the West German respondents referred specifically to the Koje riots or otherwise indicated their awareness of the problem.

V. WEST GERMAN VIEWS ON UN BOMBING RAIDS AS RELATED
TO ARMISTICE TALKS

It has recently become apparent that many people in West Europe and the British Isles are under the impression that a cease-fire is in effect in Korea and uninformed of the casualties suffered on both sides during the negotiations to arrive at a truce. This lack of understanding of the situation provides fertile soil for the Communist attempts to represent the UN bombing raids on North Korea power plants as further evidence of unprovoked atrocity warfare on the part of the UN forces. For this reason, it was thought important to extend the range of questioning beyond that of the IPORE survey, in order to measure West German information about and appraisal of these aspects of the Korean situation.

THE MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANS AWARE THERE IS NO CEASE-FIRE IN KOREA ...

West German people are for their part quite generally informed that fighting has continued during the armistice discussions, though they differ on its extent.

"And can you perhaps tell me whether during the armistice talks any fighting has been taking place in Korea or not?" (On a larger or smaller scale than prior to the talks, or on the same scale as before?)

	West Germany
Yes, on a larger scale	10%
Yes, on a smaller scale	38
Yes, just as prior to the talks	16
No fighting has taken place	5
No opinion	<u>31</u>
	100%

AND MANY KNOW OF UN BOMBING RAIDS ...

More specifically, a considerable segment (43%) of the West Germans are aware of the recent air raids on the North Korean power system. In fact, as many as three in ten are able to associate the Yalu with the recent air raids; additionally, 15 per cent state they have heard of such bombings when queried directly on the point. Almost all of this informed group also know that the UN air forces carried out the raids. The questions and replies follow.

"Do you remember any reports from Korea in which the Yalu river was mentioned recently?" (What was it you heard?)

Yes, bombing of power plants (right)	28%
Yes (other reports)	3
No, I don't know	<u>69</u>
	100%

"Do you happen to know if any power plants in Korea were bombed recently?" (Where was it?) (Asked of those not mentioning air raids.)

Yes, right	15%
Yes, wrong	4
No, I don't know	<u>53</u>
	72%

"Which side carried out these bombings, the UN or the Communists?" (Asked of all aware of air raids.)

UN	41%
Communists	1
No opinion	<u>1</u>
	43%

PEOPLE WHO KNOW OF UN BOMBING, LARGELY APPROVE ...

The bombings of the power stations win the approval of the portion of West German public who know about them by a two to one preponderance.

"Do you approve of these bombings or do you disapprove of them?"
(Asked of those who say UN made raids.)

	West Germany
Approve of them	25%
Disapprove of them	12
No opinion	<u>4</u>
	41%

BUT OPINIONS DIVIDE ON STRATEGY OF ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS ...

As "armchair negotiators," however, West Germans are largely of two minds on what course the UN should pursue to make the Communists come to terms. One group (39%) thinks that the way to achieve an armistice is for the UN to stop fighting entirely; another, about equally large (36%) recommends stepped-up military action as the best course.

"What should the UN do, in your opinion, to achieve at these talks an armistice for Korea under conditions which are acceptable to it?"

	West Germany
Cease fighting in Korea hoping that thus an armistice with the Communists will be brought about	39%
Take more severe military measures in Korea hoping thus to achieve an armistice with the Communists	36
Qualified answers	5
No opinion	<u>20</u>
	100%

Further analysis suggests that the West German people connect the mass UN bombing raids with the effort to bring about an end to Korean hostilities and not as evidence of atrocity tactics as the Communists would have them believe. This is indicated in the finding that those who know the UN has conducted such raids much more frequently recommend using military means to break the armistice stalemate than do the uninformed group. Not unexpectedly those who approve of the raids also advocate forceful measures much more often than those who disapprove. These findings are demonstrated in the paired comparisons of questions, as follows:

Say ... Best Way to Bring on an Armistice
Is for UN to:

Of the West Germans who:	Cease fighting	Carry on fighting	Qualified & Undecided
Know the UN has bombed power plants	33%	50%	17%...100%
Do not know	43	26	31
Approve UN bombing raids	20	68	12
Disapprove	66	20	14



OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS FAVOR FORCEFUL MEASURES ...

The preponderance of the higher status, opinion leading groups in West Germany also support **military** measures as a means of reaching satisfactory armistice terms. The better educated, upper income elements in the population in contrast to other segments more frequently advocate force to bring the Communists to terms than the cease-fire alternative.

"What should the UN do, in your opinion, to achieve at those talks an armistice for Korea under conditions which are acceptable to it?"

Cease fighting in Korea hoping that thus an armistice with the Communists will be brought about	Take more severe mi- litary meas- ures in Korea hoping thus to achieve an armistice with the Communists	Quali- fied answers	No opinion	No. of cases:
---	---	---------------------------	---------------	------------------

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	36%	45%	6%	13%...100%	373
Women	42	28	3	27	423
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	42	33	3	22	645
Beyond elementary	29	47	10	14	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	43	28	4	25	423
300 - 399 DM	37	41	5	17	176
400 DM and more	27	57	7	9	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	40	41	3	16	200
30 - 49 years	39	36	5	20	327
50 years and over	39	32	4	25	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	44	42	5	9	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	38	46	6	10	191
No party	38	31	5	26	261
Don't know	35	20	3	42	132

VI. WEST GERMAN ASSESSMENT OF THE UN'S ROLE IN KOREA

To conclude the discussion of current Korean issues: As between the Communists and the United Nations, the West German people largely accept the position of the United Nations on the main Korean issues, as do the British, Dutch, French and Italians to greater or lesser extent.

But as further investigation of German opinion discloses it does not necessarily follow from this that they either applaud the original UN decision to enter the war or believe that prestige-wise the UN has gained stature as a foe of Communist aggression.

FEWER NOW THAN A YEAR AGO APPROVE UN INTERVENTION ...

Approval of the UN decision to intervene in Korea has declined 10 points within a year. At present less than half (46%) say the UN was right to go in, as compared with 56 per cent in July 1951 when the armistice talks had just started. Correspondingly, more people now assert that the UN should have stayed out.

"When you consider the Korean conflict as a whole, do you think it was right for the UN to have intervened in Korea or was it not right, in your opinion?"

West Germany

	July '51	July '52
Right	56%	46%
Not right	12	20
No opinion	32	34
	100%	100%

OPPONENTS OF INTERVENTION ARGUE "LEAVE KOREA TO THE KOREANS" ...

The main argument against UN intervention in Korea is that it was a Korean affair in which the UN - especially the Americans - should have kept out of and left it to the Koreans to settle. Comments of this group, it is to be noted, more often than not strike a definitely anti-American note,

"Why don't you consider it to be right?" (Asked of those who answered "not right" to previous question.)

West Germany

UN (Americans) have no right to interfere:

I think that is none of their business; it does not concern the Amis at all; they had nothing to do there, the Amis interfere with everything that is not their concern; it would have been wiser for the Americans to stay home; it was none of their business, the Koreans did not go to America and did not attack this country, either; if they had stayed at home, there would have been no war; etc.

8%

Koreans (Asians) should settle that among themselves:

This conflict the Koreans should settle among themselves, the same is true for the Chinese and Russians; because the Koreans should fight it out among themselves - the Americans should have known that this war will drag on endlessly; the Koreans should have fought their war among themselves, thus it would have ended sooner; if the Communists had overrun the South Koreans, these would have become Communists too, that's all; etc.

4

An amicable solution should have been found:

Maybe they should have applied other means to settle this conflict, they must find ways and means, enter into negotiations; I think it was rather irresponsible to start a war right away, they should have tried to find out what was going on first; now this causes endless wars, why can't we have peace; this could have caused another world war; etc.

4

Fruitless sacrifices of human lives:

They could have spared human lives, war means misery for everybody; because then too many people would die; etc.

1

UN (America) is not strong enough - they underestimated the Communists:

Because they haven't been strong enough to defy the Communists; because the UN misjudged the military situation; etc.

1

Others:

Because now whenever the Russians attack a country that is a part of the Western world they must join in the defense and the UN forces are split that way; the South Koreans prove by their undemocratic attitude that before the North Korean attacked a lot of things were fishy; we have more important things to do in Europe, we must restore peace and order in Europe; etc.

3
21%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

OPINION LEADING GROUPS TEND TO APPROVE DECISION ...

But when it comes to rendering a hindsight judgment on the wisdom of UN intervention in Korea, it is noteworthy that the opinion leading elements - the men, the better educated and upper income groups - still give majority approval to the decision. Youth as well as adherents of the two leading political groups, SPD and CDU, also preponderantly say the decision was the right one.

"When you consider the Korean conflict as a whole, do you think it was right for the UN to have intervened in Korea or was it not right, in your opinion?"

	Right	Not right	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	57%	22%	21%...100%	373
Women	36	18	46	423
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	42	21	37	645
Beyond elementary	61	16	23	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	42	20	38	423
300 - 399 DM	45	23	32	176
400 DM and more	64	20	16	127
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	54	21	25	200
30 - 49 years	43	22	35	327
50 years and over	43	18	39	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	56	22	22	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	57	17	26	191
No party	37	25	38	261
Don't know	32	13	55	132

UN DID WORSE NOT BETTER THAN EXPECTED ...

A clearer indication that the United Nations have lost some face with the German people is the finding that the preponderance of those with opinions on the matter (39, of the total population) assert that the UN has made a worse showing in Korea than they had expected. In contrast only 15 per cent declare that it has exceeded expectations.

"Taking everything into consideration, did, in your opinion, the armed forces of the UN in general make a better showing or a worse showing in Korea than you would have expected?"

West Germany

Better	15%
As expected	9
Worse	39
No opinion	37
	100%

And though the upper status groups tend frequently to say the UN was right to intervene, they criticize adversely more frequently than others the showing made by the UN in Korea, as noted in the table below.

	Better	As expected	Worse	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	21%	12%	47%	20%...100%	373
Women	10	6	32	52	423
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	16	7	37	40	645
Beyond elementary	12	15	50	23	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	13	9	38	40	423
300 - 399 DM	21	7	38	34	176
400 DM and more	14	10	53	23	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	15	9	43	33	200
30 - 49 years	17	8	39	36	327
50 years and over	13	9	37	41	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	21	9	44	26	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	18	12	46	24	191
No party	13	9	36	42	261
Don't know	7	5	29	59	132

CRITICS APPEAR TO BELIEVE THE UN SUFFERED DEFEAT IN KOREA ...

Critics give a variety of reasons for the allegedly poor showing made by the UN in Korea, many of which are directed against the American soldier. It is noteworthy that little or no mention is made of the failure to reach an armistice as a reason for disappointment with the UN. Rather, all of the critical element appears to be of the impression that the UN forces - or rather the Americans - have suffered a military defeat in Korea largely because they were no match for the Communists (or Russians) or were outsmarted by them.

"What are, in your opinion, the reasons for the UN not having made a better showing in Korea?"

West Germany

Underrating of the enemy's strength and misjudging conditions in the theater of operations:

Carelessness, poor Intelligence, faults made by the Foreign Office; the Russians were underrated, especially their fighting techniques were rather irksome to the UN; in my opinion, the Russians were very much underrated by the Americans, this has already happened several times in the course of history; America counted on settling this matter in a short time - America didn't expect that Russia and China would intervene to such an extent; the Americans, like the Germans before them, misjudged the Russians - if, in 1945, the Americans had accepted the offer of Admiral Doenitz, a lot of things would be different today; the UN completely underrated the considerable fighting power of the Communist forces - the Americans probably expected a blitz war; the UN didn't take all facts into account as to the situation over there, the climate and the masses of Red Chinese soldiers; the Americans took the matter too lightly; they probably have a wrong idea of Korea and the Communists; the Americans underrated the Russians - never underrate your enemy; they didn't expect the Communists to be that tough; etc.

12%

UN soldiers and material are inferior:

UN has not enough soldiers and a shortage of material; the number of soldiers is too small over there; they are too weak, there are not enough soldiers; they probably are not yet strong enough, I don't know; they don't have sufficient forces and material at their disposal over there; etc.

6

Lack of fighting spirit:

The Americans don't want to fight - the air force alone cannot always manage it; lack of genuine fighting spirit, it is not the home country that is to be defended; they probably lack enthusiasm, the Communists feel more enthusiastic about war; first of all, the lack of fighting spirit: the Communists know their aim is a world revolution - the Americans are poor soldiers; they aren't soldiers who fight with courage, they only rely on equipment; they are not that brave; the Americans probably use many coloured soldiers over there who don't attack with so much verve as do the white people; etc.

5

(cont'd on next page)

Tactics are not vigorous enough:

The way they wage war is much too humane for the Russians, they should use atomic weapons; they should have launched more severe attacks at the beginning; the Communists should have been smashed at a blow; they are too conciliatory and not energetic enough, that's all; the most humane way to wage war is: fast and painless - the Americans ought to force a victory in the shortest period of time by concentrated use of all available modern weapons; strong troop units should have been moved to the front-line, the way Hitler did it; etc.

5%

Difficulties in moving up supplies:

Supply routes are awfully long; the sea-route for moving in supplies is too long; it was easier for the Koreans to move their arms to the front-line; transportation of supplies is too complicated; etc.

4

Support from China:

They couldn't make a better showing because the Chinese continue to send fresh troops; because the Communists are backed by China; because the Chinese joined in the war; etc.

3

War was waged without success - loss of soldiers and material:

Because they advanced pretty far at the beginning, but had to go back again; because the Americans suffered heavy losses - because they were unsuccessful in spite of having better arms than the enemy; the UN suffered as heavy losses as the Communists; I think the UN had more casualties than the other side; etc.

3

Inefficient leadership:

They appear to be weaker than they really are, for that their leaders are to blame; the continuous change in commanding officers; etc.

3

Support of the North Koreans by the Russians:

Because the Russians have their fingers in the pie; the Russian support made the Reds very powerful; because the North Koreans got first-rate weapons from Russia; etc.

2

Others:

They were only out for booty when showing up in Korea - they want nothing but to conquer the world; it is advisable to leave the Asiatic nations alone as they have different fighting techniques - the Europeans and Americans will never be able to defeat them; etc.

7

No opinion/No answer:

$$\frac{5}{55\%*}$$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

UN HAS NOT DEMONSTRATED ITS ABILITY TO WITHSTAND THE COMMUNIST THREAT ...

Finally, the role of the United Nations in Korea has not in German eyes been an outstanding demonstration of the power of the United Nations to withstand the Communist threat. Whereas, 28 per cent say the world position of the UN vis-a-vis Communism is stronger as a result of Korea, more assert either that its position is now definitely weaker (21%) or unchanged (21%) by Korean events.

"In your opinion, has the position of the UN in regard to Communism become stronger or weaker in the world through what they have done in Korea up till now?

West Germany

Become stronger	28%
Become weaker	21
Neither - nor	21
Undecided	30
	100%

... The preponderance in all population groups consider that the prestige of the UN has not been strengthened by what it has done thus far in Korea. It is to be noted, however, that the opinion leading elements are somewhat more ready than their counterparts to assert that the UN has gained in stature as a result of Korea.

	Become stronger	Become weaker	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	36%	25%	25%	14%..100%	373
Women	22	18	17	43	423
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	26	22	20	32	645
Beyond elementary	37	22	26	15	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	26	22	17	35	423
300 - 399 DM	35	17	25	23	176
400 DM and more	35	25	25	15	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	25	28	23	24	200
30 - 49 years	29	19	22	30	327
50 years and over	30	19	19	32	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	37	25	21	17	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	40	22	19	19	191
No party	21	22	25	32	261
Don't know	16	14	17	53	132

APPENDIX

Group Differences Regarding Current Korean Issues

As customarily obtains in inquiries measuring extent of information, the higher status groups - the better educated, the upper income group and the men - are more frequently aware of the various current issues in Korea than are their counterparts. Thus they more often than others know about the armistice discussions, the allegation that the UN is using germ warfare, the controversy over exchange of prisoners, and the Koje Island incident.

The judgments made by these higher status groups tend in general to favor the UN position over against the Communists. But while more of them than of their counterparts express approval of UN actions in the current phase of the Korean conflict, this does not mean that disapproval is relatively greater among the lesser schooled, lower income groups and the women. This is not the case; rather, as will be noted in the following tables, the lower status elements are more frequently undecided about the issues involved, presumably because they more often lack the information on which to make a judgment.

"Have you heard about the armistice talks in Korea?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	87%	11%	2%...100%	373
Women	64	34	2	423
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	72	27	1	645
Beyond elementary	85	9	6	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	70	29	1	423
300 - 399 DM	78	19	3	176
400 DM and more	84	12	4	127
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	70	28	2	200
30 - 49 years	76	22	2	327
50 years and over	76	22	2	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	80	18	2	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	83	14	3	191
No party	72	26	2	261
Don't know	60	37	3	132

"Can you perhaps tell me for how long these armistice talks have been going on?"

	Up to 3 months	From 4 to 9 months	From 10 to 14 months	For more than 14 months	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	2%	19%	49%	13%	4%	13%...100%	373
Women	2	13	30	6	13	36	423
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	2	15	36	9	10	28	645
Beyond elementary	3	17	55	7	3	15	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	2	16	32	8	12	30	423
300 - 399 DM	2	15	48	9	3	23	176
400 DM and more	2	19	47	10	6	16	127
<u>Age:</u>							
Up to 29 years	2	22	32	8	6	30	200
30 - 49 years	2	13	44	9	8	24	327
50 years and over	3	13	38	10	11	25	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	2	22	38	12	6	20	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	3	18	44	11	8	16	191
No party	2	11	41	10	8	28	261
Don't know	2	13	28	3	14	40	132

"In your opinion, are the Communist representatives sincerely trying to reach an agreement with the UN in these peace talks, or do you think they are just stalling for time?"

	Communists are sincere	Communists are stalling	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	6%	81%	13%...100%	373
Women	5	62	33	423
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	5	69	26	645
Beyond elementary	8	80	12	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	6	67	27	423
300 - 399 DM	7	72	21	176
400 DM and more	3	88	9	127
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	6	67	27	200
30 - 49 years	6	71	23	327
50 years and over	6	72	22	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	8	79	13	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	4	83	13	191
No party	6	66	28	261
Don't know	5	52	43	132

"In your opinion, are the UN representatives sincerely trying to reach an agreement with the Communists in these peace talks, or do you think they are just stalling for time?"

	UN is sincere	UN is stalling	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	62%	25%	13%...100%	373
Women	51	18	31	423
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	55	20	25	645
Beyond elementary	65	26	9	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	53	22	25	423
300 - 399 DM	62	17	21	176
400 DM and more	68	23	9	127
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	59	16	25	200
30 - 49 years	55	23	22	327
50 years and over	57	22	21	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	64	24	12	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	65	23	12	191
No party	48	22	30	261
Don't know	55	10	35	132

"In your opinion, which side - the Communists or the UN - has been trying hardest to bring about peace?"

	Com- munists	UN	Both equal- ly hard	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	3%	71%	8%	9%	9%..100%	373
Women	2	62	5	7	24	423
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	2	64	7	8	19	645
Beyond elementary	1	74	5	9	11	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	3	61	7	7	22	423
300 - 399 DM	-	71	5	10	14	176
400 DM and more	2	80	6	7	5	127
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	3	70	6	7	14	200
30 - 49 years	1	63	8	10	18	327
50 years and over	3	67	5	6	19	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	2	73	9	7	9	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	1	81	4	7	7	191
No party	2	59	8	13	18	261
Don't know	3	52	6	3	36	132

"Do you think the Korean war will eventually be ended by negotiation or will the war continue until one side defeats the other in battle?"

	End by negotia- tion	End in battle	Other answers	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	27%	52%	10%	11%...100%	373
Women	24	42	6	28	423
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	24	47	7	22	645
Beyond elementary	33	44	11	12	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	24	48	6	22	423
300 - 399 DM	27	48	9	16	176
400 DM and more	30	48	11	11	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	25	51	8	16	200
30 - 49 years	25	46	9	20	327
50 years and over	27	43	6	24	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	23	60	8	9	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	33	48	8	11	191
No party	26	41	11	22	261
Don't know	20	35	3	42	132

"If the peace talks should break down, which of these three courses do you think the UN should follow?"

	With- draw from Korea	Continue the war only in Korea	Carry the war beyond Korea into China	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	30%	34%	20%	16%..100%	373
Women	37	25	4	34	423
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	36	25	11	28	645
Beyond elementary	25	44	14	17	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	37	25	9	29	423
300 - 399 DM	31	34	12	23	176
400 DM and more	26	40	21	13	127
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	37	33	13	17	200
30 - 49 years	34	26	12	28	327
50 years and over	31	28	11	30	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	38	35	15	12	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	30	42	12	16	191
No party	36	20	11	33	261
Don't know	26	17	9	48	132

"As you know there are many terrible ways in which nations in a modern war can destroy their enemies. Have you heard or read that any of these unusual kinds of warfare have supposedly been used in Korea?"

	Yes, have supposedly been used	No, neither heard nor read about it	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	63%	37%	* ...100%	373
Women	33	67	*	423
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41	59	-	645
Beyond elementary	71	28	1	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	36	64	*	423
300 - 399 DM	62	38	-	176
400 DM and more	64	36	-	127
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	46	54	-	200
30 - 49 years	51	49	*	327
50 years and over	41	58	1	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	54	46	-	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	57	43	-	191
No party	48	52	*	261
Don't know	25	75	-	132

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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R E S T R I C T E D

"According to what you have heard or read: what kinds of warfare have supposedly been used in Korea?"

	Germ war- fare	Chem- ical war- fare	Atom- ic war- fare	Napalm	Other kinds	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
Sex:								
Men	47%	5%	2%	5%	2%	2%	37%..100%	373
Women	20	2	4	2	2	3	67	423
Education:								
Elementary school	28	3	3	3	2	2	59	645
Beyond elementary	54	3	2	8	1	3	23	149
Income (per month):								
0 - 299 DM	23	3	1	4	2	3	64	423
300 - 399 DM	44	5	6	4	2	2	37	176
400 DM and more	51	4	2	3	2	2	36	127
Age:								
Up to 29 years	31	2	2	4	5	2	54	200
30 - 49 years	38	2	4	3	*	3	50	327
50 years and over	28	5	2	4	1	2	58	264
Party Preference:								
SPD	43	4	3	3	1	1	45	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	37	3	3	7	2	4	44	191
No party	34	3	3	3	2	3	52	261
Don't know	13	4	2	2	3	1	75	132

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"One of the principal points of disagreement between the UN and the Communists concerns the exchange of prisoners. Have you heard or read anything about this?" (Can you give me any details about these points of disagreement?)

	Yes, informed	Yes, but not in- formed	No, neither heard nor read anything	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	35%	36%	29%...100%	373
Women	12	26	62	423
Education:				
Elementary school	18	30	52	645
Beyond elementary	40	34	26	149
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	16	31	53	423
300 - 399 DM	27	32	41	176
400 DM and more	38	30	32	127
Age:				
Up to 29 years	18	32	50	200
30 - 49 years	23	31	46	327
50 years and over	25	30	45	264
Party Preference:				
SPD	28	35	37	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	28	34	38	191
No party	20	30	50	261
Don't know	14	23	63	132

"Do you think the UN is right in its stand, or do you think the Communists are right in their stand regarding the prisoner of war issue?"

	UN right	Com- munists right	Both right	Neither right	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	82%	4%	4%	1%	9%...100%	373
Women	72	4	4	2	18	423
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	75	4	4	1	16	645
Beyond elementary	87	2	3	1	7	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	72	5	4	2	17	423
300 - 399 DM	80	4	3	1	12	176
400 DM and more	90	1	3	1	5	127
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	82	3	4	1	10	200
30 - 49 years	76	4	4	*	16	327
50 years and over	74	4	4	2	16	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	84	6	2	1	7	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	86	2	4	1	7	191
No party	75	2	5	2	16	261
Don't know	60	3	3	2	32	132

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Have you heard or read anything about prisoners of war in UN camps?" (What?)

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	59%	41%...100%	373
Women	22	78	423
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	35	65	645
Beyond elementary	58	42	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 299 DM	30	70	423
300 - 399 DM	49	51	176
400 DM and more	56	44	127
<u>Age:</u>			
Up to 29 years	40	60	200
30 - 49 years	44	56	327
50 years and over	32	68	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	49	51	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	45	55	191
No party	37	63	261
Don't know	22	78	132

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R E S T R I C T E D

"Do you feel that the UN treats its prisoners of war too well, not well enough, or just about as it should?"

	Too well	Not well enough	Just about as it should	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	13%	9%	8%	9%	41%..100%	373
Women	3	2	10	5	80	423
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	8	5	15	7	65	645
Beyond elementary	10	9	32	7	42	149
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 299 DM	4	4	16	5	71	423
300 - 399 DM	12	5	21	10	52	176
400 DM and more	14	9	28	5	44	127
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	9	5	19	6	61	200
30 - 49 years	9	5	21	8	57	327
50 years and over	6	5	16	5	68	264
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	14	5	24	7	50	163
CDU/CSU/FDP	8	6	24	6	56	191
No party	8	6	15	8	63	261
Don't know	3	4	10	5	78	132

WEST GERMAN RECEPTIVITY AND REACTIONS TO
THE EXCHANGE OF PERSONS PROGRAM

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OFFICE OF THE U. S. TRUST COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

The present study is designed to assess West German receptivity to, awareness of, and reaction to one of the major American efforts to assist Germany in the democratic orientation of her people - the German/American Exchange of Persons Program. At the time of the survey (January-February, 1952) some four thousand German nationals had returned from visits of varying duration to the United States. Utilizing a scientifically controlled probability sample of 1,200 cases selected from the three Western Zones of Germany and from West Berlin, the survey included only adults of 18 years and older.

The study inquires into the resistances which the Exchange Program faces in Germany, and into the areas of most likely acceptance. Questions asked of West Germans ranged from broad queries on what they think can be of value to Germany's future, to more specific solicitations of response to current efforts toward "democratization" of their country. Answers to these all contribute insights to the total assessment of the Program.

Three levels of analysis are embraced in this report: an examination of West German receptivity to exchanging ideas and information between nations; an inquiry into the awareness and general evaluation of the German/American Exchange Program by West German adults; and a detailed consideration of those people who have had some kind of immediate contact with returning exchangees. The first level looks at all Germans to determine where the "uphill" work of the Program needs to overcome resistances, and where the easier slopes of receptiveness lie; the second confines itself to Germans who know something about the specific German/American Exchange Program; the third is concerned with those adult West Germans who actually are acquainted in some way with the American experiences of returned German exchangees.

A note about group differences: because data showing differences among people of various ages, occupations, political preferences, etc., are voluminous these have been placed in the Appendices to each of the three Sections. The interested reader will find them arranged in the same order in which the related data in the text are presented.

H I G H L I G H T S

I. GENERAL RECEPTIVITY TO THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM

IN GENERAL, RECEPTIVITY TO THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF IDEAS ... is widespread among West Germans, according to the results of this study.

About seven in ten (72%) say Germans can profit from what other nations have to offer. Conversely, nine in ten (88%) state that other nations can learn from Germany.

As many (71%) also subscribe to the view that foreign travel benefits not only the German traveller but Germany as well. They say that Germany would profit more if her citizens spent some time abroad than if they stayed at home for the same length of time.

HOWEVER, REGARDING THE CRUCIAL POLITICAL AREA, WEST GERMANS SHOW CONSIDERABLE RESERVE ...

Politics and government are spontaneously mentioned by only 17 per cent as a field in which West Germans have anything to learn from other countries.

And when specifically queried on the point, only about half (47%) express the opinion that other nations can teach Germans anything about political processes and government.

AS TO LEARNING FROM THE UNITED STATES, GERMANS ARE ON THE WHOLE QUITE RECEPTIVE ...

Almost one half (45%) name America when asked from what country Germany could learn the most that would be of future value.

A clear majority think that there is something to be learned from the United States in the industrial-technical and agricultural fields (68% and 58%, respectively).

About one half (46%) think that Germany can learn from the United States in the area of mass communications.

Three of every four queried (74%) say that Germany, as well as individuals going to the States, would profit from visits of German nationals to America.

AGAIN, RECEPTIVITY IN CERTAIN KEY AREAS IS LOW ...

Only about one third of West Germans think that there is anything to be gained by Germany's studying American experience in each of the following: political/governmental processes, education, and labor relations.

And three of every five people (60%) feel that America has nothing exemplary to offer Germany in the arts; a similar proportion (62%) express this view with respect to social welfare.

HOWEVER, FEW FEAR GERMANS ARE ADVERSELY INFLUENCED BY A SOJOURN IN THE U.S. ...

Nearly two thirds (63%) deny that a visit of several months to the United States could have an unfavorable influence on a German.

Very small minorities of Germans concur with occasionally heard criticisms of returning exchangees. Only fractions of the order listed believe that the following adverse stereotypes apply to a considerable proportion of exchangees.

- | | |
|---------|---|
| ... 13% | ... "don't like life over here anymore and want to emigrate." |
| ... 6% | ... "are conceited and presume to know everything better." |
| ... 6% | ... "have acquired too many American traits and don't make a good impression here." |
| ... 3% | ... "learned a lot of things over there which they can't use here." |
| ... 3% | ... "are too pro-American and not reliable Germans." |

AND THEY CONSIDER REPORTS BY GERMAN VISITORS TO THE U.S. MORE RELIABLE THAN ANY OTHER AVENUES OF INFORMATION ABOUT AMERICA ...

Asked to name the most reliable source of information about America (from a list submitted to the respondents), Germans returning from the U.S. are named by a very wide margin over any other source. One half (50%) of the people nominate Germans returning from America, compared with 9 per cent who name books about America by German authors, or the 8 per cent who believe German newspapers to be the most reliable sources of description of America.

II. AWARENESS AND GENERAL EVALUATION OF EXCHANGE PROGRAM

A CONSIDERABLE NUCLEUS OF GERMANS ARE AWARE OF THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM ...

Four in ten (39%) adult West Germans claim awareness of the German-American Exchange Program, with 32 per cent able correctly to specify some aspects of the Program's activities.

The higher status groups -- better educated, higher income, prestige occupations -- are much more likely than the rest of the population to know about the Program.

Of those who know that the United States pays part or all of the bill, only a small minority attribute negative motives for American interest in the Program.

Eight per cent of the total adult population know not only about the Program, but have some knowledge of actual experiences of exchangees in America. When this percentage is projected into numbers of people in the West German population between 2,200,000 and 3,200,000 prove to know something about what returning exchangees did while in America.*

Three fourths of those who are aware of the Exchange Program say it is of "great value" to Germany. Those in this group who offer criticisms of the Program suggest that it should be expanded in various ways.

Predominant in the comments of the fraction which disparages the value of the Program to Germany is a kind of ethnocentric pride in certain German attributes and achievements, and not necessarily hostility to the United States, per se.

III. DETAILED EVALUATIONS OF PROGRAM

THOSE WHO KNOW OF EXCHANGEES' EXPERIENCES IN THE U.S. CREDIT THESE AS VALUABLE TO GERMANY ...

Eight in ten of those who know of exchangees' experiences reply affirmatively to the question, "According to everything you know about the experiences this person had during his visit to America, do you have the impression that these experiences can be useful here in Germany or not?"

Two of every five say that new ideas have come to them from what they know of returnees' experiences; these "new ideas" are largely favorable -- from the West's point of view. Few voiced negative impressions.

FAVORABLE IMPACT MULTIPLIED BY WHAT RETURNEES HAVE TO TELL ...

Some 4,000 returned exchangees have talked with between 590,000 and 1,200,000 persons about the Exchange Program. This means that, conservatively estimated, each returnee has talked with an average of at least 150 other Germans.

There would appear to be, then, considerable face-to-face transmission by exchangees of some aspects of the Program or of their role in it - thus suggesting that individual exchangee experiences are going far beyond him - first to an appreciable nucleus of personal contacts and, indirectly, to an ever-widening segment of the West German population.

Most of these people who have talked with exchangees report that the returnee was influenced by his experiences, and when asked whether the influence had been good or bad most replied, "good"; they largely supported their reaction by specifying in what way the influence had been favorable.

* A range rather than a precise figure must be given for such a population projection because of the margin of uncertainty inherent in statistical estimates.

I. GENERAL ATTITUDES AND RECEPTIVITY

DO WEST GERMANS BELIEVE GERMANY AND OTHER NATIONS CAN LEARN FROM EACH OTHER? ...

The West German people possess in large measure a basic ingredient of an effective exchange program: the recognition that the international give and take of knowledge and ideas is mutually advantageous to participants. However, somewhat more of them think that Germany can be a teacher than a student in the world's classroom. When queried, "Can other nations learn from us Germans?" ...

... 88% reply yes.

Correspondingly, when asked, "In your opinion can we Germans learn something from other nations?" ...

... 72% answer affirmatively.*

WHAT DO GERMANS THINK OTHER NATIONS CAN LEARN FROM GERMANY? ...

People are more likely to name the technical-industrial areas as being a reservoir of information for other countries than any other possible German contribution. 41% of West Germans name this field, and 15% believe that other countries can profitably look to Germany in scientific research.

One-third (33%) of them say that Germans set an example for the world in practical matters—diligence of effort in life and work. The next most-often mentioned contribution is the cultural tradition manifest in the arts and, partly, in the German education of young people (21% named this area).

"And in what fields in your opinion, could other nations learn from us Germans? (And in what other fields?)"

WEST GERMANY

In the technical, industrial, economic fields:

Optics, chemistry, engineering; they could learn from us in the technical field, although they stole most of our patents; in the economic field; how to quickly rebuild in the technical field, like we did after the last war; the Germans are more advanced in general, especially in regard to technic; chemistry, technic (generally), construction in iron and concrete, building above and below ground, artificial stone industry, textile industry; in the industrial field, as we have good articles; in regard to inventions, in the technical field; in railroad and traffic security; in the technical field, about utilization of coal by-products; etc.

41%

* Better educated Germans are particularly likely to believe that Germany can learn from other nations. Among occupation groups these generally better educated - professional people, businessmen and white-collar workers are more likely to think German can profit from looking to other countries than are laborers, farmers and others. For complete table, see Appendix to this Section, page I-2.

In practical matters - way of living, organizing, diligence, order, discipline, etc. (matters considered typically German):

They could learn working methods from the Germans, they are diligent and economical; the Germans are much more skilled than other people in the field of trade - while in other countries many things are made mechanically, trade (hand-work) in Germany still counts; other nations could learn from us Germans how to get on top again; our way of working, in general we work harder than the others, - nothing else; our working diligence; they could learn from us in every field - discipline, working steadiness; they could learn from us how, with diligence and perseverance, one works to the top again from misery; accurate knowledge of things; other nations could learn from our diligence and comradeship, and how to get on; order and economy; etc.

33%

In the cultural field - education:

In regard to culture; art; music; in the cultural field we are superior to almost any nation; I think that mainly the teachers could learn from our teachers - I consider the German schools better than any others; in the cultural field, first of all, in music; youth education; in regard to poetry and music; etc.

21

In regard to science (research):

In regard to science, since many foreigners study in Germany; in the field of medical science; in regard to science - research in medical science; etc.

15

With regard to humanity, character, - association with people; family life, home life:

Could get acquainted with our manners and customs; from our way of life and from our daily life, generally, we are more civilized than, e.g. the Poles or the Russians; how to behave well, bearing and courtesy; the behavior of the Germans; in regard to bearing; in regard to their character - the "word of honor" still counts in Germany; that they keep their promises; in regard to all-round education; could learn humanity - for instance, the foreign laborers were always well off in Germany; thoroughness, sense of duty, faithfulness; in general - household work, like darning and knitting; the status of the housewives is on a much higher level; about the whole family; etc.

11

In the social field:

Social insurance; social and sanitary installations; mainly in the social field; in regard to unemployment compensations and sick funds; in regard to social insurance; etc.

6

In the military field:

In the military field; in regard to military training; they are brave fighters; in regard to the military - stringent training; in the military field; etc.

3

In all fields:

In all fields; I think, in all fields; something in every field, since in peace time our economy has always been more advanced than other nations; in all fields - that's for sure; in all fields - they can learn a lot from us; in all fields, as the Germans are superior; etc.

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(Cont'd on next page)

Others:

Farming; in the agricultural field; in farming; somewhat in farming, and also, how to master life during hard times - I think that's what the foreigners could learn from us; in regard to sports, they could learn in the political field - how it should be done; in regard to politics; it is hard to say, every nation could learn from the other nations, what one nation doesn't have, the others do have; I can't tell, naturally I believe one could learn, one should always learn things; I can't name any specific fields, but any nation can learn from the other nations; naturally they could learn from us, but not as much as we could learn from them; etc.

10%

No opinion/ No answer:

$$\frac{4}{151\%*}$$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

WHAT DO GERMANS THINK THAT GERMANY CAN LEARN FROM OTHER NATIONS? ...

Certain contrasts and similarities may be noted between the above comments and those indicating the possibility of a reverse flow of information between Germany and the rest of the world. In some fields of learning more people believe that Germany can be a contributor than believe she can be a receiver. What are these?

When West Germans are asked to name areas in which other countries can contribute to Germany, only 3% think of the cultural area (compare this with the 21% who believe that Germany can make a contribution to the others in this field).

One-third as many West Germans say that Germany can learn from others in science as indicate others can learn from Germany.

On the other hand, some West Germans mention an area in which Germany can learn from other nations which is seldom indicated by those who cite German contributions to the world's learning - political/governmental processes. Many Germans seem to think that in this area the lesson can be given by some countries of the world to Germany, but few people mention a contribution in the opposite direction.

While virtually no one mentioned German political institutions or procedures as exemplary for other nations, 17% of West Germans volunteer the belief that their country can learn something from others in this respect.*

* For results of asking openly whether Germany can learn from other countries in politics/civics, see page 12 of this report

IP: "Yes".

"In what fields can we Germans learn from other nations?
(In what other fields?)"

WEST GERMANY

In the economic, technical, and industrial fields
(nationalization):

Economically - in regard to technical sciences and efficient processes in the USA; the business instinct of the British - their outlook on world events; in the technical field; in technics - better exploitation of the natural resources; we can learn a lot about mining; in regard to methods of work and technics; in regard to technic - our hands were tied due to the war - in industry and salesmanship - they are more progressive in this respect; perhaps how the work could be accomplished more efficiently - otherwise I wouldn't know anything; in regard to the construction of automobiles and assembly line production; the Americans are better in regard to construction (housing) - we can learn from them in the field of building automobiles; construction - road building and construction of housing; in the field of home economics - improvement of the kitchen in America - better mechanical devices; etc.

21%

In general way of living - (conception of life - aggressiveness - tolerance - manners - etc.) national pride:

Perhaps from their general conception of life - their way of living; working conditions in France aren't so hard as in Germany - I think that the Germans make work harder for themselves than the others; the calmness and happy-go-lucky way of the Americans - the way they take life in its stride; in regard to tempo - they are not so slowminded - they take life easier and therefore they are more successful; other people take life easier than we do - we are too clumsy, we take everything too tragically - we should learn to live with more ease - acquire some of these traits too; in regard to generousness and tolerance - manners - we can learn much from the French in this respect; the tolerance of the British is something we could learn - an easier concept of work as it is with other people - we shouldn't work as stubbornly as we do; the free manners of the Amis; the readiness to help - that's all I can think of; in the conception of life - we should learn to be more calm - we shouldn't be so industrious at all the time; generousness and tolerance; we can learn to have national pride from them; national spirit - a less restrained manner; for instance from the French - they would never abandon their national feelings - they stick together more - I wouldn't know of anything except cooperation, confidence and more understanding; that they realize their own qualities and not imitate the others all the time - the Germans are that way - they always imitate the others; etc.

17

In the field of politics:

In the political field, I wouldn't know of anything else; we can learn how the others behave in political respects; how it is done that one can get along without war; one can learn a lot from the Americans in regard to politics; political objectivity and discipline - especially political tolerance; political solidarity; in the field of democracy - the whole government set-up of the other nations; in the political field - how one becomes a true democrat; in the political field - here always everything goes to the extreme; that politics are mathematical problems that have little to do with ideals; how freedom is used - I mean on a democratic basis; the reserved attitude of the U SA and the ruthless

(Cont'd on next page)

way they accomplish their interests; in politics and the administration; solidarity among the nations - that they respect each other - that one shouldn't have so many biases; etc.

17%

In regard to agriculture:

There are nations that are farther advanced in agriculture than we are: in regard to agriculture - because they have different methods everywhere; the motorization in agriculture is something we could learn from the Americans; it could be in agriculture; in the agricultural field from America - in the cooperatives from the Netherlands; etc.

7

In the field of science:

Atomic science; in science; in medical sciences; in scientific research - that is enough; etc.

5

In the cultural field:

In religion; the Italians with music and signing; in painting and architecture; in education; etc.

3

In the social field (social welfare - child welfare):

In the social field; social institutions - the American as well as the French workers are better off in social respects; etc.

1

One can learn from each other in all fields:

Well, I don't know exactly but I think that one can always learn something; one nation can learn from the other in all fields; I don't know that right now - one can always learn something; in all fields; I can't tell you for sure - I just believe that - one can always learn something; one can always learn something from somebody in general; etc.

12

Other opinions:

The Americans are more for freedom - but we don't need that like the Americans, because we are dependent on our conditions, and we can't learn anything else from other people; other people live on a much simpler diet and therefore the people are healthier; in regard to fashion (from England and France); etc.

5

No opinion/ No answer:

7

95%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

"TRAVEL BROADENS" IS ALSO A WIDESPREAD VIEW ...

Further indication of a general receptivity to an international exchange of ideas is the apparent absence of an insular viewpoint among the bulk of West Germans. Most of them assert that Germany would profit if her citizens could spend some time abroad, as is seen in replies to the question: "In your opinion, how could a German gather more experience with which he could be of most value to Germany in the future - by spending a year abroad or remaining in Germany for the same period?"

71% said that a German would be more valuable to Germany were he to live abroad for a year, and 15% thought that his contribution would be greater if he'd stay in Germany (14% gave no opinion).

Those who gave an opinion, whether it was that the German should stay in Germany or go abroad, were queried as to why they feel that way. Most frequently given as a reason for the belief that a German should spend the year abroad is the educative effect of having new experiences. Observations of differences between what the traveler has known and what he could

(Cont'd on next page)

experience in this year abroad were cited in various ways by those whose comments fall into this group (recall the cliché, "travel broadens"). In other words, the general theme of these reasons is that the individual will broaden his experience, although there is usually nothing more said of the value of this increased experience to Germany. The implication seems to be that the nation will benefit from the personal development of any of its citizens. Some comments, however, were more explicit, as a review of them in Appendix A indicates.

Of the relatively small number (15%) of West Germans who believe it would be better for a German to stay in his home country than to spend a year abroad about one half give as their reason that Germany offers enough or more applicable experience to the individual. The other group which represents this "Why leave home?" school expresses itself even more vocally in saying that there's no point in a German's spending a year abroad in the interest of the country's future because Germany is more advanced than other countries, and anyone leaving to observe elsewhere probably would be depriving himself of the best experience, which is available at home. (For list of comments, see Appendix B, Section I).

AN INDEX OF RECEPTIVITY ...

An index of receptiveness to the underlying principle of the Exchange Program was established by combining in certain ways people who answered the above question and that asking whether Germany can learn from other nations. Three groups have been defined and separated for analysis - ranging from those who clearly adopt a positive stand toward Germany's learning from other nations through those giving partly negative or partly positive indications to those who deny the value of such learning.

The three groups and the proportion of the West German population which each represents are these:

Those who believe both that Germany can learn from other nations and that Germans should go abroad for a year (instead of remaining in Germany) in the interest of Germany's future	58%
Those who are less certain in their position between favoring or not favoring the international learning concept	32%*
Those who both believe that Germany cannot learn from other nations and that Germany's future could better be served by Germans remaining in Germany than by spending a year abroad	5%
Those who gave no opinion or no answer to either question	5%

*People in this group either answered one of the questions favorable to Germany's learning and the other unfavorable to it, or they answered one of the two questions and gave no opinion or no answer to the other. Combining these people in various ways was attempted, but to prevent the assigning of them unwisely they were placed where they certainly belong - between the extremes of acceptance and rejection of the exchange principle.

How do these groups differ? What kinds of people are more likely than others to have attitudes which support the premise underlying existing international exchange programs? (The exchange effort with which this report mainly is concerned emphasizes in budget and in practice the sending of Germans to other countries in much greater numbers than it does the opposite flow. Therefore, it is logical that our index indicates the receptivity of West Germans to this effort; the two questions used in developing the index are better suited to this purpose than are others in this Section).

A notable difference is that related to the amount of formal schooling:

DEGREE OF RECEPTIVENESS
TO GERMANY'S LEARNING FROM OTHER
NATIONS ACCORDING TO EDUCATION
OF RESPONDENTS

	Education of Respondent		
	Elementary Only	Secondary Without Abitur**	Abitur and University
Favor Germany's Learning Abroad	51%	80%	96%
Modified Acceptance or Rejection	37	17	4
Opposed to Germany's Learning Abroad	6	1	-
No Opinion Expressed	6	2	-
100% -	(958)	(190)	(50)

Looking at the table, one notes that the group most willing to see Germany look to other nations are those who hold, at least, an Abitur. Least likely to take the most favorable attitude towards the exchange principle are those with the least formal schooling. Standing between these two extremes are those with a medium amount of education; thus, the relationship between amount of formal education and receptiveness to the idea of Germany's being a student of other countries is direct and clear.

Tabulations which are included in the Appendix to this Section indicate that more men than women go on record in favor of Germany's obtaining experience abroad, and there are also data showing somewhat more acceptance of this in larger cities than there is in small towns and rural communities (the latter difference applies to people having only an elementary education; the number of cases of people having higher education was too small to afford statistical reliability of differences).*

* Education was controlled wherever possible in tabulations involving size of community because it usually is an intervening variable: there is a higher proportion of better-educated people in cities than in rural areas, and one must ascertain whether any apparent differences in attitudes between people coming from rural areas and from cities are actually lost when amount of education is controlled. See Appendix Tables I^a and I^b, Appendix to Section I.

** An Abitur-holder has, roughly, the equivalent of a junior college education.

WHAT NATION DO GERMANS THINK WOULD BE THE BEST CONTRIBUTOR? ...

Proponents of international exchange of information probably would find a high receptiveness to their views among West Germans. It has been seen that about three-fourths of the latter display a favorable attitude towards Germany's learning from other countries, and somewhat more than that think that other countries can gain from what Germany has to offer them. Nearly three-fourths believe that a German can contribute more to his country by spending a year abroad than he can by staying in Germany. Up to this point, there has been no discussion of German assessments of particular countries; it was desired, first, to outline the general appraisal of international information exchanges by West Germans. What countries do the respondents think of when asked, for the first time, to think of nations which could contribute to Germany's future? The following question was asked of all West Germans who earlier had said that Germans could learn something from other countries: "In your opinion, in which country - besides Germany - could a German learn most in general in order to be of value to Germany with his experience in the future?"

About one half (45%) answered "America"; following in order were England (6%), Switzerland (4%), Sweden (3%) and Russia (1%).

"In your opinion, in which country - besides Germany - could a German learn most in general, in order to be of value to Germany with his experience in the future?"

WEST GERMANY

America:

In regard to economy - in the USA; in the USA, as they developed tremendously and are far advanced compared with us; naturally in America, since it is the technically most advanced nation; in America, because it has the most capital for utilizing all sciences, and because part of the most qualified people are in America - the Russians just snatched those qualified people away; in America, a nation which has a lot of money and is not damaged because of war; America is most liberal, many Germans are living there; from America, as it is a nation of unlimited opportunities; etc.

45%

England:

The English are very advanced in the field of atomic science, we heard that they already utilize atomic power for heating purposes; considered from the political point of view - in England; etc.

6

Switzerland:

In Switzerland; perhaps Switzerland, I would prefer Switzerland; etc.

4

Sweden:

Sweden; etc.

3

Russia:

In my opinion, Russia is furthest advanced in all fields, and in regard to farming and technic we could learn from America as well as from Russia; in the Soviet Union; etc.

1

Other European Countries:

In France, in the intellectual area; in the Netherlands, they live well and comfortable and yet get ahead; Italy, France; etc.

3

(Cont'd on next page)

Other Non-European countries:

Canada, perhaps also Persia; Brasil; Australia; Argentina; I just told you that we could learn from America, but, on the other hand, we can as well take Japan as a model, because the Japanese love their motherland and sports - that's what I like; etc.

2

One could learn something in any country:

One could learn in any country, no matter which country that is; every country has its characteristics, it always depends on the fields one is to make experiences in; every country has something; I couldn't name any particular country; I can't judge - one could learn everywhere; etc.

2

In no other country:

No other country; there is no other country we could learn from; etc.

1

Don't know, can't judge, have no experience:

10
77%

MAJORITY OF GERMANS RECEPTIVE TO GERMANY'S LEARNING FROM AMERICA IN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND IN AGRICULTURE ...

When examined in detail on eight selected areas of possible American contributions to German learning, acceptance is found to vary within a wide range. Only in two fields - agriculture and industrial developments - is there a majority sentiment that Germany can learn anything from the United States. It is fortunate that such receptivity exists because in both of these areas a great effort has been made to help Germany with American experiences---partly through the Exchange Program. Majorities believe that Germany can learn nothing from America in two areas---social welfare and cultural affairs. Moreover, as is disclosed in the following table, in most areas the tendency is to say that Germans can only learn "something" rather than "much" from the United States.

"In your opinion, could we Germans in general, learn much from the Americans in the field of , something, or nothing?"

	<u>Much</u>	<u>Something</u>	<u>Nothing</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	
a. Agriculture	24%	34%	21%	21%	= 100%
b. Social welfare: child care, old age provisions, recreation, etc.	4	10	62	24	= 100%
c. Industry and technics	30	38	20	12	= 100%
d. Cultural affairs, i.e. music, stage, literature, etc.	3	16	60	21	= 100%
e. Employer - Employee relationships	13	18	24	45	= 100%
f. Education: schools, universities, etc.	12	22	40	26	= 100%
g. Press and radio	21	25	22	32	= 100%
h. Political life, i.e. city administration, form of government, etc.	13	23	21	43	= 100%

A review of the above table offers many interesting findings:

WIDESPREAD DOUBT THAT ANYTHING CAN BE LEARNED FROM AMERICA IN ARTS AND SOCIAL WELFARE ...

Most liable to propaganda exploitation by anti-American agencies within and outside Germany---is the very widespread opinion among West Germans that nothing can be learned from America in social welfare and in the arts. About two of every three people feel this way.

Looking at this matter a little more closely, we find that only 14% of West Germans say that there is something to be learned from the United States in the area of child welfare, old age provisions, social security, recreation center development, etc. 19% attribute the same possibility in music, the theatre, literature, other arts, etc.

There is need for all that can be done to overcome this attitude towards American welfare programs and towards American "culture"---exploited as it is by the Communists (e.g., the "barbarism" and "decadence" of American literary and musical works; the "degradation" of the American worker, "suppressed" by those in power). It is possible that returning exchange-ees will do much toward altering the attitude that nothing is to be learned in these two areas held widely in Germany.

NEARLY ONE-HALF OF WEST GERMANS THINK GERMANY CAN LEARN ABOUT "MASS" MEDIA FROM AMERICA ...

The "mass" media---press and radio---have been presented extensively to exchangees under the German-American Program; indeed, the communications industry in the United States has helped underwrite various training and observation programs which include German personnel visiting the States. And in this area there seems to be a belief among one-half of Germans that their country can learn something from America.

46% of West Germans say that the "mass" media in America have something or much to offer Germany by way of example, placing this area in third-order preference (after agriculture and industry).

GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD LEARNING FROM AMERICA IN GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION AND LABOR RELATIONS ...

One of the major elements of the American High Commission Program has been to develop democracy in Germany, using---with appropriate modifications---practices and institutions in American politics and government as examples of working democracy. The exchange of experts and governmental representatives between the two countries is well-known. Yet, the degree of apathy among the West German population or resistance toward learning anything about politics and government from America must be reckoned with.

Somewhat over one-third (36%) of them think something can be learned in this area from America. One-fifth of West Germans say nothing can be learned. (the remaining 43% expressed no opinion in the matter).

There is no intention here of saying that the political education effort undertaken during the post-war years is rejected by the German population. The data do not warrant such assumptions; they do show the fact that a relatively small proportion of the adult West German people go on record as endorsing the idea of Germany's learning anything from the United States in the area of political processes and government. Note two other findings in the table under discussion:

(Cont'd on next page)

40% of Germans over 18 years of age reject the possibility of many's learning something from America in education---they say nothing can be learned in this respect. Here is another attitude which warrants the attention of those charged with modifying certain elements of the education system of Germany using American experiences.

Although two-thirds of Germans think there is something to be learned in industrial processes, barely one-third (31%) say the same thing about the area of labor relations. They apparently see America as exemplary in how to make things (see earlier discussion), but not in how employers and employees work together in making them.

It must be said that those who either express no opinion on any of the various areas of potential learning, or who say there is nothing to be learned may very well some day be in favor of Germany's learning from the United States in those areas. That is, their current attitude may be based on ignorance of what might be learned and not upon a studied or less rational rejection of such learning. This apathy---to the extent that it does exist towards learning from the United States---is relevant to the success of the Exchange Program only insofar as the purpose of the Program is to enlist interest among Germans, generally, in what America has to offer Germany. However, it could well be that although people do not believe there is much or anything to be learned now, they would change their views and actually absorb some exchange-initiated information coming from America. (Too, they may not change their views about the potentiality of learning from America, but unknowingly be successfully reached in some way by Exchange Program returnees).

Assuming that the better educated segment of the German population is the most articulate, informed and critical group, it is interesting to see how they compare with the general population in their receptivity to learning from America. One or two other group differences also should be noted.

BETTER EDUCATED GERMANS MORE LIKELY TO BELIEVE NOTHING CAN BE LEARNED FROM AMERICA IN CULTURAL AREA ...

Germans having a greater amount of formal education than others are more likely to be positive that nothing can be learned from America in the area of culture.

While 70% of those having more than an elementary school education say that America can contribute nothing, culturally, to Germany 58% of those with less formal schooling indicate this.

On the other hand, better-educated Germans are more likely than the average to say that there is much or something to be learned from America in the areas of greatest general receptivity - agricultural and industrial developments. From these findings it can be seen that the general pattern of acceptance and rejection of learning from America by West Germans is the same among the best educated segment of the population. However, the differences between acceptance and rejection of certain areas are greater among the latter group. That is, the better-educated are more likely than the general population to assert that there is something to be learned in agriculture and industry and less likely to believe that Germany can learn from America in agricultural affairs.*

Many more of the better-educated go on record as believing that much or something is to be learned from America in education than is true of those having an elementary education or less (52% and 29%, receptivity).**

Although a majority of Germans believe that much can be learned from America in the area of agriculture, farmers and members of their families are no more likely than others to be of this opinion.***

*See Appendix pages I-5 and I-7.

**See Appendix page I-10.

***See Appendix page I-5.

TWO OF EVERY FIVE GERMANS BELIEVE GERMANY CAN LEARN FROM AMERICA IN AT LEAST FOUR AREAS ...

Of the eight fields ...

- ...none or only one were selected by 29% of West Germans.
- ...two or three were selected by 28% of West Germans.
- ...four or five were selected by 29% of West Germans.
- ...six or more were selected by 14% of West Germans.

The question now to be considered is what groups of people in West Germany are most receptive to Germany's learning from America—which name the most areas of contribution?

The higher one's formal education the more fields of learning he is likely to name in which Germany can learn from America. The table below shows the consistent and significant direct relationship between these two factors—formal education and number of fields chosen:

NUMBER OF FIELDS OF LEARNING
SELECTED ACCORDING TO EDUCATION OF
RESPONDENT

Number of fields named in which Germany could learn from the U.S.	Education of Respondent		
	Elementary Only	Secondary Without Abitur	Abitur and Over
None or one	34%	12%	4%
2 or 3	29	24	16
4 or 5	26	43	44
6 or more	11	21	36
100% -	(957)	(190)	(50)

Of those examined, no other characteristic of West Germans is as definitely related to the number of fields of learning they select as is the amount of their formal schooling. Note in the table above the progressively greater proportion of people who name many areas in which Germany can learn from America as one reads up the education scale. Of those with an elementary education about one-third (64%) of those secondary-school educated and with the 80% of Abitur-holders who name at least four learning fields.

People living in the larger cities of West Germany are more likely than those in smaller towns and rural villages to name areas in which American experience can contribute to Germany, and more men than women are likely to do so.* The relationship between age and likelihood of naming learning areas is not clear when amount of formal schooling is controlled; for details see the Appendix tables.*

DO GERMANS BELIEVE GERMANY CAN LEARN ANYTHING FROM OTHER NATIONS IN THE AREA OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT? ...

Because of the important idea of political education in the American exchange program, an additional check was made on West German views regarding American contributions in this area. Initially respondents were asked whether the German people could advantageously learn anything from the political experiences of other countries. To this, 47% replied affirmatively, 14% said no, and a large proportion (39%) were undecided.** As a follow-up, the affirmative 47% were asked to specify the countries which could contribute to German political information.

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*See Appendix Tables Ij, Ik, and Il, Appendix to Section I.

**For relationship between general receptivity to Germany's learning receptivity to learning in political field, see Appendix D, Section I.

The United States was named almost as frequently as Great Britain as a political source of information, though considering the long experience in self-government of both countries, each was specified by relatively small fractions (16% for Britain, 14% for the United States). Switzerland was in third place with 8% naming it.*

WHY DO SOME GERMANS OPPOSE GERMANY'S LEARNING FROM POLITICAL EXPERIENCES OF OTHER NATIONS? ...

The 14% who said that Germany had nothing to learn in this area gave very largely two different kinds of reasons: 1) German political experience is as adequate as that of other countries or is superior to theirs, and 2) conditions peculiar to Germany render the experience of other nations unapplicable.

"In your opinion, can we Germans learn something for our form of government from the political experiences of another country or not?"

IF "No, we cannot learn":

"Why could we Germans learn nothing in your opinion?"

WEST GERMANY

German politics (government) is just as good or better than that of other countries (we are smart enough ourselves - we don't need the others):

German politics are more progressive than that of all other countries I know (Yugoslavia, Italy, Bulgaria, CSR); because our politics have been good for many years - especially the SPD is a good party - in this respect our own is always the best; nobody is politically superior to the Germans; because we have always been far advanced politically in my opinion; because our form of government is just as good if not even better than that of other countries; the Germans always had their own political opinions and we always got ahead - why should we need other systems of government then?; our men aren't stupid either and all of them are experienced too; we have a good government and I am satisfied with what it does for us; all of them can't agree either - there is always quarreling going on in the parliaments, just as in our parliament too; because the others didn't do much better either; because the other nations aren't farther advanced than we either; etc.

Germany needs her own (suitable) form of government - (political conditions here are different from other nations):

We need a government that is suited for Germany, and that we can't learn from other countries; politics are different in every country just as the people are too, and therefore, we shouldn't even try it; we are an entirely different people and therefore we could never adopt the policies of England or France; the Germans need a special form of leadership and our economic structure cannot be compared to that of any other country; one can't learn political matters from others - they don't know the German situation and therefore one can't simply transfer such things; because the government forms of other countries can't be applied to Germany; why and from whom should we take such orders? every country has different conditions and the government has to act accordingly; the German remains German and he has to be governed differently from other nations because he always leads a different way of life; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

*Complete list of countries nominated is in Appendix C, Section I. Also, see Table Id, Appendix to Section I.

We already have had enough bad experiences:

Because we already tried all forms of government and none of them proved to be any good; we've already experienced enough in our country - we lost two wars in 5 decades - we don't have enough land (Lebensraum), in addition to that the refugee problem - for these reasons it is impossible for Germany to adopt the politics and experiences of other countries; we have so much experience and in spite of it we lost two wars; because we experienced everything in politics to the bitter end; etc.

14

Other opinions:

Because the other countries always agree that in politics we Germans are always the guilty ones; they shouldn't make any political experiences - just friendly ones - politics always lead to war - there isn't a country that isn't ambitious, and that leads to war; because we don't like the others and therefore we can't learn anything; the politics of the other nations are based on lies - they are not honest in their politics; because for them it is easier to reign - we have the occupation powers here, the others don't - one has to see first how it will be if the occupation leaves - then our government will be able to work; because we were able to manage four ourselves until the others came here to Germany - yes, the British, the Russians, and the Amis; etc.

2

No opinion/ No answer:

$$\frac{1}{15\%*}$$
A CLOSER LOOK AT THE GERMAN-AMERICAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM ...

This study was designed, principally, to assess the German-American Exchange Program. The initial questions put to the West German people about their receptiveness to exchanging ideas and information between nations have been looked at. Now the more specific German-American exchange effort can be studied. This being very largely a "one-way" effort (in volume of persons exchanged and dollars expended) between the two countries, the emphasis rests upon the German evaluation of Germans' going to the States. What do Germans think their countrymen could learn in America which would be useful to Germany - if anything? What would they be most interested in hearing from returnees? What "good" and what "bad" influences would they expect to play upon other Germans visiting America? Would the returning exchangee alone profit from his experience, or is it possible that Germany could gain something from it?

Various attitudes held by Germans toward Americans are related to their receptivity to Germany's learning from the United States. At one point early in the interview all respondents were asked, "Which of the following sentences corresponds closest with your personal feelings toward the Americans?" (A card was handed the respondent, who made his choice among four possibilities - ranging from very pro-American to very anti-American.***) When answers to this question were tabulated against the number of learning areas they selected, the result is a rather regular and progressive increase in the proportion selecting more areas of learning as one reads from unfavorable to favorable on the "like Americans" scale. As an example

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**The question's alternative answers, presented to the respondents, were:

"I like them (the American; I think I could get along well with them."

"I like them fairly well; I think I could get along with them on the whole."

"I don't like them especially; I believe I wouldn't get along with them in certain respects."

"I don't like them at all; I don't think we'd get along."

(Cont'd on next page)

of differences, 61% of those with the view, "I like Americans and think I could get along well with them" named four or more areas out of eight in which they felt Germany could learn from America, but only 20% of those whose attitude toward Americans is, "I don't like Americans at all and I don't think we'd get along" named as many.* Certainly it appears that much resistance to any exchange of information program between the two countries is related to the more basic dislike of things American.

MOST WEST GERMANS ARE CURIOUS ABOUT WHAT LIFE IN AMERICA IS LIKE ...

In an attempt to approach receptivity to the United States as a source of information from the angle of spontaneous curiosity about America, West Germans were asked, "Supposing you would meet a German who had just returned from a trip to America - what would you be most interested in hearing from him about America? - And what else?". This line of inquiry both personalizes the situation for the respondent and places in a practical context the determination of receptivity to a returnee from the United States. The results indicate that almost all West Germans have something they would like to know about Americans and their way of life.

The largest group of comments - by a considerable margin - relate to living conditions in America, to economic and social conditions as they can be observed by the German visitor to America. Well over one-half (59%) of West Germans would ask the returnee questions about economic and social conditions as they affect Americans' daily lives.

About one-fourth (23%) of them would query the returning exchange on what Americans think of Germans and of Germany.

Successively diminishing proportions express an interest in politics and political thinking in America, in culture and customs, schools and education, agriculture, the American household, and - least often mentioned - an interest in the country's landscape, topography and climate.

"Supposing you would meet a German who had just returned from a trip to America - what would you be most interested in hearing from him about America?" (And what else?)

WEST GERMANY

Economic and social conditions:

Living conditions of the workers in America; the living standard of the laborer; about the relationship between employee and employer, social insurance and way of living, the working relationship, wages; what income do the people have there? - do most people live less expensive and better than here?; how do they live there - how is the food and the income; how is it with the way of working and pay; just how the laborers live, and how the prices are for clothes; about the development in business, mainly in the food serving trade; I would like to know whether the industry is really so vast there and whether everything is done mechanically; everything pertaining to technic, culinary art and catering trade; I would particularly ask about technical matters, about mining and everything pertaining to that; about professional progress in America; about the average American lives, whether the American living costs are lower than here; etc.

59%

(Cont'd on next page)

*For complete tabulations see Table Ia, Appendix to this Section.

American attitude towards Germany and Germans:

Whether their attitude is favorable for us or not; what the Americans think of us and say about us; what the Americans think of us and whether we Germans are really more esteemed again; how do the Americans feel about Germany?; what do the Americans think about Germany? - whether they still regard us as criminals; the Americans' opinion about the Germans, - whether the Americans like the Germans and whether the Germans who immigrated to America are accepted without hate at their place of employment; how the Germans are received in America, whether it's a problem for them to find a job; first of all, how he was received and treated by the Americans; etc.

23%

Politics (home policy and foreign policy) (American attitude towards democracy, their attitude towards a potential war):

What the American people think of Korea, what is their conception of the German defense participation, their attitude towards Communism in general; American people's policy and their attitude towards war; how would the Americans conduct themselves in a future conflict - what's his impression about that; whether they think that war with Russia will be inevitable; do the American authorities also work so slowly as those here; how the presidential campaign is carried through; of the political life in America - in how much does the single American participate in it; about the race problem; etc.

14

General living conditions:

How the living conditions are there; whether it is better or worse than here; their way of living, whether they live easier than here; how the people are; how life in general is; American philosophy of life; about the American way of living in general; etc.

12

Culture, art, religion, manners and customs, schools and education:

I would especially like to hear about the art treasures; perhaps I would ask whether the artists and theaters, to our conception, are good or average; how the theaters are built, how the bands are composed, whether the musicians have good possibilities for professional progress; manners and customs; religious conditions; how religion is handled in America; how holidays and Sundays are observed; conditions for the young people, possibilities for further progress, whether they can study without having graduated at high school; how the schools are; etc.

9

Whether reports about America correspond to the facts, about personal experiences in America:

Whether it's really so beautiful like it is depicted in our newspapers; whether things are really as grand as they tell here; how much he could see of the true conditions there; what they think about the future, whether things are really so swell as they tell here; I would be interested in general experiences; how his personal contact with the Americans has been; I would be interested in all his experiences during his trip; how he liked America; I would ask how he did there; how and what he did there; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

Agriculture:

How farming is done in America; about the way of farming, what machines are used, actually everything pertaining to cattle breeding; how the farmers work, and about cattle breeding; modern methods of soil cultivation, what kind of machines they use for farming; I would be interested in farming and cattle breeding; etc.

7%

Information concerning women and American homes:

About the accommodations for the housewives - dishwashers and modern kitchen furnishings; how the women manage their household, mechanical helps in the household, education of children, fashion, and possibilities for making a living; about the novelties in the field of housekeeping; how the Americans live, especially the housewives, and about the amount of money a week the housewives have to get along with in general; about household conditions, how do they live, how are the children brought up, about neighborly relationship; how the housewives live and what kind of facilitations they have in the households; etc.

6

About the country, landscape, climate, etc.:

What America's landscape is like; quite generally, about all his impressions of the landscape; whether they have the same climate as here; about the structure of the country, in regard to the landscape; etc.

2

Others:

What he thinks about intended immigration; what about the Marshall Plan (repayment); whether they really burn nylons; I would ask about the parallels and contrasts of both countries, about everything what he knows and what struck him; how it was possible that America's development advanced so quickly; actually I want to know everything worthy of knowing of America; whether it is true that almost all people above 40 years have false teeth, because they live on preserves, - I read it once; whether prisoners of war are still there; about sports; etc.

5

Nothing would interest me:

Nothing at all would interest me; I don't care what the Americans are doing; for years I have corresponded with my brother and other relatives in America - my requirements are covered sufficiently; I have certainly no interest at all - we are in Germany, why should we care for other countries - those at the "top" do never agree anyhow; on the whole I am not interested about it; etc.

6

No opinion/ No answer:

3

154%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GERMAN INTERESTS IN AMERICA AS GUIDEPOSTS FOR EXCHANGE PROGRAM FORMULATION ...

Clearly, of most interest to the West German rank and file are the homely, everyday facts of American life. Admittedly, an effective exchange program cannot nor should not be planned on the basis of such popular curiosity. But, by knowing the German people's expressed interests in America, it is possible to use these as avenues of easiest access to their attention.

First, they want to know about the American "way of living", "how (Americans) live", "how is the food and the income?", "whether American living costs are lower than here", about the "living conditions of the laborers in America", and so on. The principal focus of interest seems to be the economic and social conditions surrounding the "average" American. It is important, then, that the visiting German exchangee becomes familiar with these conditions, that he is given the opportunity to know Americans whose daily lives and whose homes and families are not so atypical that the German leaves America with a distorted picture of something in which millions of Germans are interested.

The next most-often expressed interest in America is what Americans think of Germans and Germany. This being the case it is to be hoped that the exchangee is given the opportunity to get beyond the banalities of the many "receptions" which are given for him in the States, that he can talk at length with not only his hosts and their associates (who are very likely not to be representative of the American people) but with Americans who are not with him primarily for the express purpose of "entertaining" him. What is called for is the planning of sufficient leisure time and travel opportunity that the visiting German exchangee talks with "all kinds" of Americans, not merely with those who become acquainted with him through some formal, Program-arranged meeting.

Comparatively small proportions of the German adult population say that they would be most interested in hearing about American political processes and political thinking, or about schools and education - institutions which have been used in many ways by certain High Commission offices as exemplary in the "democratization" of post-war Germany. This does not mean that Germans are not interested in these areas at all, but that they are more interested in the other things which have been discussed. It may mean that a great effort is necessary by returning exchangees to acquaint Germans with these American institutions as they see them. Perhaps the Germans' more general interest in economic and social conditions as they surround Americans in their daily lives and their interest in what Americans think of Germany can be utilized by returning exchangees in introducing their impressions of these political and educational institutions. It is good to know where the areas of comparative interest lie in order that the most accessible avenues of German interest can be used not only for their own sake but to lead to those darker by-ways which are also important in the total purpose of the Exchange Program.

DO GERMANS BELIEVE THAT WHAT VISITING GERMANS LEARN IN AMERICA HAS ANY PRACTICAL VALUE TO GERMANY? ...

Some final questions remain regarding West German receptivity to an American exchange program: what do West Germans think of the potential value to their country of Germans who return home after a sojourn in the United States? Can they contribute anything worthwhile or are they so Americanized that their potential contributions are irreparably damaged? A series of questions the results of which are reported below were designed to obtain West German views on these issues.

The widespread view is that West Germany stands to gain if experts and students are sent to the United States.

"Do you believe that the majority of German experts and students gather experiences in America which will only be to their personal advantage, or do you think that the experiences gathered in America could be of general advantage to Germany?

Three of every four queried (74%) said that Germany, as well as the individual who went to the States, would realize gain from the visits. Only 9% felt that the advantage would be enjoyed solely by the German visitor (14% gave no opinion, and 3% qualified their answers).

FEW GERMANS FEAR GERMAN VISITORS TO AMERICA WOULD BE UNFAVORABLY INFLUENCED ...

A series of questions were asked to determine what Germans think other Germans might experience during a few months in America which could change them---for better and for worse. The interest here is in how their countrymen think exchangees could be changed as people. These questions gave all respondents ample opportunity---in fact encouraged them---to think of all possible good and bad influences which might play upon the visiting German.

All respondents were asked this question: "In your opinion, could a visit of several months to America have an unfavorable influence on a German?"

Nearly two-thirds (63%) of West Germans said, "No", ruling out the possibility of a German visitor's being unfavorably influenced by a visit to America. This high percentage of response favorable to the effect upon the individual German exchangee is given more meaning when comments to other questions are examined. (See below). 16% of the respondents thought that unfavorable influences might occur, and 21% gave no opinion.

When people were asked how a German visitor might be favorably influenced during a few months' stay in America, most answers were of the kind mentioned earlier in this report in another context: increased knowledge and varied observations accruing from his experience would be of advantage to the exchangees.*

Of the 16% who think there could be unfavorable influences playing upon the German visitor in the United States, it can be said that their reasons for thinking as they do vary from extremely negative assessments of American customs and institutions to the belief that the visitor wouldn't want to return to Germany after finding America better. (Note comments below).

Of those who think that both favorable and unfavorable influences might occur, most feel that the favorable outweigh the negative possibilities.**

*For list of comments and proportion of answers in each category, see Appendix E, Section I.

**Note Table Ig in Appendix to Section I.

"In your opinion, could a visit of several months to America have an unfavorable influence on a German?"

WEST GERMANY

Customs, manners, attitudes of the Americans:

They are so undisciplined all the time - chewing gum in their mouths, and hands in their pockets; they let themselves go - but only individual ones; he would be spoiled - in regard to work and pleasure; they like the lazy life better over there - they don't need to work so hard for their money; the German is actually a very well-mannered person - the Americans put their feet on the table and other such things and the German might get used to these bad manners; the Americans are ruthless, brutal and tactless - that could influence easily; the family life is different from ours and he could get used to things that don't fit over here; the people over there are not as economical - that could have a bad influence on the visitor; etc.

5/

That depends on personal or general circumstances:

It might be a disappointment for him - he goes over there and imagines everything so magnificently and then it can happen that he comes back and is disappointed; it depends whom he comes in contact with and what he has to do there; it depends on where he is - perhaps the climate is not healthy for him and he might have language difficulties too; that depends on his character; etc.

4

He could become dissatisfied with Germany or become anti-German because the conditions in America are better:

If the difference between the living standard is too great, it could be that the German comes back and is dissatisfied if he has to live in our modest circumstances here in Germany; he would become dissatisfied if he makes comparisons; perhaps the luxury will overwhelm him - he might get dissatisfied and would want to stay over there; he might let himself be influenced politically; he doesn't like anything here anymore and might want to change everything; they might easily be estranged from their home; he could be a very narrow-minded person who might be unable to make just comparisons, and he might become anti-German; he could come under anti-German influence through bad company; etc.

3

Crime, gangster groups, etc.:

If he comes in contact with gangsters; he could learn from the gangsters and criminals - they are worse over there than over here; if he happens to come across the gangsters in Chicago - it just depends on the individual though; he could get on the wrong path through coming in contact with the gangster methods; because of the gangsters, and the "Wild West" is no good either; as soon as he is not able to tell the difference between good and evil he could be influenced by such things as robberies; etc.

1

(Cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY

The superficiality in regard to culture:

From a cultural point of view - it is unbelievable what they offer to the people in regard to music and plays - the cultural standard could suffer from that; it could be that he forgets religion over all the entertainments over there or rather his attention might be diverted from it; etc.

The fact that they are selected for the exchange has an unfavorable influence (vanity, assertion):

He'd probably want to show off without having a reason for it; he might get vain and thinks he knows more than others; etc.

Other opinions:

I can see that from the occupation powers here - they show that one can't learn anything from them; it could be that he doesn't like the capitalistic system and that he might start to favor Communism then; etc.

No opinion - No influence:

No special influence: etc.

No answer:

16%

FEW GERMANS SUBSCRIBE TO UNFAVORABLE STEREOTYPES OF RETURNEES ...

One of the risks of sending Germans to the United States for a few months' experience is that they will return as "unacceptable" to many of their countrymen---in varying degrees and for various reasons. There is the fear that too many exchangees might become "Americanized" and would no longer belong to the German community to which they return. Or, one hears the charge that their being selected and their experiences in America change their character structure in some way so that they are set apart from other Germans, that they become ambassadors of ill-will instead of contributors to better understanding.

The extent to which these fears really do exist among West Germans can be checked. This was done late in the interview---after respondents had discussed what they know about the exchange effort (or, if unaware of it, after they'd been told about it).**

The fact is that of five negative remarks made about returning exchangees, four were thought to apply to a "considerable number" of returnees by only 6% or less of West Germans. The fifth was attributed to a considerable number by 13% of them. When the distribution of responses is noted below there is little doubt that Germans do not often voice the charges made so vociferously by some critics of the exchange effort.

(Cont'd on next page)

*Less than one half of one per cent.

**Sometime after the opportunity was given to name, unaided, any influences which they feel might affect the German visitor to the United States, the respondents were asked to read several comments printed on a card (See following page).

"Occasionally one hears (also) negative remarks about Germans who return after a several months' visit in America. In your opinion, do some of the following remarks apply to these exchangeers? (CARD) (Does point apply to a considerable number of them, to comparatively few, or hardly any?"

	<u>Consider- able number</u>	<u>Compara- tively few</u>	<u>Hardly any</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
A. They are conceited and presume to know everything better	6%	24%	43%	27% - 100%
B. They learned a lot of things over there which they can't use here	3	15	56	26 - 100%
C. They have acquired too many American traits and don't make a good impression here	6	21	45	28 - 100%
D. They don't like life over here anymore and want to emigrate	13	26	36	25 - 100%
E. They are too pro-American and not reliable Germans	3	13	57	27 - 100%

The two charges which West Germans think are least justified are that German exchangeers returning from the States have learned a lot of things in America which aren't of use in Germany, and that they are too pro-American and not "reliable" Germans.

The charge which seems possible to more people than any other is that the returnees don't like life in Germany anymore and would like to emigrate. However, only 13% attribute this characteristic to a "considerable number" of exchangeers.

All in all, there seems to be little reason to believe that Germans fear that many German exchangeers going to the States will return as a crew of bobby-soxers or gum-chewers or whatever other heinous combination of attributes could be their fate.

GERMANS BELIEVE GERMAN VISITORS TO AMERICA GIVE MOST RELIABLE PICTURE OF AMERICA AVAILABLE ...

An extremely high vote of confidence goes to Germans who have visited America when West Germans were asked to compare several avenues of information about America. The most reliable picture of America would be given by returned Germans rather than by seven other listed German and American sources, according to the respondents.

(Cont'd on next page)

Of eight listed sources (and others which could be written in by the respondents) Germans who've visited the United States are first choice by 50% of West Germans. The next most-often named source for a reliable portrayal of America is German-authored books about America (9%).

In comparison with the returning German who has been to the States, all American sources and the other German sources fare badly. Only 6% of West Germans would consider the "Voice of America" the most reliable source; 4% would believe most books about America by American authors; 3% of them named Americans themselves; and 2% nominate American movies as giving the most reliable picture of America.

Germans who went on record as pro-American were more likely than those with an anti-American attitude to select American sources of information (for details on the criterion of "pro/anti-American" see page 14 of this report). Of those holding the most pro-American attitude 21% would depend upon the "Voice of America", American books about the United States, or upon Americans for information about America. Compare this proportion with the 7% of those with the most anti-American attitude who would depend on American sources.

"Supposing you had all these sources of information at your disposal - which source, would you say, gives you the most reliable picture of America? (And which comes second?)"

	<u>1st choice</u>	<u>2nd choice</u>
1. German newspapers	8%	8%
2. Germans who have visited America	50	16
3. Americans	3	7
4. German radio stations	6	9
5. The "Voice of America"	6	8
6. American movies	2	4
7. Books about America by German authors	9	26
8. Books about America by American authors	4	7
9. Other sources (which?)	1	1
X. No opinion	11	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

II. AWARENESS AND GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The psychological climate into which the German-American Exchange Program is placed in Germany has been described; the points of potential resistance and acceptance by the German people have been underlined, as much as possible in the very words used by those interviewed. The focus of interest changes now from basic attitudes toward exchanging ideas, information and people with other nations. From this broad context the inquiry moves into a more limited area - that of actual awareness of the existence of the German-American Exchange Program and consequent assessment of its value.

HOW MANY GERMANS CLAIM AWARENESS OF THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM? ...

By the least sensitive awareness criterion used in the study, (the simple question, "Have you ever heard of a German-American exchange program?") about two of every five West Germans report having heard of it.

Claimed awareness of the program is virtually at the same level in the American and British Zones (43% and 39%, respectively, of residents have heard of the Program), but somewhat fewer Germans living in the French Zone claim to know of its existence (33%).

Despite the fact that until fairly recently, the major emphasis of the exchange program was given to the United States Zone of Germany, awareness of the program there is virtually at the same level as in the British Zone. As will be seen later, residents of cities are more likely than small town and rural residents to know about the Program, and because there is a greater urban population in the British Zone it is possible that this factor offsets the much shorter time in which residents of the British Zone have had to know of the Program. Too, the mass media undoubtedly have diffused a considerable amount of information about the Program in all three Zones; although the Program has been operative longer in the American Zone, its discussion in the press and other media certainly has not been limited to the one Zone.

Those who said they have heard about the Exchange Program were asked whether, as they remembered it, they had learned about the Program itself or about experiences of someone who'd been in America under provisions of exchange.*

Every fifth person said he had learned something about the experiences of the exchangee. (In other words, putting this group into the whole West German population, 8% of adult West Germans report knowing about the actual experiences of exchangees returned from America).** These people are of special interest because their evaluations of the returnee can give us insights into the value of the Exchange Program; they will be heard from in Section III of this report.

When people were asked to whom they'd go for (more) information about the Exchange Program, about one-half named a source which actually would be in a position to refer them to a proper agency. Should they want to know, then, there seems an excellent likelihood that they could find out without making several false starts. Under one-half (42%) expressed no opinion or said they had no interest in knowing anything about the Program.***

(Cont'd on next page)

*The question was, "As far as you can remember, have you yourself heard (or read) something about the Exchange Program itself, or was it something about the experience of somebody who had been in America under the Exchange Program?"

**See table IIb, Appendix to Section II.

***See Appendix F, Section II. The question was, "If you wanted to learn more (something) about the Exchange Program - what would you do? (To whom would you go?)"

The Exchange Program receives publicity in Germany through the usual channels of press, radio, special literature, posters and special projects and activities which are observed by the German public. It is of interest, then, to find out to what extent German attention is called to the Program within a given period of time.*

Of those who claim to know of the Program's existence, a little over one-half say that they have read or heard about it "two or three times" or "more often" within the year preceding the interview. (The remainder either cannot remember how often or report having heard or read about it only once).

Placed in context of the total population, 26% of West Germans had their attention called to the Exchange Program in some way within the last year. Projecting this percentage, some eight million adult West Germans read or heard something about the Program during that time.

HOW DO GERMANS LEARN ABOUT THE GERMAN-AMERICAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM? ...

The principal carriers of information about the Exchange Program appear to be newspapers and the radio, as about one-fourth (24%) of West Germans have read something about the Program in the newspapers, and about the same proportion (21%) refer to the radio as a source.

About one German of every twenty-five (4%) has learned of the Program directly through someone who went to America under the Program's auspices. (Later in this report this group will be investigated thoroughly.)

"And can you perhaps tell me in what way you heard something about this Exchange Program?"

	<u>News Reel</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Magazines</u>
Yes	6%	24%	12%
No	25	7	19
Can't remember	2	2	2
No answer	6	6	6
	<u>39%</u>	<u>39%</u>	<u>39%</u>

	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Through somebody who went to America under the Exchange Program</u>	<u>Through other persons</u>
Yes	21%	4%	5%
No	10	28	27
Can't remember	2	1	1
No opinion	6	6	6
	<u>39%</u>	<u>39%</u>	<u>39%</u>

*The exact question wording: "Have you heard or read something about the Exchange Program during the past year? (Approximately how often was that, in your opinion: once, two or three times or more?)" For detailed breakdown of replies, see table IIc, Appendix to Section II.

HOW MUCH DO GERMANS KNOW ABOUT THE GERMAN-AMERICAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM? ...

It is difficult to validate the claims of all people who say they have heard of the German-American Exchange Program. The program may easily be confused not only with other exchange programs* but with privately arranged tours or visits of Germans to America. It is also possible that answers to follow-up questions asking the respondent what he knows about the Program are correct guesses. But as will be seen during the course of this Section, it is reasonable to believe that most of the people who say they have heard of an exchange of persons between the United States and Germany really do know something about it.

OVER THREE-FOURTH CAN GIVE A DEFINITION OF PROGRAM ...

When asked, "What do you know about this Exchange Program so far?" over one-half spoke of the exchange of students and other young people who pursue their education for a period of time in the country other than their own. Other answers specifying groups of people exchanged under the Program clearly outweigh those answers which are either ambiguous or incorrect. No more than a fifth could not give some aspect of the Program. Furthermore, a study of the actual replies given by people reveals considerable specification of the circumstances and selection of exchange personnel.

"What do you know about this Exchange Program so far?"

WEST GERMANY

CORRECT ANSWERS:

Exchange of students, high school students, young people, girls, youth groups, - for further education:

Students are exchanged; students spend 1 - 2 years in the States for study purposes and Americans come here to Germany for the same period; students go over there in order to establish closer relationships - they study and work there and get to know the democratic administration; they have certain rigid rules for selecting students who may go to America; young people get the opportunity to travel to America - for instance students; high school students from Germany and America are exchanged; students get to know American conditions, and the others (Americans) conditions here; specially selected people may go to America to study - but only 200 students from the whole Federal Republic may go in one year; they exchange students from both countries as well as apprentices, so that they have a chance to finish their professional training and to enlarge their knowledge; etc.

22%

General exchange of experience and mutual visits of both nations:

Those from over there and those from over here visit each other in order to exchange their experiences; there is some exchange - Germans go over there and Americans learn here in Germany; Germans of various professions travel to America and the same number of Americans come over here, so they all have the opportunity to gather experiences abroad and to establish contact between the two countries; they have the intention of having Germans go to America and Americans coming to Germany - so they get a real picture (of conditions); the American government invites Germans to America; Germans spend a year in the States and Americans come here for one year; etc.

5

(Cont'd on next page)

*Semi-annual report of Exchanges Staff, HI003, July 1951: "It is believed that in the past year at least 20,000 German youths, students, and leaders travelled to other European countries while 8-10,000 European students and specialists came to Germany."

WEST GERMANY

Exchange of farmers, farm youths, and farm workers:

Sons of farmers from Germany and America are being exchanged; they announced through the radio yesterday that people from all walks of life can apply - even farm workers; farmers go to the USA; the farm youth go to the USA in order to learn; farm workers get to go over there; etc.

36

The Program promotes mutual understanding:

I know that this is done in order to promote international understanding and that the Americans are the driving force behind it; I just read in the newspaper once that it contributes toward mutual understanding - Germans are being sent to America; young people from both nations go to another country in order to learn and to further educate themselves - and mutual understanding shall be promoted by that; 100 Germans are exchanged with 100 Americans - workers are being exchanged in order to gather experience and to promote good relationships and understanding; etc.

2

Exchange of experts (general) in certain field (and their experiences) (journalists, radio experts, technicians):

Experts and technicians from Germany can travel to America for several months in order to get to know everything there or to study; technicians to a small extent - especially from the mining field; some experts were selected and sent over there; journalists from certain fields are being sent over there and vice versa; people from all fields go over there; they exchange people in certain professional fields; etc.

3

Exchange of teachers and scientists:

They exchange teachers and scientists; I think an exchange of scientists; they send teachers over there in order to study methods of teaching; etc.

2

Exchange of economists and trade union members:

Economic experts go there; trade union members travel to America and study the activity of the American unions and their institutions; trade union leaders go over there; etc.

1

Exchange of politicians and public servants:

Actually nothing or rather very little - they send politicians and government officials over there so that they can study American conditions; I only know that they fly students and Parliamentarians and other such people over there and back; etc.

1

INCORRECT ANSWERS:

They further the emigration of Germans:

The emigration of Germans to America; it was in the newspapers that refugees and good workers should apply for emigration - our best people go where they can earn the most money; emigration will be made easier; yes, the people apply for emigration; etc.

1

(Cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY

Exchange of raw materials and goods:

It's an exchange of goods; they exchange raw materials and with that exploit the Germans even more - it's the same as the Schuman plan; exchange of coal - we are supposed to get other products for them; the things we can deliver and what the others can deliver over here; etc.

2%

Other opinions:

Housewives go over there - I heard a broadcast of it; they exchange criminals; I believe that the children should correspond with each other; the Americans try to get German workers because they are more industrious than the American workers - that's what the Americans are advertising for; they intend and premeditate to give housing to many of the best German workers over there so they deprive us of certain people and weaken us by that; etc.

1

No interest:

I just listen to it and don't concern myself further with it; I just know of its existence, otherwise I have no idea and no interest; etc.

1

No opinion/ No answer:

$$\frac{5}{49\%}$$
A QUARTER KNOW THAT THE U.S. FOOTS THE BILL ALONE ...

About one-fourth of those who have heard of the Program say, correctly, that America pays the cost of it. Somewhat over one-half do not know or give no answer. The remainder identify both Germany and America, Germany alone, or the individual exchange as sponsors.®

It is possible to divide the respondents into three groups according to the extent of their familiarity with the German-American Exchange Program: 1) those who say they haven't heard of the Program and those who say they have but cannot describe the Program in any way (68% of West Germans), 2) those who know something about the Program---but not about individual exchangees' experiences (24%), and 3) those who know not only about the Program but know something about the experience of returnees (8%). The limited size of the two groups who are aware of the Program to varying degrees prevents elaborate analysis, but the three groups can be compared with reference to certain of their personal characteristics and attitudes.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE IN WEST GERMANY WHO KNOW THE MOST ABOUT THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM? ...

By comparing West Germans having different characteristics as to how much they know about the Program, it is possible to locate those groups in the population who have yet to be reached with information about the exchange effort.

There is a striking difference between the relatively uneducated and those having a high formal education with respect to awareness of the Program. Only 16% of Germans having at least an Abitur do not know of its existence; contrast this with the 76% of Germans having had an elementary education who are ignorant of the Program.

(Cont'd on next page)

®See Table IIg, Appendix to Section II. The question was, "As far as you know, who bears the expenses of this Program - or are you not informed about that?"

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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People with the most formal schooling are not only more likely to know about the Program, but a large number of them (44%) know of actual exchangees' experiences (only 5% of elementary-schooled Germans know of them).

Another classification is that of occupation, partly related to education. That is, some differences found between people having different occupations may be attributable to education differences, but at any rate these differences do exist. The groups having the highest incidence of ignorance of the German-American exchange effort are farmers, semi-skilled workers, housewives, domestic servants and pensioner-retired people.

People living in rural communities and the smaller cities are less likely to have heard about the Program than are residents of large cities. (When education is controlled, this difference is reduced among people having higher education, but exists very definitely among people of lower educational experience). (For data on above comments, see Tables II d, e, f, Appendix to Section II).

Amount of formal education, with its accompanying elements of higher amount of readership and concern with things beyond the daily tasks in Germany, appears to be a ~~prime~~ determinant of how much one knows about the German-American exchange effort. One could introspect at considerable length in explaining the relationship between these two factors, but the fact is that the Exchange Program has not permeated very far into the awareness of that part of the German population relatively uneducated. It has, however, reached deep into the better-educated segment of the West German population.

GERMANS AWARE OF THE PROGRAM DIFFER FROM THOSE IGNORANT OF IT IN RECEPTIVITY TO GERMANY'S LEARNING FROM AMERICA ...

Earlier in this report data were presented regarding German receptivity to Germany's learning from America in each of eight areas (social welfare, agriculture, etc.).* When the three groups of people (defined according to the extent of their awareness of the Exchange Program) are compared with respect to the earlier question, it can be said that those who know about the Program display certain discrimination in naming things which Germany can learn from America. In industry and technic, education, labor relations, the "mass" media, political life and in agriculture---in these areas there is more receptivity to Germany's learning from America among those who know about the Program than among those who are ignorant of it. However, there is a much higher proportion of people who say nothing can be learned from America in the fields of culture and social welfare among those who know about the Program than among those ignorant of it. In other words, although more of those who know about the Program think America can make a contribution to Germany in most areas than is true of Germans unaware of the German-American exchange effort, they do not write a blanket endorsement. They do not think that effort toward Germany's "education" in music, theater, literature and other arts and in social welfare is worthwhile. They do not underwrite Germany's learning from America without qualification.**

*See page 9 , Section I.

**As Appendix H data indicate, those Germans who know more about the Program are also more receptive to the basic idea of the German-American Exchange Program---that Germany can learn from other nations.

WHAT DO GERMANS THINK ARE AMERICA'S MOTIVES IN SPONSORING THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM? ...

All people who said that either America alone or both Germany and America pay the expenses of exchanges were asked, "For what reasons does America promote this Exchange Program, in your opinion?"

One-half of them said the motive is to promote mutual understanding; this is the most frequent motive ascribed to the United States.

Most of the other reasons referred in some way to the "enlightenment" of Germans and Americans with regard to the other country.

A review of the actual comments (see below) indicates a very low proportion who point accusations at America that she is mainly interested in exploiting Germany, that she is only or largely propagandizing German exchangees for the purpose of "selling" America for selfish reasons.

Motives Attributed To America For Exchange Sponsorship
(by those who believe U.S. pays part or all of the costs)

WEST GERMANY

In order to promote mutual understanding (international understanding) - in order to deepen friendship:

I don't know, perhaps they want to bring the nations and especially the youth of the nations together - for better international understanding; the purpose is that one gets to know and understand each other; so the two people come to understand each other; America wants to promote mutual understanding between the two people by that; in order to renew and strengthen the relationship which has suffered due to the war on a firm and honest basis; in order to live on friendly terms with Germany; etc.

8%

In order to enlighten the people about the true conditions in America and to encounter democratic institutions (ideals):

America wants to spread a better opinion about herself than the present one here in Germany - they want to introduce their methods here, teach us true democracy and influence us; so the people think better of America; she is interested in it - the Germans shall see how it is in America - America wants to show her wealth and predominant position to other people; America tries to show us Germans the advantages of Western democracy - so as not to give the impression that everything is propaganda; so the Germans can convince themselves that things are better over there - one wants to show them a good aspect of America; in order to give the Germans an idea of their conditions so one can correct false concepts; America wants Germany to become more progressive and to adhere to the USA; etc.

3

(Cont'd on next page)

In order to exchange experiences and knowledge:

In order to exchange technical experiences through the students; because we have different methods of work over here - so we can learn from each other - we are to take over a lot of things from the West; they want to establish mutual contacts - one is to learn from the other so as to enlarge one's knowledge; so we can learn from each other; so the youth can learn and gather experience over there - so they can study American customs; so both countries have advantages from it - so they can exchange their experiences - so the newly acquired knowledge can be of advantage for both countries; etc.

3/4

In order to learn from Germany:

In order to learn from us; perhaps in order to learn from us in this way - our universities have produced important persons so Americans can come to us - they want to learn - and in spite of the fact that we have lost the war they can learn much from us; in order to get to know as much of Germany as possible - America wants to give her civilians as well as her soldiers an idea of German conditions so they can see in which fields we Germans are advanced; so the Americans get to know Germany and learn from us Germans; they want to give their students the same opportunity here in Germany so they can keep up with the competition - the Americans learn something from Germany too; etc.

2

In order to gain an advantage for themselves:

America is occupying us and wants to have some advantage from it - we are to get to know them otherwise they'd have too many saboteurs here; for their own advantage - perhaps they are interested in having the work accomplished more economically because of the military developments; the Americans are businessmen - many of those who go over there work for America with their knowledge - America profits by that; etc.

2

For economic reasons:

To get us interested economically - so that they can sell more over here; mutual aid - that is not only good will and education toward democracy, but probably good business too; for economic purposes; etc.

*

For propaganda purposes:

For reasons of propaganda too - so they improve their reputation; I have never been certain about that - it's perhaps propaganda about their nobleness - perhaps they intend international understanding, but I am sceptical about that; etc.

*

Reeducation of the Germans (Americans want to force their opinion on Germans):

In order to reeducate the Germans - some Germans get to know the democratic set-up of America and they can teach and explain it here to the people in Germany; so they can slowly force their opinion on us and show us that they are leading examples; etc.

*

Other opinions:

From a feeling of social care for us - they want to give us the opportunity to make our own judgment - also in order to win us over to their side; in order to pacify the world and to avoid war; so there won't be a war anymore; in order to get the German youth more interested in political life; etc.

2

No opinion/ No answer:

20%

*Less than one half of one per cent.

WHAT DO WEST GERMANS THINK OF THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM? ...

After all has been said about German receptivity to the idea of exchanging ideas and information with other nations, about the advantages and disadvantages of sending Germans to America for experience with which to return to Germany, about what Germans think could be learned from America, about how much is known in Germany regarding the German-American Exchange Program, and about what Germans think American motives in the Program are - after all this the question must be posed: All in all, what do West Germans think of the mass exchange of persons? What is their final assessment of sending many of their countrymen to the United States to return with ideas, techniques, word-pictures of things and people and places, and somehow to try to make all this "fit" Germany?

Their evaluation is obtained in the following summary query: "If you consider everything you know and think about the exchange program, do you believe that it is valuable for Germany or not? (Of great value, or little value?)"

Three-fourths of adult West Germans who know of the Exchange Program go on record as believing it to be of great value to Germany. Placed in the context of the total West German population, 29% of adult West Germans today assess the exchange effort as having great value to their country.*

This nucleus of support was given one last opportunity to make negative comments about the Program, to criticize it in any way they wished. (The question they were asked was, "Do you have something to criticize about this exchange program? (What?)")

Almost three-fourth of them said that they have no criticism to make.**

WHAT DO THE CRITICS SAY ABOUT THE PROGRAM? ...

There are two groups of critics to be considered: first, those who think the Program of great value to Germany but who offer some criticisms, and second, those attributing little or no value to the Program and whose criticisms underline their opinion. The tenor of the objections to the Program made by these two groups differs in the way one would expect: most of those who assess the Program as having great value don't think it goes far enough and most of those who deny its having much value offer a negative appraisal of its function.***

Of the people who think the Program is of great value to Germany, most think it should be expanded. Here is what some of them said:

"They could do still more to promote the program. They could send more people. This would never be a mistake."

"It doesn't reach people in all walks of life. Only a few are lucky enough to go to the States."

"They should consider skilled workers, too."

"They should send more experts, fewer politicians and trade union people."

"The number of persons going as exchangees to the States is much too small. They should send many more."

(Cont'd on next page)

*See table IIh, Appendix to Section II.

**See table IIIi, Appendix to Section II.

***Such a small proportion of people offered criticisms that the number of cases is too small to permit statistical analysis. 45 people who think the Program is of great value also give criticisms; 41 people think the Program of little or no value to Germany.

Other criticisms of the Program were varied. Some said too few in Germany know about it, and others objected to certain aspects of the Program (e.g., "The mastery of English (should be) a prerequisite.", "The exchangeers are not shown everything - the different sides of the picture, not just the favorable one.").

What about those people who expressed the opinion that the Exchange Program is of little or no value to Germany? Although the size of this group (like the group discussed above) is too small to afford statistically reliable comparisons, what they say in criticism of the German-American exchange effort is of interest. Before their comments are introduced here it may be noted that of the persons who gave criticisms, the bulk actually do not know of actual exchangeers' experiences. Their information about the Program apparently is limited to general features of it.

The single most-frequent criticism was made by those represented by the following comments:

"What knowledge they (exchangeers) can acquire over there they can acquire more or less in Germany, too."

"I think there are many capable people in Germany. This was proved in that Germany always kept up with the rest of the world. The things the Americans can do we can do, too."

"Because in Germany we're on the ball in the theoretical as well as in the practical field. There's little the U.S. can teach us."

"We aren't that far behind in the cultural sphere and sciences."

"Our educational standards are pretty high, and those people (exchangeers) won't bring back any revolutionary innovations."

This kind of expression of ethnocentrism or pride of certain attributes which Germans ascribe to their own country is very much like that discussed earlier in this report. At the outset it was noted that certain resistances to the idea of Germany's learning from other nations and doubts expressed by some Germans that America could teach Germany very much in some areas of learning are related to the belief that Germany's level of achievement is as high as - or is higher than that of the United States'.

(Cont'd on next page)

Some of the critics think that the Program is of little or no value because the number of exchangeers is too small - a kind of compliment in that one infers that the idea of sending them is all right, but that not enough can go. Here are some comments of this kind:

"That handful of people (exchangeers) is of no consequence."

"You can't send as many young people for one year abroad as would be necessary if it's to be a real gain for Germany."

"Because experiences that may be made by individuals in the interests of Germany cannot be so far-reaching as to influence our lives to any great extent."

"Too few people take part in it. They are absorbed into the mass of people. The public knows too little about the Program."

A few of the critics say, in effect, what one of them said:

"American mentality differs from German mentality. Just take their pace! And the people are quite different from us, too."

Other comments - the few remaining - are not classifiable into one or two categories, with the exception of those made by the few who seem opposed to the Program because it's underwritten by the Americans; in the words of one of these people:

"I don't know, but I think little of the Americans. Some fiends ruined our place. I can't feel any sympathy for them all of a sudden."

III. DETAILED EVALUATIONS OF THE PROGRAM

As already stated about one of every twelve adult West Germans says he had heard or read something about the experiences of German exchangees in the States. This eight per cent of the population are at the center of inquiry in the following pages, because they represent the ever-widening segment of the West German population which can be expected to come in contact with German visitors returned from America under the Exchange Program. Projecting this eight per cent of West Germans into actual numbers of people, between 2,200,000 and 3,200,000 have learned in some way about exchangee experiences.* What they tell now of their reactions to returning exchangees can indicate some reasons for future acceptance or rejection of exchangees' efforts in Germany.

DO GERMANS WHO KNOW OF EXCHANGEES' EXPERIENCES CONSIDER THESE USEFUL TO GERMANY? ...

Placed under scrutiny now are judgments of whether exchangees' American experiences really contribute to Germany - judgments made by that 8% of the German population who know not only about the German-American Exchange Program, but about exchangees' experiences themselves. They have learned something about these experiences from various of the media carrying information about returnees and their activities, from other people or more directly from the exchangees themselves.

First, almost all of this more-closely-informed group credit the experiences gained by the exchangees as of value to Germany. When asked, "According to everything you know about the experiences this person had during his visit to America, do you have the impression that these experiences can be useful here in Germany or not?", eight in ten reply affirmatively.

Second, and more importantly their favorable appraisal is not based solely on the potential value they place on the exchangees' experience, but on concrete first-hand evidence of the current contributions made by exchangees they have known or heard about. Asked, "Can you give me an example of how an exchangee-visitor to America made use of his experiences here in Germany?", they gave as typical replies:

"Technical achievements in assembly-line production have also been introduced at Opel and Ford in West Germany", according to a 39-year-old man from Hesse.

"My acquaintance changed his study course to be a time-and-motion-engineer. Before, he wanted to be an electrician, now he's learned the meaning of systematized work over there", said an electrical engineer from Bavaria, 53 years old.

A contribution to agriculture was expressed by another respondent: "Yes, a large farm estate made use of American experiences. I don't know for sure, though, what came of it. One of the owners of the farm was in America."

A 38-year-old businessman living in Baden said, "Lectures with slides were delivered to the employees in which the exchangees gave information which he got in the U.S.A. - the same way politicians who have been over there gave lectures here."

(Cont'd on next page)

*Sometimes in this Section percentage figures have been extrapolated into actual numbers of people. The range of numbers is noted to account for the statistical margin of error inherent in the calculations. Certain percentages in the Section are very small, but the statistical reliability of these very low percentages in a 1,200-case sample becomes progressively higher than that of the larger percentages. To ensure maximum accuracy of extrapolation some of the percentages have been calculated to tenths of a point.

"A friend of mine who's been over there writes reports and gives lectures", said a clerk living in Berlin, a man 32 years old.

A Bavarian housewife, 53 years old, said, "Students give lectures at the GYA".

A glazier living in Baden, 23 years of age, said, "A youth leader imported a certain kind of club activity, but naturally, he had to adjust it to the German mentality".

Some of the respondents spoke of contributions in industry and technique, while others noted what had been attempted in agriculture. Ways of getting information to the public by exchangers were mentioned by other people, and some referred to returnees' activities in the social and educational areas. Their comments are only suggestive of the gamut of exchanger effort, and more intensive studies (see end of this section) should be initiated to discover successes and failures of actual attempts by exchangers to make their American experiences useful - something beyond the design of this study.

DO GERMANS SEE THEMSELVES AS BEING INFLUENCED BY EXCHANGERS' EXPERIENCES? ...

Questions put to those who know of exchangers' experiences became sharper with successive steps in the interview, demanding more and more perception and recall ability from the 8% who answered the queries. These people were asked to evaluate any effects the exchangers' experiences had upon them. The question was, "Have you personally received any new ideas through what you have heard or read of the experiences of these people in America?"

Over two of every five in this group reported that "new ideas" have come to them as a result of learning about certain German returnees' experiences in America.* They represent, when placed in the total West German population, 3.7% of West Germans. That is, today between 880,000 and 1,600,000 people attribute something new in their thinking to what they've learned from exchangers returned from America.

It must be said that these people both knew and admitted certain idea changes, and therefore do not include all Germans who actually may have had new food for thought given them by returning exchangers. There are two factors which limit the number of Germans who say they've noted a change in their thinking attributable to exchangers: awareness of such changes and of the initiating source (the exchanger), and the readiness to admit these changes even though aware of them.

What about awareness of idea change? The subtlety of influence, its indirectness, frequently can be so great that even the most adept introspectionist cannot locate it in himself. Circuitously channeled influences, those coming second-, third-, fourth-hand from the exchanger himself, cannot be identified by the recipient of the influence and of course he cannot say "this new idea has come from Mr. X, Exchanger". In addition to those unaware are those who refuse to admit - to themselves or to others, an interviewer, for example - that any new ideas have come to them from a returned exchanger. There is good reason, then, to believe that this nucleus of people who see idea changes in themselves as having been initiated by an exchanger is a minimum proportion of the German population actually so affected.

*See Table IIIf, Appendix to Section III.

WHAT NEW IDEAS HAVE THEY RECEIVED? ...

These 3.7, then were asked, "In which respect have you received new ideas?" The content of their new ideas is of considerable interest. As one reads through the comments he realizes that most of these new concepts appear to be favorable from the American point of view.

A 25-year-old Bavarian housewife said, "They (Americans) use much more machines in agriculture. That should also be done in Germany - our peasants work in an old-fashioned way. In this respect they should be trained much more."

"Couldn't we employ those machines and innovations especially in our agriculture, too?" asked a priest, 47 years old, living in Bavaria.

"The people over there do not have to work so hard as we have to, by using modern machines." ~~This was expressed by a 45-year-old machine worker from Bavaria.~~

A 25-year-old bookkeeper from Hamburg said, "In America labor takes positive part in the results of organization."

"In my trade I've learned quite a lot of new things, for instance, about their way of building things with concrete", according to a 21-year-old bricklayer who lives in North-Rhine/Westfalie.

A secretary, 39 years old, a resident of Hesse, made this comment: "Recently I talked with acquaintances who, in turn, had talked with people from the Exchange Program. It was confirmed for me that over there politics is a matter to be decided upon in common by everybody. Over here we are too much under the impression that politics necessarily means being friends or enemies."

An unemployed skilled worker, 33 years of age, from Hamburg, said, "I know by now that the Senators really learned how to grab money from the pockets of the little man."

It is evident from these and other comments not listed that exchangees leave an imprint largely positive in view of the Exchange Program's purpose. Of course, a large number did not or could not specify the "new ideas" which they said they had received, but this study was not designed to investigate subtly the matter of exchangee influence, eliciting difficult-to-obtain responses through the use of special devices. Any future studies of exchangees themselves and their contacts should include provisions of this kind.*

*For detailing of responses to this question: "Has your attitude towards the United States been influenced in any way through what you have heard or read?", see Table IIIc, Appendix to Section III. Briefly, two-thirds replied that they had not been influenced. Of those who said they had, almost all of them said that the influence had been favorable to the United States (see Table IIId).

NARROWING THE FOCUS ONTO GERMANS WHO HAVE TALKED WITH EXCHANGEES ...

In Section II all West Germans were screened into various groups, according to the extent of their awareness of the German-American Exchange Program. They were compared in various respects, among which was their general assessment of the Program. In this Section those who know of actual exchangees' experiences have been considered; some of their insights and assessments have helped in this examination of the Program's effectiveness. There is still another group to be heard from now - that 4% of German adults who have learned something about the exchange effort through someone who went to America under the Program's sponsorship.* They were asked, "Have you personally talked to this exchangee, have you heard a lecture by him, or have you come in contact with him in some other way?"

2.7% of adult West Germans (or between 590,000 and 1,200,000 persons) say they have talked face-to-face with a returnee. A smaller number (.6%) have attended a lecture given by an exchangee, or report another kind of contact with them (1%).

Some 4,000 exchangees had returned to Germany at the time of this survey, which means that (using the extrapolated number of Germans who said they have talked face-to-face with a returnee about the Program) each exchangee would appear to have talked personally with an average of between 150 and 300 other Germans about the Program. Any extrapolation of this kind, based upon an average of frequencies of behavior, must be properly understood. Many of the exchangees talked with many more than the average, many talked with less - by the very definition of the term "average"; at any rate, this number of per-exchangee personal contacts is most certainly conservative for at least three reasons: 1) the data does not take into account the various lengths of time the exchangees have been back in Germany talking with others (many of the 4,000 had been back only a short time, thus reducing the number of personal contacts possible), 2) youth in Germany were not sampled, and a large number of exchangees have come from the ranks of this age group and would be expected to have had considerable contact with other German youth, and 3) some respondents may be unable to recall personal contacts with exchangees or be unaware that such contacts were with exchangees, or they may be unwilling to acknowledge such contacts, if known.

If each exchangee is talking face-to-face about his American experiences with an average of over 150 of his compatriots, it is clear that the exchange operation has gone far toward obtaining the kind of leverage and multiplier effects which the program aspires to. The data demonstrate that individual exchangee experiences are going far beyond him in impact - first to an appreciable nucleus of personal contacts and - as earlier sections of the report have indicated - indirectly in ever widening circles to a substantial proportion of the West German population.

What do those who have had direct contact with exchangees say about their returned fellows? Do they have largely positive or largely negative comments about them?

* These are the respondents who named exchangees when asked, "Can you perhaps tell me in what way you heard something about this exchange program?"

AN INVESTIGATION INTO INFLUENCES UPON EXCHANGEES RESULTING FROM THEIR TRIP ...

A total of forty-seven people in the present sample had learned of the Program through personal contact with some exchangee. Their information and impressions about the Program and about those who went to America under its auspices are the most nearly first-hand which yet have been discussed in this report. These 47 persons are too few in number to warrant any detailed statistical analysis, but their attitudes and the general distribution of frequencies of their answers can be helpful in developing insights into the value of the Program.

Of the persons who'd learned of the Program through an exchangee, most had known him before he went to the States.

Both those who had and who had not known the exchangee before his visit were asked, "Have you ~~somehow~~ the impression that this exchangee has been influenced by his trip?".

Most said, "Yes", and a much smaller number thought he had not been influenced.

When asked, "What kind of influence was it - for the good or for the bad?", most thought the influence had been for the good. Their comments speak of the improvement of the individual along such lines as these:

"The biases that existed about America were taken back by this student."

"His horizon was enlarged and his judgment sharpened."

"He has grown more free and more honest - in his manners as well as in his speech."

Or, they refer in some way to the impressions which the returnee carries back with him:

"He was very enthusiastic and full of praise for America and the way he was treated over there."

"He was impressed by the discipline of the drivers...."

"...he was very impressed about democracy in America."

The suggestion emanates therefore that those having had the closest association with exchangees are very likely to have a favorable evaluation of the Exchange Program's influence upon those exchangees. The possibility must be noted that these exchangees may be friends (certainly at least acquaintances) whom the respondent might not want to "rate down" in any way. However, those who report favorable influences having played upon the exchangee cite clear examples of such influences, which gives considerable credence to their evaluation apart from the possibility of personal relationships' affecting the appraisal.

The analysis in this section has barely investigated what other, more appropriate techniques than the "one-time" survey (utilizing non-intensive interviews) of an entire nation can do. One possibility is a community study (such a study of a rudimentary kind has been completed in Krefeld, Germany, where the activities and influences of eight Krefeld exchangees were examined by the Reactions Analysis Staff). The community study permits a more thorough investigation within a well-defined geographic area, relating the effort of specific exchangees to their community's institutions and inhabitants.

(Cont'd on next page)

Sociometric techniques can be used to place the individual exchanges in a complex of relationships with other people spatially, psychologically, and through time. Depth interviews (e.g., of two hours and more) with exchangees and with people who know them can reveal subtleties which the average, shorter interview usually do not.

There have been relatively few Exchange Program participants (some 6,000 have returned or are still in America at the time of this writing) when one considers the total adult (over 18) West German population - nearly thirty-four millions. The Program has been operating since the days of military government in occupied Germany, but has been intensified only within the last three years. It is too early, then, to depend entirely upon the general West German population for an evaluation of the Exchange Program's effectiveness. We must go to those segments of the population which have been exposed in various ways to returned exchangees, using techniques best adapted to such an investigation.

TABLE Ia

"Can other nations learn from us Germans?"

WEST GERMANY	
Yes	86%
No	3
No opinion	9
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE Ib

"In your opinion, can we Germans learn something from other nations?"

Yes	72%
No	13
No opinion	15
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE Ic

"In your opinion, how could a German gather more experiences with which he could be of most value to Germany in the future - by spending a year abroad or by remaining in Germany for the same period?"

Abroad	71%
In Germany	15
No opinion	14
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE Id

"In your opinion, can we Germans learn something for our form of government from the political experiences of another country or not?"

Yes, we can learn	47%
No, we cannot learn	14
No opinion	39
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE Ie

"Do you believe, that the majority of German experts and students gather experiences in America which will only be to their personal advantage, or do you think that the experiences gathered in America could be of general advantage to Germany?"

Only personal advantage	9%
For Germany as well	74%
Q.A.	3
No opinion	14
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE If

"In your opinion, could a visit of several months to America have an unfavorable influence on a German?"

Yes	16%
No	63
No opinion	21
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE Ia

"Supposing a German would spend several months in the United States, do you think that, in general, the influence on him would be more favorable or more unfavorable?" (Asked of those naming both favorable and unfavorable influences.)

	WEST GERMANY
More favorable	8%
More unfavorable	1
No opinion	$\frac{4}{13\%}$

TABLE Ib

DEGREE OF RECEPTIVENESS
TO GERMANY'S LEARNING FROM OTHER NATIONS
ACCORDING TO SEX OF RESPONDENT

	Men	Women
Favor Germany's learning abroad	67%	51%
Modified acceptance or rejection	26	37
Opposed to Germany's learning abroad	6	4
No opinion expressed	$\frac{1}{100\% - (539)}$	$\frac{8}{(654)}$

TABLE II

DEGREE OF RECEPTIVENESS
TO GERMANY'S LEARNING FROM OTHER NATIONS
ACCORDING TO EDUCATION AND CITY SIZE

	<u>Elementary Schooling</u>				<u>Secondary and Over</u>			
	Rural & towns under 2,000	Towns 2,000-9,999	Towns 10,000-99,999	Cities 100,000 & over	Rural & towns under 2,000	Towns 2,000-9,999	Towns 10,000-99,999	Cities 100,000 & over
Favor Germany's learning abroad	40%	48%	53%	56%	(23)	81%	85%	73%
Modified acceptance or rejection	46	36	35	34	(4)	19	15	21
Opposed to Germany's learning abroad	7	8	5	5	(-)	-	-	2
No opinion expressed	$\frac{7}{100\% - (309)}$	$\frac{8}{(194)}$	$\frac{7}{(154)}$	$\frac{5}{(197)}$	$\frac{1}{(28)}$	$\frac{-}{(42)}$	$\frac{-}{(48)}$	$\frac{4}{(78)}$

TABLE III

DEGREE OF RECEPTIVENESS
TO GERMANY'S LEARNING FROM OTHER NATIONS
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

	Professional	Business	Service	Manual
Favor Germany's learning abroad	67%	61%	51%	41%
Modified acceptance or rejection	26	37	35	34
Opposed to Germany's learning abroad	6	4	5	5
No opinion expressed	$\frac{1}{100\% - (539)}$	$\frac{8}{(654)}$	$\frac{7}{(154)}$	$\frac{5}{(197)}$

APPENDIX
SECTION I

TABLE Ij

NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH
GERMANY CAN LEARN FROM AMERICA
ACCORDING TO EDUCATION & CITY SIZE

Elementary Schooling

Secondary and Over

fields which could learn from US:	<u>Elementary Schooling</u>				<u>Secondary and Over</u>			
	Rural & towns under 2,000	Towns 2,000-10,000	Cities 10,000-100,000	Cities 100,000 & over	Rural & towns under 2,000	Towns 2,000-10,000	Towns 10,000-100,000	Cities 100,000 & over
one	39%	42%	25%	25%	(3)	22%	3%	9%
3	29	31	28	28	(7)	25	22	22
5	26	18	29	31	(16)	33	53	40
more	6	9	18	16	(7)	20	22	29
100% =	(337)	(221)	(175)	(225)	(33)	(49)	(60)	(98)

TABLE Ik

NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH
GERMANY CAN LEARN FROM AMERICA
ACCORDING TO SEX

fields named in which
could learn from US:

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
one	19%	38%
3	27	29
5	35	24
more	19	9
100% =	(543)	(656)

TABLE II

NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH
GERMANY CAN LEARN FROM AMERICA
ACCORDING TO EDUCATION & AGE

Elementary Schooling

Secondary or Abitur and Over

- 29 yrs 30-39 yrs 40-49 yrs 50 yrs & over

- 29 yrs 30-39 yrs 40-49 yrs 50 yrs & over

fields named
Germany could

learn from US:	<u>Elementary Schooling</u>				<u>Secondary or Abitur and Over</u>			
	29 yrs	30-39 yrs	40-49 yrs	50 yrs & over	29 yrs	30-39 yrs	40-49 yrs	50 yrs & over
one	31%	29%	35%	38%	13%	7%	6%	17%
3	27	37	32	25	14	19	31	26
5	28	25	23	26	44	50	45	32
more	14	9	10	11	29	24	18	25
100% =	(210)	(180)	(239)	(323)	(72)	(42)	(62)	(63)

APPENDIX
SECTION ITABLE I

NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH
GERMANY CAN LEARN FROM AMERICA
ACCORDING TO PRO-, ANTI-AMERICAN ATTITUDE

	Pro- Ameri- can	Moderate- ly pro- American	Moderate- ly anti- American	Anti- Ameri- can
<u>Number of fields named in which Germany could learn from US:</u>				
None or one	16%	21%	26%	52%
2 or 3	23	30	32	28
4 or 5	41	33	30	14
6 or more	20	16	12	6
100% -	(241)	(483)	(224)	(105)

NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTIONS

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

From Russia's shortcomings:

From Russia, one learns best from the errors they are committing; least of all from Russia - I'm not informed well enough about the other countries' policy; etc.

*%

From America's shortcomings:

One can learn from the errors committed in America, then we will do better here; etc.

*

From England's shortcomings:

One could learn from England how one shouldn't do it - England subdues the world, talks of humanity, but does not act accordingly; etc.

-

No opinion/ No answer:

$$\frac{1}{50\%}^{**}$$

●

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPENDIX
SECTION IAPPENDIX D

The extent to which those people who believe Germany can profit from the political examples set by other nations come from that segment of the population who are generally receptive to Germany's learning from other nations can be seen below. When the index of general receptiveness to Germany's learning is applied, the contrast between the groups favoring international exchange generally and those less favorably inclined is evident:

BELIEF THAT GERMANY CAN LEARN
FROM OTHER NATIONS' POLITICAL EXPERIENCES
ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF RECEPTIVENESS
TO GERMANY'S LEARNING GENERALLY

	Favor general learning	Modified favor or disfavor of gen'l learning	Oppose general learning
<u>Can Germany learn from political experiences of other nations?</u>			
Yes	63%	31%	20%
No	12	16	43
No opinion	25	53	37
100% -	(691)	(390)	(55)

The general purpose of this paper presents what would be an interesting analysis that of the deviate cases who oppose general learning but who believe that Germany can something learn from the political experiences of other nations. Equally interesting are those who favor general learning, but who oppose Germany's looking at political experiences of others. At any rate, there is a very much greater resistance to their country's noting the political examples of other countries among West Germans who are oriented away from international learning than among those who would look to other nations for experiences, generally.

APPENDIX
SECTION ITABLE I

NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH
GERMANY CAN LEARN FROM AMERICA
ACCORDING TO PRO-, ANTI-AMERICAN ATTITUDE

	Pro- Ameri- can	Moderate- ly pro- American	Moderate- ly anti- American	Anti- Ameri- can
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2 or 3	23	30	32	28
4 or 5	41	33	30	14
6 or more	20	16	12	6
100% -	(241)	(483)	(224)	(105)